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The memoirs of Ann, Lady Fanshawe

Anne Harrison Fanshawe, Herbert Charles Fanshawe

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Ann, Lady Fanshawe
by Sir Peter Lely
From the painting in the possession of Captain Starling of Kew

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THE MEMOIRS OF ANN LADY FANSHAWE

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE present edition of the *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe*, which were first issued in 1829-30, by the grandfather of the present editor, is published from an original copy of the MSS. transcribed under the supervision of the authoress in 1676, now in the possession of Mr. Evelyn John Fanshawe, of Parsloes, Essex. Mr. Fanshawe's father, the late Mr. John Gaspard Fanshawe, devoted many years to the collection of material relating to the family, much of which was published by him previous to 1868 in the *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, and has been invaluable in preparing the present annotated edition of the *Memoirs*, a work which unfortunately he himself was never able to undertake. A description of the MSS., and of the various copies of it known to exist, is contained in Appendix I, page 221, below. As the spelling of the MSS. is not that of Lady Fanshawe but of her amanuensis, it has been thought best to modernize it. Her own spelling was wonderfully phonetic and erratic,

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as may be seen from various original writings of hers. Otherwise the text of the MSS. has been left untouched, except that a few corrections of palpable errors, all indicated by brackets, have been made in it.

Since the *Memoirs* form the biography of Sir Richard Fanshawe and his wife, and the notes appended to them embody all the fresh information which has been gleaned from many sources regarding them, it has not been considered desirable to attempt any delineation of their careers and characters by way of introduction to the present volume. The table following this gives the outline of the events of their lives and times; and from the *Memoirs* themselves, all who read may learn that the husband was a high-minded, chivalrous man of honour, against whom not a single word of blame or depreciation has been found in any of the records of the day, and that the wife was a true, pure-minded woman, who deserves to rank among the noblest of her age, and that to no one of their times can the words of the *Memoirs* (p. 17), "their memories will remain so long as their names for (an) honest, worthy, virtuous (man and woman) who served God in their generation in their several capacities," more justly apply. From first to last Sir Richard is described as an

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honourable gentleman, alike by Lord Aston, the Marquis of Ormonde, Sir Edward Nicholas, Sir George Radcliff, Sir Edward Hyde (Earl of Clarendon), and the two Kings of England whom he served. The facts of his life newly discovered relate principally to his residence in Spain during 1635–8; his service in Ireland under the Earl of Strafford (of which Lady Fanshawe makes no mention); his passing between the young King and the Marquis of Ormonde in 1648 and 1649, and his life in Ireland; his service with the King in Scotland as Secretary of State; his capture after the battle of Worcester, and his treatment thereupon; and his transactions as Ambassador at the Courts of Portugal and Spain. Of Lady Fanshawe's nobility of temperament it is sufficient to note that she never records one disparaging word of Charles II, and of her purity of mind that she never makes a single allusion to his mistresses, or to the open licence of the Court at Whitehall. It is therefore a particularly cruel circumstance that her character should have been aspersed on three separate occasions, once within the last fifty years, without the least justification. These are duly noticed in the notes to the *Memoirs*.

It will probably be thought by some that these notes are of undue length. In answer to this

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charge the editor can only plead that they are intended to supply a full setting to the picture of the *Memoirs* from the sides of both general history and of family annals. To illustrate the former he has included many facts and incidents which are not to be found, as a rule, in the standard works upon the seventeenth century, especially where they have particular reference to matters mentioned in the *Memoirs*. As regards the latter, he has borne in mind that the *Memoirs* are primarily a family record, and that it has long been desired by the present members of the family that its history down to the end of that century should be adequately commemorated while a deeper interest in it than is likely to be felt by succeeding generations still survives. A pedigree of the family down to the present time is printed at the end of the Volume.

The present editor is under obligations to Professor Firth and Mrs. Lomas for most kindly pointing out to him several sources of information, and to Major Martin Hume for various notes on Spanish subjects, which are duly acknowledged in each instance. He is also much indebted to the courtesy of many other persons to whom he has written for assistance on various points. Mrs. Lomas' Introduction to the volume of Heathcote MSS., published by the Historical

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Manuscripts Commission in 1899, has been of much help to the editor, and the value of the papers themselves can hardly be overestimated from the family point of view. The task of editing has proved a very heavy one, and has involved much search into original papers in the British Museum, the Bodleian and Public Record Office, as well as reference to nearly a thousand printed volumes. That some errors will have crept into the notes is, he fears, certain, but he trusts that these will not be found to be either numerous or serious.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE LIVES OF SIR RICHARD AND LADY FANSHAWE, AND WITH THEIR TIMES AND FAMILIES DOWN TO 1716

A.D.		
1417.		(5 Henry V.) First entry relating to the Fanshawe family in the Manor Roll of Holmesfield, near Dronfield, North Derbyshire.
1504.	20 Henry VII.	John Fanshawe, great-grandfather of Sir Richard, born at Fanshawe Gate, Holmesfield.
1506 (*c.*).		Henry Fanshawe, first Fanshawe Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer, born.
1509.	Henry VIII.	
1533.		Thomas Fanshawe, grandfather of Sir Richard, and second Queen's Remembrancer, born.
1535 (*c.*).		Robert Fanshawe, grandfather of Lady Fanshawe, born.
1547.	Edward VI., King.	
1553.	Mary, Queen.	
1558.	November. Elizabeth, Queen.	

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A.D.		
1561.		Dengey Hall purchased by Thomas Fanshawe.
1562.		Confirmation of the Fanshawe family coat-of-arms.
1563.		Birch Hall, Essex, purchased by Henry Fanshawe.
1566.		Henry Fanshawe made Queen's Remembrancer.
1567.		Jenkins Manor, near Barking, purchased by Henry Fanshawe.
1568.	Surrender of Mary, Queen of Scots.	October. Death of Henry Fanshawe; his nephew, Thomas Fanshawe, appointed Queen's Remembrancer.
1569.		Sir Henry Fanshawe, son of Thomas Fanshawe, and of his wife, Mary Bourchier, and third King's Remembrancer, born.
1576.		Thomas Fanshawe purchases Ware Park of the Countess of Huntingdon.
1579.		The Free School of Henry Fanshawe founded at Dronfield.
1580.		Sir Thomas Fanshawe, son of Thomas (d. 1601), and of Joan Smythe, and later of Jenkins, born.
1583.		William Fanshawe, son of Thomas Fanshawe (d. 1601) and Joan Smythe, afterwards of Parsloes, and ancestor of the Dengey and Parsloes branches of the family, born.

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A.D.		
1588.	Spanish Armada.	
1589 (*c.*).		Sir John Harrison, father of Lady Fanshawe, born.
1591.		Margaret Fanshawe, daughter of Robert and mother of Lady Fanshawe, born.
1594.		Sir Henry Fanshawe made Auditor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and about this year marries Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Customer Smythe.
1596.		August. Sir Thomas Fanshawe, K.B., later first Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore, and eldest brother of Sir Richard Fanshawe, born.
1598.	Death of Lord Burleigh.	
1599.	Birth of Oliver Cromwell.	
1600.	9 November. Charles I born.	
1601.		February. Death of Thomas Fanshawe, second Queen's Remembrancer.
		13 March. Sir Henry Fanshawe appointed third Queen's Remembrancer.
1603.	24 March. James I, King.	
		7 May. Sir Henry Fanshawe knighted at Theobalds.
1604.		April. Sir Simon Fanshawe, elder brother of Sir Richard, born.
1608.		June. Sir Richard Fanshawe born.

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A.D.		
1638.		May. Sir R. Fanshawe *ad interim* agent at the Court of Spain. September. Returns finally from Spain to England.
1639.	June, 1641.	Sir R. Fanshawe Secretary the Council of War, Ireland, first under the Earl of Strafford, and afterwards under the Marquis of Ormonde.
1640.	13 April–5 May. Short Parliament. 3 November. The Long Parliament meets, and, 8 November, votes the arrest of the Earl of Strafford.	April. Sir Richard M.P. in Irish Parliament for Ballynakill.
1641.		4 January. Sir John Harrison knighted at Whitehall. 11 February. Sir Simon Fanshawe knighted at Whitehall.
	23 April. House of Commons votes the attainder of the Earl of Strafford. 2 May. Marriage of the Princess Mary and William II of Orange. 12 May. Execution of the Earl of Strafford.	
		4 July. Sir William Boteler, Teston, Kent, husband of

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A.D.		
		Joan, elder sister of Sir Richard, knighted.
1641.		5 August. Sir R. Fanshawe made fifth King's Remembrancer in place of his eldest brother.
1642.	10 January. The King leaves Whitehall.	
	22 August. Royal Standard raised at Nottingham.	
	23 October. Battle of Edgehill.	Sir Thomas Fanshawe, K.B., engaged at Edgehill.
	29 October. King enters Oxford.	
	16 November. Royal forces advance to Turnham Green. Milton's sonnet "When the assault was intended to the city."	
1643.		22 February. Sir Edward Hyde knighted at Oxford. Sir John Harrison goes to Oxford early in the year with his daughters. Sir R. Fanshawe goes to the King at Oxford in the spring.
	15–26 May. Reading besieged and taken by the Parliament.	
	10–17 June. The Earl of Essex before Oxford.	
	18 June. Skirmish of Chalgrove Field.	

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A.D.		
1643.	24 June. Death of John Hampden.	
		1 July. William Harrison, hurt in a skirmish before Oxford, buried.
	14 July. The Queen reaches Oxford.	
	26 July. Bristol taken by Prince Rupert.	
	5 September. Siege of Gloucester raised.	
	20 September. First battle of Newbury. Death of Lord Falkland and of the Earl of Carnarvon.	
	December. Death of John Pym.	December. Sir R. Fanshawe nominated to be Envoy in Denmark.
1644.		February. Sir Richard Fanshawe nominated to be one of the commissioners for settling peace with the Parliament.
	17 April. The Queen leaves Oxford.	Spring. Sir R. Fanshawe made Secretary for War to the Prince of Wales, then 14 years old.
		18 May. Sir R. Fanshawe marries Ann Harrison at Wolvercote Church, near Oxford.
	16 June. Princess Henrietta born at Exeter.	

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A.D.		
1644.	29 June. Battle of Cropredy Bridge.	Sir William Boteler killed.
	2 July. Battle of Marston Moor.	Sir Simon Fanshawe engaged and taken prisoner.
	14 July. The Queen sails from Falmouth.	
	2 September. Surrender of the Foot of Parliament at Lostwithiel. King visits Exeter.	
	27 October. Second battle of Newbury.	
	24 November. Publication of Milton's "Areopagitica."	
	December. Formation of the Council of the Prince of Wales.	
1645.	January. Uxbridge negotiations.	
		7 February. Sir Richard Fanshawe nominated to be Resident in Spain.
		23 February. Son born to Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe, in Trinity College, Oxford. Died 10 March.
	5 March. The Prince of Wales leaves Oxford.	8 March (?) Sir R. Fanshawe leaves Oxford.
	22 May–5 June. Siege of Oxford.	15 May. Lady Fanshawe leaves Oxford and reaches Bristol on 20 May.

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A.D.		
1645.	14 June. Battle of Naseby.	June. Lady Fanshawe at Barnstaple. July to end of November, at Launceston.
	3 July. Siege of Taunton raised.	
	10 July. Battle of Langport. Defeat of Lord Goring.	
	23 July. Capture of Bridgewater.	
	11 September. Bristol surrendered by Prince Rupert.	September. Sir R. Fanshawe at Exeter with the Prince of Wales.
	13 September. Defeat of Marquis of Montrose at Philiphaugh.	
	14 October. Storm of Basing House.	
	27 October. Petition of Royalist officers to the King at Newark.	
	5 November. King returns to Oxford.	
		December. Lady Fanshawe at Truro.
1646.	16 February. Defeat of Lord Hopton at Torrington.	February. Lady Fanshawe at Penzance.
	2 March. Prince of Wales sails to Scilly Islands.	3 March. Lady Fanshawe sails from Land's End, and reaches Scilly Isles 4 March.
	16 April. Prince of Wales leaves Scilly for Jersey.	Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe accompany the Prince to Jersey.

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A.D.		
1646.	27 April. The King leaves Oxford, and reaches Newcastle on 13 May.	
	20 June. Oxford surrenders.	7 June. Daughter Ann born to Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe. Died 1654.
	25 June. The Prince of Wales leaves Jersey and proceeds to Paris.	
		September. Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe leave Jersey for Caen, and Lady Fanshawe goes to England.
1647.	28 January. The King surrendered by the Scots. 16 February, arrives at Holmby House.	January. Sir R. Fanshawe goes to England and petitions to compound on 14 January.
		30 May. Son, Henry, born to Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe. Died 1649.
	4 June. King carried off from Holmby House by the Army.	Translation of "Pastor Fido," and other poems by Sir Richard, first published.
		July. Sir R. Fanshawe returns to Jersey for a week.
	24 August to 11 November. King at Hampton Court.	
		September, or early October. Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe visit the King at Hampton Court, and in October proceed to France.

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A.D.		
1647.	10 – 11 November. Flight of King from Hampton Court.	
	14 November. Arrival at Carisbrook Castle, Isle of Wight.	
1648.		February or April. Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe return to England, and go to Hamerton, Hunts.
	13 June–27 August. Siege of Colchester. Lord Capel among the officers who surrender.	8 June. Son, Richard, born to Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe at Hamerton. Died 1659.
	9–10 July. Royalists under the Earl of Holland and the Duke of Buckingham defeated at St. Neots.	Lady Fanshawe passes through St. Neots.
	18 August. Battle of Preston.	Republication of the "Pastor Fido," etc.
	29–31 August. Fleet of Prince of Wales in the Thames.	Sir Richard Fanshawe on the Fleet with the Prince.
	29 September. Marquis of Ormonde lands at Cork.	
		November. Lady Fanshawe joins her husband in Paris. He goes to Ireland at the end of the month, and is made Treasurer at War to the Fleet.

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A.D.		
1648.	1 December. King removed from Carisbrook to Hurst Castle.	
	6–7 December. Pride's Purge.	
	23 December. King brought to Windsor	
1649.	19 January. King brought to St. James.	January. Lady Fanshawe proceeds to Calais and London.
	20–27 January. Trial of the King.	
	30 January. Execution of King Charles I.	
		13 February. Sir Richard Fanshawe learns the news of the King's death in Kinsale.
		March to middle of April. Sir Richard Fanshawe visits Charles II at the Hague, and returns to Ireland.
		May, first week. Lady Fanshawe lands at Youghall, in Ireland, and goes to Cork.
	15 August. Cromwell lands in Ireland.	
	11 September. Storm of Drogheda.	
	12 October. Storm of Wexford.	
	16 October. Rising in Cork. Irish expelled.	Flight of Lady Fanshawe and her family to Kinsale.

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A.D.		
1649.	8 November. Death of Earl of Roscommon in Limerick.	November and December. Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe in Limerick, and with Lady Honora O'Brien.
1650.		January. Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe in Galway.
		8 February. Grant of honourable augmentation of arms to Sir Richard Fanshawe, and to all members of the Fanshawe family.
		February, early. Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe sail for Malaga, and arrive there early in March.
		15 April. Reach Madrid.
	21 May. Marquis of Montrose executed.	
	25 May. Charles II sails from Terheyden, and lands at Speymouth, in Cromarty Frith.	
	6 June. Murder of Anthony Ascham, agent of Parliament, in Madrid.	
		13 July. Daughter, Elizabeth, born to Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe, and dies 26 July.
		August, early (*c.*). Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe leave Madrid.
	3 September. Battle of Dunbar.	2 September. Sir Richard Fanshawe created a baronet.

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A.D.		
1650.		September, early. Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe reach St. Sebastian, and are shipwrecked near Nantes.
	4 November. Birth of William III, Prince of Orange.	November, early. Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe reach Paris.
1651.	1 January. Charles II crowned at Scone.	January. Lady Fanshawe proceeds to Calais and London, and Sir Richard to Holland, and early in February sails from Brill to Scotland. In March he is in Dundee, in April appointed Clerk of the Council, in May is at Perth, and in June at Stirling.
		24 June. Daughter, Elizabeth, born to Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe. Died 1655.
	31 July. King and Scots army start for England, and reach Worcester on 22 August.	
	3 September. Battle of Worcester.	4 September. Sir R. Fanshawe captured near Newport.
		13 September. Sir R. Fanshawe brought to London. Warrant of commitment to the Tower issued. Consigned to close custody at Whitehall.
	16 October. Charles II escapes from Shoreham to Fécamp.	

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A.D.		
1651.		28 November. Sir R. Fanshawe released on bail by reason of severe sickness. Translation of Horace by Sir Richard published.
1652.		30 July. Daughter, Katherine, born to Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe. November. Fresh bail granted to Sir R. Fanshawe. Winter spent at Bayfordbury, Herts.
1653.		March. Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe and family remove to Tankersley, near Wentworth, Yorkshire. 8 October. Daughter, Margaret, born.
1653.	16 December. Cromwell declared Lord Protector.	
1654.		22 July. Death of daughter, Ann, at the age of eight. From end of August Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe spend six months at Hamerton, Hunts. They spend Christmas with Sir Philip and Lady Warwick (widow of Sir William Boteler), at Frogpool, Kent.
1655.		Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe reside all the year in Chancery Lane. 22 February. Daughter, Ann, born.

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A.D.		
1655.		Sir Richard's translation of the "Lusiads" of Camoëns published.
1656.	Jamaica captured by the English.	12 July. Daughter, Mary, born to Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe. Died August, 1660. September. Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe reside at Bengeo, near Ware Park, Herts.
1657.		August. Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe visit Bath, and in the autumn reside at Friary (or Priory), Ware.
1658.	28 June. The English receive possession of Dunkirk.	Sir Richard's "La Fida Pastora" published.
	3 September. Death of Oliver Cromwell.	24 September. Pass granted to Sir Richard Fanshawe to go abroad.
1659.	22 April. Richard Cromwell resigns the Protectorate.	April – June. Correspondence between Sir E. Hyde and Sir R. Fanshawe. Promise of posts of Latin Secretary and Master of Requests to the latter.
	May. Committee of Public Safety formed at Wallingford House.	
		June, early. Lady Fanshawe and her family go to Paris.
		13 October. Death of son, Richard, at age of 11 years 4½ months.
		November. Sir R. Fanshawe and Lady Fanshawe meet King Charles II again.

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A.D.		
1659.		December. Lady Fanshawe goes quietly to England.
	Defeat of Don Luis de Haro at the battle of Elvas.	
1660.		January–February. Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe at Bruges, Ghent, and Brussels.
		12 January. Letters patent for appointment of Sir R. Fanshawe to the posts of Latin Secretary and Master of Requests.
	4 April. Declaration of Breda.	April, at Breda; Sir R. Fanshawe knighted there.
	8 May. King Charles II proclaimed in London.	May, early, at the Hague.
	23 May. King sails from Scheveling, and reaches Dover on 25 May.	23–25 May. Sir Richard crosses in the King's ship, his family crossing in the *Speedwell*.
	29 May. Entry into London and Whitehall.	
		June. Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe reside in Portugal Row, Lincoln's Inn Fields.
		7 August. Letters patent regranting post of King's Remembrancer to Sir Thomas Fanshawe and relations of his.
		10 December. Sir Thomas Fanshawe, of Jenkins, knighted.

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A.D.		
1661.		January. Sir R. Fanshawe made Chancellor *pro tem.* of the Order of the Garter.
	23 April. King's Coronation.	22 April. Sir Thomas Fanshawe the younger, of Ware, made Knight of the Bath.
	8 May. Opening of the Cavalier Parliament, which lasted till January, 1679.	Sir R. Fanshawe, member for Cambridge University, elected 9 March, and Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Ware, K.B., and his son (also Sir Thomas Fanshawe, K.B.), members for Hertford County and Hertford Borough.
	15–17 April. Chapter of the Garter at Windsor.	Sir R. Fanshawe acts as Chancellor of the Order, and is invested with the Garter of the Earl of Bristol (Lord George Digby).
		20 August. Sir Thomas Fanshawe, K.B., senior, created Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore, Ireland. Patent of peerage dated 6 September. Grant of Supporters dated 6 January, 1662.
		September. Sir R. Fanshawe proceeds to Portugal as Envoy, to complete the Portuguese match.
		Christmas week. Sir R. Fanshawe returns to England.
1662.		22 February. Daughter, Elizabeth, born to Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe.

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A.D.

1662. 13 May. The Infanta, Catherine of Braganza, lands at Portsmouth.

21 May. Marriage of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza at Portsmouth.

Sir R. Fanshawe present at the marriage.

29 May. King and Queen arrive at Hampton Court, and Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe wait upon them there.

8 June. Sir R. Fanshawe sworn of the Privy Council of Ireland.

Sir R. Fanshawe appointed Ambassador to Portugal, and leaves Hampton Court with his family on 10 August.

31 August. Sails from Plymouth.

14–24 September. Arrives at Belem, on the Tagus.

1663. 15–25 May. Emeute of mob in Lisbon.

8 June. Battle of Evora. Don Juan of Austria defeated by Count Schomberg.

26 June. Son, Richard, born to Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe, and dies.

23 August. Sir R. Fanshawe and his family leave Lisbon, and arrive at Deal on 4 September.

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A.D.		
1663.		2 October. Sir R. Fanshawe sworn of the Privy Council of England.
1664.		21 January. Sir Richard, on appointment to be Ambassador in Spain, leaves London.
		23 January. Reaches Portsmouth.
		31 January. Sails from Portsmouth; and, 15 February, from Torbay.
		23 February–5 March. Arrives at Cadiz.
		30 April. Reaches Vallecas, near Madrid.
		8 June. Moves to residence in Madrid.
		18 June. His first audience of the King, Philip IV, and the Queen, Maria Anna.
		24 June. Lady Fanshawe has audience of the Queen.
		16 August. Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe move to the Siete Chimeneas House, Madrid.
		October. Visits to Aranjuez and the Escorial.
		15 December. Appearance of comet at Madrid.
1665.	22 February. Declaration of war with Holland.	
		26 March. Easter Day. Death of the first Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore.

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A.D.

1665.

Marriage of the second Viscount Fanshawe to the widow (*née* Evelyn) of Sir John Wray. He becomes sixth King's Remembrancer.

3 June. Victory of English fleet over the Dutch.

June–December. Plague in London.

17 June. Battle of Montes Claros. Defeat of Marques of Caraçena by Count Schomberg.

2 August. Failure of attack on Bergen by the Earl of Sandwich.

6 August. Son, Richard, second Baronet, born to Sir R. and Lady Fanshawe in Madrid. Died July, 1694.

3 September. Capture of Dutch East Indiamen by the Earl of Sandwich.

17 September. Death of Philip IV of Spain, and accession of Charles II.

8 October. Charles II proclaimed King in Madrid.

December, early. The Earl of Sandwich nominated to be Ambassador Extraordinary in Spain.

16–17 December. Conditional treaty between England and

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A.D.

Spain concluded by Sir R. Fanshawe and the Duke of Medina de las Torres.

1666. 14 January. Present to Sir R. Fanshawe from the Spanish Crown.

16 January. Sir R. Fanshawe starts for Portugal, and returns to Madrid with Sir Robert Southwell on 8 March.

10 February. War declared between France and England.

12–22 March. Lord Sandwich reaches Coruña.

15–25 April. The Infanta Margarita Teresa married to the Emperor Leopold I by the proxy of the Duke of Medina de las Torres, and leaves Madrid on the 18th–28th.

18-28 May. Lord Sandwich reaches Madrid, and, 29 May, delivers letters of revocation to Sir R. Fanshawe.

5–15 June. Sir R. Fanshawe falls ill of fever.

16–26 June. Death of Sir R. Fanshawe.

4 July. Funeral sermon of Sir R. Fanshawe preached by the Rev. Mr. Bagshawe.

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A.D.		
1666.		8 July. Lady Fanshawe and her family leave Madrid, and reach Bilbao on 21 July.
	2–7 September. Great Fire of London.	
		30 October. Lady Fanshawe reaches Paris, and arrives at London on 2–12 November.
		17 November. Sir Richard Fanshawe buried in All Hallows Church, Hertford.
1667.	June. The Dutch burn English men-of-war in the Medway.	
	3 July. Peace of Breda with Holland.	
	30 August. Fall of Lord Clarendon.	
1668.		Death of Lady Fanshawe, widow of the first Viscount Fanshawe.
	April. Triple Alliance against France.	
1669.	21–31 August. Death of Queen Henrietta Maria at Colombes.	
		28 September. Death of Sir John Harrison.
1670.	22 May. Treaty of Dover.	18 May. Burial of Sir R. Fanshawe in St. Mary's Chapel, in the Parish Church of Ware.
	30 June. Death of the Princess Henrietta of Orleans.	
1671.		Publication of Sir Richard's translations of "Querer por solo querer," and "Fiestas de Aranjuez."

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A.D.		
1674.		May. Death of the second Viscount Fanshawe, and succession of his son Evelyn (born August, 1669) as third Viscount.
1675.		June. Margaret, daughter of Sir Richard, marries Vincent Grantham. 25 November. Grant by letters patent of post of King's Remembrancer to Henry, Charles, and Simon Fanshawe, sons of first Viscount Fanshawe, successively, saving the rights of Evelyn, Viscount Fanshawe, on his coming of age.
1679.	May. Habeas Corpus Act passed.	Henry Fanshawe, seventh King's Remembrancer.
1680.		20 January. Burial of Lady Fanshawe with her husband in Ware Church. 3 March. William Fanshawe, husband of the sister of the Duke of Monmouth, made a Master of Requests. 11 March. Death of Sir Simon Fanshawe, the last survivor of the generation of Sir Richard.
1685.	6 February. Death of Charles II, and succession of James II. 6 July. Battle of Sedgemoor.	August. Charles Fanshawe becomes eighth King's Remembrancer.

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A.D.

1687. April. Declaration of Indulgence.

October. Death of Evelyn, Viscount Fanshawe, at Aleppo, and succession of Charles, fourth Viscount Fanshawe.

1688. 10 June. Birth of the Prince of Wales—the Old Pretender.

1688. 12 December to
1689. 12 February. *Interregnum.*

22 January. Convention Parliament meets.

28 January. In debate in the House of Commons, Viscount Fanshawe, M.P. for Michael Borough, speaks against declaring the throne vacant. On 13 May, upon declining to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, he is discharged from being a member of the House.

13 February. William and Mary.

6 April. Death of John Fanshawe of Parsloes, son of William (d. 1634).

1690. 1 July. Battle of the Boyne.

1692. 5 May. Viscount Fanshawe committed to the Tower.

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A.D.		
1694.		July. Death of Sir R. Fanshawe, second baronet, unmarried, and lapse of baronetcy.
1699.	December. William III.	
		Death of John Fanshawe of Parsloes, younger son of John Fanshawe (d. 1689), ancestor of the Parsloes branch of the family.
1702.	Queen Anne.	
1705.		29 March. Death of Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins.
1708.		June. Death of William Fanshawe, elder son of John Fanshawe of Parsloes (d. 1689), ancestor of the Dengey branch of the Fanshawe family.
1709.		Trinity. Simon Fanshawe becomes the ninth and the last Queen's Remembrancer of the family.
1710.		Death of Charles, Viscount Fanshawe, and succession of his brother Simon, fifth and last Viscount Fanshawe.
1714.	1 August. George I.	
1716.		Death of Simon, fifth Viscount Fanshawe, unmarried, and extinction of title.

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THE MEMOIRS OF ANN LADY FANSHAWE

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MEMOIRS OF ANN LADY FANSHAWE

GLORY BE TO GOD, AMEN.

I HAVE thought it convenient to discourse to you, my most dear and only son, the most remarkable actions and accidents of your family; as well as those of more eminent ones of your father and my life; and necessity, not delight nor revenge, hath made me insert some passages which will reflect on their owners, as the praises of others will be but just, which is my intention in this narrative. I would not have you be a stranger to it, because by the example you may imitate what is applicable to your condition in the world, and endeavour to avoid those misfortunes we have passed through, if God pleases.

Endeavour to be innocent as a dove, but as wise as a serpent; and let this lesson direct you most in the greatest extremes of fortune.

Hate idleness, and curb all passions. Be true in all words and actions; and unnecessarily deliver not your opinion, but when you do, let it be just, and considered, and plain.

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Be charitable in thought, word, and deed, and ever ready to forgive injury done to yourself, and be more pleased to do good than to receive good. Be civil and obliging to all, dutiful where God and nature command you; but friend to one — and that friendship keep sacred as the greatest tie upon earth. And be sure to ground it upon virtue, for no other is either happy or lasting.

Endeavour always to be content in that estate of life which it hath pleased God to call you to, and think it a great fault not to employ your time either for the good of your soul, or in improvement of your understanding, health, or estate; and as these are the most pleasant pastimes, so it will make you a cheerful old age, which is as necessary for you to design, as to make provision to support the infirmities which decay of strength brings—and it was never seen that a vicious youth terminated in a contented, cheerful old age, but perished out of countenance.

Ever keep the best qualified person company, out of whom you will find advantage, and reserve some hours daily to examine yourself and fortune; for if you embark yourself in perpetual conversation or recreation, you will certainly shipwreck your mind and fortune. Remember the proverb, "Such as his company is, such is

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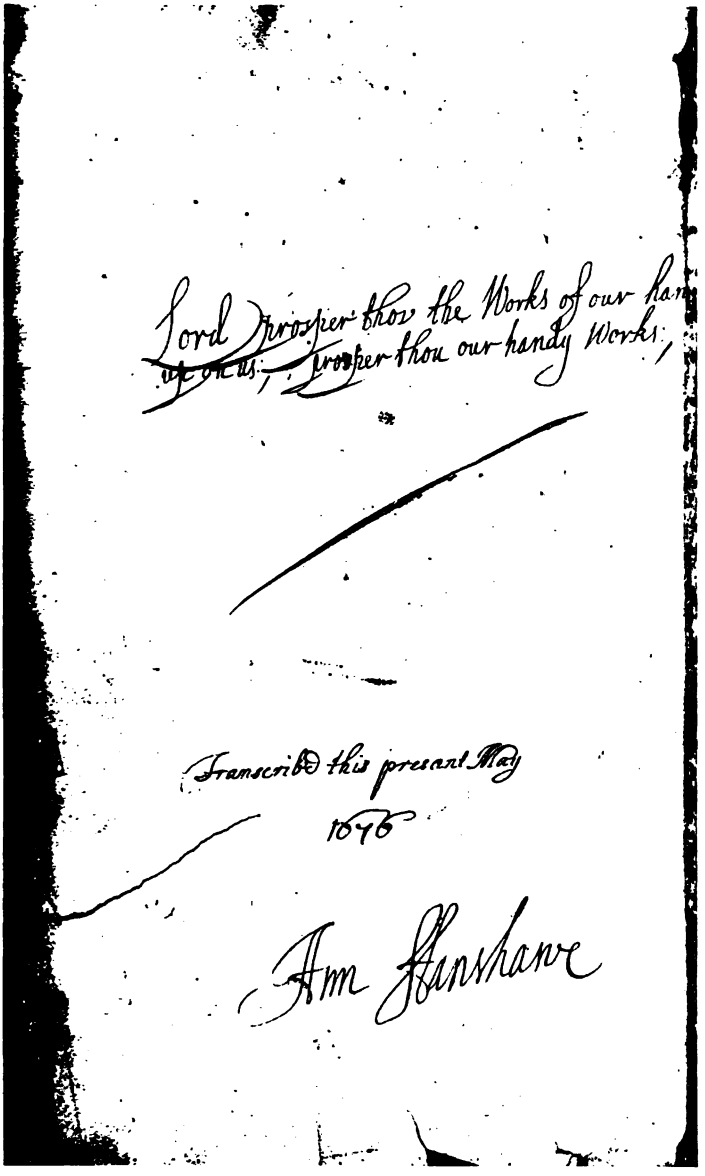

FACSIMILE OF THE FIRST PAGE OF THE MS. OF LADY FANSHAWE'S "MEMOIRS"

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the man"; and have glorious actions before your eyes, and think what shall be your portion in Heaven, as well as what you desire on earth.

Manage your fortune prudently, and forget not that you must give God an account hereafter, and upon all occasions remember your father, whose true image though I can never draw to the life (unless God will grant me that blessing in you), yet because you were but ten months and ten days old when God took him out of the world, I will for your advantage shew you him with all truth and without partiality.

He was of the highest size of men, strong, and of the best proportion, his complexion sanguine, his skin exceeding fair, his hair dark brown and very curling, but not very long, his eyes gray and penetrating, his nose high, his countenance gracious and wise, his motion good, his speech clear and distinct. He never used exercise but walking, and that generally with some book in his hand, which often-times was poetry, in which he spent his idle hours. Sometimes he would ride out to take the air; but his most delight was to go only with me in a coach some miles, and there discourse of those things which then most pleased him of what nature soever. He was very obliging to all, and forward to serve his master, his country and friends, cheerful in

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his conversation, his discourse ever pleasant, mixed with the sayings of wise men and their histories, repeated as occasion offered; yet so reserved that he never shewed the thought of his heart in its greatest sense but to myself only. And this I thank God with all my soul for, that he never discovered his trouble to me but went from me with perfect cheerfulness and content; nor revealed he his joys and hopes but would say that they were doubled by putting them in my breast. I never heard him hold dispute in my life, but often he would speak against it, saying it was an uncharitable custom, which never returned to the advantage of either party. He would never be drawn to the faction of either Party, saying he found it sufficient honestly to perform that employment he was in. He loved and used clearness in all his actions, and professed his religion in his life and conversation. He was a true Protestant of the Church of England, so born, so brought up, and so died. His conversation was so honest that I never heard him speak a word in my life that tended to God's dishonour or encouragement of any kind of debauchery or sin. He was ever much esteemed by his two masters, Charles the First and Charles the Second, both for great parts and honesty, as for his conversation, in which

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SIR RICHARD FANSHAWE AND HIS SON RICHARD, OB. 1659

From the painting in the possession of Mr. H. E. Fanshawe

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they took great delight, he being so free from passion that made him beloved of all that knew him; nor did I ever see him moved but with his master's concerns, in which he would hotly pursue his interest through the greatest difficulties.

He was the tenderest father imaginable, the carefulest and most generous master I ever knew. He loved hospitality, and would often say it was wholly essential for the constitution of England. He loved and kept order with the greatest decency possible, and though he would say I managed his domestics wholly, yet I ever governed them and myself by his commands, in the managing of which I thank God I found his approbation and content.

Now you will expect I should say something that may remain of us jointly, which I will do, though it makes my eyes gush out with tears, and cuts me to the soul, to remember and in part express the joys I was blessed with in him. Glory be to God we never had but one mind throughout our lives, our souls were wrapped up in each other, our aims and designs one, our loves one, and our resentments one. We so studied one the other that we knew each other's mind by our looks; whatever was real happiness, God gave it me in him. But to commend my better half (which I want sufficient expression

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for) methinks is to commend myself, and so may bear a censure; but might it be permitted, I could dwell eternally in his praise most justly; but thus without offence I do, and so you may, imitate him in his patience, his prudence, his chastity, his generosity, his perfect resignation to God's will, and praise God for him as long as you live here, and with him hereafter in the kingdom of Heaven. Amen.

Your father was born in Ware Park, in the month of June, in the year of our Lord God 1608, and was the tenth child of Sir Henry Fanshawe, whose father bought Jenkins in Essex, and Ware Park in Hertfordshire. This your great-grandfather came out of Derbyshire from a small estate, Fanshawe-Gate, being the principal part that then that family had, which exceeded not above two hundred pounds a year; and about so much more they had in the town and parish of Dronfield, within two miles of Fanshawe-Gate, where the family had been some hundreds of years, as appears by the church of Dronfield, in the chancel of which church I have seen several gravestones, with the names of that family, many of them very ancient; and the chancel, which is very old, was and is kept wholly for a burying place for that family.

There is in that town a free school, with a very

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good house and noble endowment, founded by your great-grandfather, who was sent for to London in Henry the Eighth's time, by an uncle of his, and of his own name, to be brought up a clerk under his uncle Thomas Fanshawe, who procured your great-grandfather's life to be put with his in the patent of Remembrancer of his Majesty's Exchequer; which place he enjoyed after the death of his uncle, he having left no male issue [but] only two daughters, who had both great fortunes in land and money, and married into the best families in Essex at that time. This was the rise of your great-grandfather, who, with his office and his Derbyshire estate, raised the family to what it hath been and is now. He had one only brother, Robert Fanshawe, who had a good estate in Derbyshire, and lived in Fanshawe-Gate, which he hired of his eldest brother your great-grandfather.

In this house my mother was born, Margaret, the youngest daughter of Robert your great-great-uncle. He married one of the daughters of Rowland Eyre, of Bradway in the same county of Derby; by whom he had twelve sons and two daughters. That family remains in Dronfield to this day.

Your great-grandfather married Alice Bourchier of the last Earl of Bath's family, by whom

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he had only one son that lived, Henry, which was your grandfather. Afterwards, when he had been two years a widower, he married one of the daughters of Customer Smythe, who had six sons and six daughters. His sons were Sir John Smythe, Sir Thomas Smythe, Sir Richard Smythe, Sir Robert Smythe, Mr. William Smythe and Mr. Edward Smythe, who died young. Two were knighted by Queen Elizabeth and two by King James. The eldest was the grandfather of the now Lord Strangford. The second had been several times ambassador, and all married into good families, and left great estates to their posterity, which remain to this day. The daughters were — Mrs. Fanshawe, your great-grandmother-in-law; the second married Sir John Scot, of Kent; the third married Sir Robert Davies, of the same county; the fourth married Sir Robert Poynts, of Leicestershire; the fifth married [William] Boteler of Harrold, Esquire; and the sixth married Sir Henry Fanshawe, your grandfather. They all left a numerous posterity but Davies, and this day they are matched into very considerable families.

Your great-grandfather had, by his second wife, Sir Thomas Fanshawe, Clerk of the Crown and Surveyor-General to King James. To him he gave his manor of Jenkins in Essex, valued at

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near two thousand a year. His second son by the same wife, William, he procured to be Auditor of the Duchy [of Lancaster], whose posterity hath in Essex at Parsloes about seven or eight hundred pounds a year. His eldest daughter married Sir Christopher Hatton, heir to the Lord Chancellor Hatton. His second married Sir Benjamin Ayloffe of Braxstead, in Essex. The third married Mr. Bullock of [Darley], in Derbyshire—all men of very great estates.

As your grandfather inherited Ware Park and his office, the flower of his father's estate, so did he of his wisdom and parts, and both were happy in the favour of the princes of that time; for Queen Elizabeth said that your great-grandfather was the best officer of accounts she had, and a person of great integrity, and your grandfather was the favourite of Prince Henry, and had the Prince lived to be king, had been Secretary of State, as he would often tell him. Mr. Camden speaks much in the praise, as you may see, of Sir Henry Fanshawe's garden of Ware Park, none excelling it in flowers, physic-herbs, and fruit, in which things he did greatly delight; also he was a great lover of music, and kept many gentlemen that were perfectly well qualified both in that, and in the Italian tongue, in which he spent some time. He likewise kept several

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horses of *manège* and rid them himself, which he delighted in; and the Prince would say, none did it better. He had great honour and generosity in his nature, to show you a little part of which I will tell you this of him. He had a horse, that the then Earl of Exeter was much pleased with, and Sir Henry esteemed because he deserved it. My lord after some apology desired Sir Henry to let him have his horse, and he would give him what he would. He replied, "My lord, I have no thoughts of selling him, but to serve you. I bought him of such a person and gave so much for him, and that shall be my price to you, as I paid, being sixty pieces." My Lord Exeter said, "That's too much; but I will give you, Sir Henry, fifty." To which he made no answer. Next day my lord sent a gentleman with sixty pieces. Sir Henry made answer, that was the price he had paid, and once had offered him my lord at; but not being accepted, his price now was eighty. At the receiving of this answer my Lord Exeter stormed and sent his servant back with seventy pieces. Sir Henry said that since my lord would not like him at eighty pieces he would not sell him under a hundred pieces, and if he returned with less he would not sell him at all; upon which my Lord Exeter sent a hundred pieces and had the horse.

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Sir Henry Fanshawe K.t of Ware Park; ob. 1616

From the painting in the possession of Mr H. E. Fanshawe

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His retinue was great, and that made him stretch his estate, which was near, if not full four thousand pound a year; yet when he died he left no debt upon his estate. He departed this life at the age of forty-eight, and lies buried in the chancel in a vault with his father in the parish church of Ware. He was as handsome and as fine a gentleman as England then had, a most excellent husband, father, friend, and servant to his prince.

He left in the care of my lady, his widow, five sons and five daughters. His eldest son succeeded him in his land and office, and after the restoration of the King was made Lord Viscount of Dromore in Ireland. He did engage his person and estate for the crown, and fought in the battle of Edgehill, and thus ruined his estate, and was the cause of his son's selling Ware Park. Afterwards he tried, by the King's assistance, to be reimbursed, but could not prevail. I guess his wound was too wide to be closed. He was a very worthy, valiant, honest, good-natured gentleman, charitable and generous, and had excellent natural parts, yet choleric and rash, which was only incommode to his own domestic family. He was a very pretty man (for he was but low), of a sanguine complexion, much of a gentleman in his mien and language. He was

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sixty-nine years of age when he died, and is buried with his ancestors in Ware Church. He married first the daughter of Sir Giles Alington, by whom he hath a daughter called Ann, who remains a maid to this day. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter to Sir William Cockayne, Lord Mayor of London. She was a very good wife, but not else qualified extraordinary in anything. She brought him many children, whereof now remain three sons and five daughters.

Thomas, Lord Viscount Fanshawe, his eldest son, died in May, 1674. He was a handsome gentleman of an excellent understanding, and great honour and honesty. He married the daughter and sole heir of Knighton Ferrers of Bayfordbury, in the county of Hertford, by whom he had no child. After his father's death he married the daughter of Sir John Evelyn, widow to Sir John Wray of Lincolnshire. By this wife he had several children, of which only two survived him—Thomas [Evelyn], now Lord Viscount Fanshawe, and Katharine. His widow is lately married unto my Lord Castleton, of Sandbeck, in Yorkshire. He lies buried with his ancestors in the parish church of Ware. Your uncle Henry, that was the second son, was killed, in fighting gallantly, in the Low

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Countries, with the English colours in his hand. He was very handsome, and a very brave young man, beloved and lamented of all that knew him. The third died a bachelor. I knew him not. The fourth is Sir Simon Fanshawe, a gallant gentleman, but more a libertine than any one of his family. He married a very fine and good woman, and of a great estate. She was daughter and co-heir to Sir William Walter, and widow to Knighton Ferrers, Esquire, son to Sir John Ferrers, of Hertfordshire.

Your father, Sir Richard Fanshawe, Knight and Baronet, one of the Masters of the Requests, Secretary of the Latin tongue, Burgess for the University of Cambridge, and one of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council of England and Ireland, and his Majesty's Ambassador to Portugal and Spain, was the fifth and youngest son. He married me, the eldest daughter of Sir John Harrison, Knight, of Balls, in the county of Hertford. He was married at thirty-five years of age, and lived with me but twenty-three years and twenty-nine days. He lies buried in a new vault I purchased of Humphry, Lord Bishop of London, in St. Mary's Chapel in the church of Ware, near his ancestors, over which I built him a monument.

My dear husband had six sons and eight

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daughters, born and christened, and I miscarried of six more, three at several times, and once of three sons when I was about half gone my time. Harrison, my eldest son, and Henry my second son, Richard my third, and Henry my fourth, and Richard my fifth are all dead. My [third] lies buried in the Protestant churchyard in Paris, by the father of the Earl of Bristol. My eldest daughter Ann lies buried in the parish church of Tankersley in Yorkshire, where she died. Elizabeth lies in the chapel of the French Hospital at Madrid, where she died of a fever at ten days old. My next daughter, of her name, lies buried in the parish of Foot's Cray, in Kent, near Frogpool, my brother Warwick's house, where she died; and my fourth daughter Mary lies in my father's vault in Hertford, with my first son Henry. My eldest lies buried in the parish church of St. John's College, in Oxford, where he was born. My second Henry lies in Bengeo church, in Hertfordshire; and my second Richard in the Esperança in Lisbon in Portugal, he being born ten weeks before my time, when I was in that court. I praise God I have living yourself and four sisters: Katherine, unmarried; Margaret, married to Vincent Grantham, Esqre., of Goltho, in the county of Lincoln; Ann, and Elizabeth.

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Now that I have shewn you the most part of your family by the male line, except Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins, who hath but one child, and that a daughter, and two brothers, both unmarried. Their father, as well as themselves, was a worthy, honest gentleman, and a great sufferer for the crown, wholly engaging his estate for the maintenance thereof. And so is my cousin, John Fanshawe of Parsloes, in Essex, who hath but two sons—one (unmarried) by his first wife, who was the daughter of Sir William Kingsmill, and the other is a child whom he had by his last wife, the daughter of my cousin, Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins. I confess I owe to Sir Thomas Fanshawe as good a character as I can express, for he fully deserves it, both for his true honour and most excellent acquired and natural parts; and, that which is of me most esteemed, he was your father's intimate friend, as well as near kinsman; and during the time of the war he was very kind to us by assisting us in our wants, which were as great as his supports, which, though I thank God I have fully repaid, yet [I] must ever remain obliged for his kindness and esteem he hath for us. He married the daughter and heir of Sir Edward Heath, a pretty lady and good woman.

But I must here with thankfulness acknow-

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ledge God's bounty to your family, who hath bestowed most excellent wives on most of them, both in person and fortune. But with respect to the rest, I must give with all reverence justly your grandmother the first and best place, who being left a widow at thirty-nine years of age, handsome, with a full fortune, all her children provided for, kept herself a widow, and out of her jointure and revenue purchased six hundred pounds a year for the younger children of her eldest son; besides, she added five hundred pounds apiece to the portions of her younger children, having nine; whereof but one daughter was married before the death of Sir Henry Fanshawe, and she was the second. Her name was Mary, married to William Newce, Esqre., of Hadham, in Hertfordshire. The eldest daughter married Sir Capel Bedell, of Hamerton, in Huntingdonshire. The third never married. The fourth married Sir William Boteler of Teston, in Kent. The fifth died young.

Thus you have been made acquainted with most of your nearest relations by your father, except your cousins-german, which are the three sons of your uncle, Lord Fanshawe, and William Newce, Esqre., and his two brothers, and Sir Oliver Boteler and my Lady Cambell of Essex, and three maiden sisters of hers, and my Lady

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Leventhorpe of Blakesware, in Hertfordshire. There were more, but they are dead, and so is the most part of them I have named; but their memories will remain as long as their names for honest, worthy, virtuous men and women, who served God in their generations, in their several capacities. And without vanity, none exceeded them in their loyalty, which cost them dear; for there was as many fathers, sons, uncles, nephews, cousins-german, and those that matched to them, engaged and sequestered for the crown in the time of the late rebellion, as their revenue made near eighty thousand pounds a year. And this I have often seen a list of, and know it to be true. The use of which to you is that you should not omit your duty to your king and country, nor be less in your industry to exceed—at least, not shame—the excellent memory of your ancestors. They were all eminent officers; and that, I believe, keeping them ever employed, made them so good men. I hope in God the like parallel will be in you, which I heartily and daily pray for.

I was born in St. Olaves, Hart Street, London, in a house that my father took of the Lord Dingwall, father to the now Duchess of Ormonde, in the year 1625, on Our Lady Day, the 25th day of March. Mr. Hyde, Lady Aston, and Lady

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Wolstenholme were my godfather and godmothers. In that house I lived in the winter-time until I was fifteen years old [and] three months, with my ever-honoured and most dear mother, who departed this life on the 30th day of July, 1640, and now lies buried in [All] Hallows Church, in Hertford. Her funeral cost my father about a thousand pounds, and Doctor Holdsworth preached her funeral sermon; in which, upon his own knowledge, he told before many hundreds of people this accident following: that my mother being sick to death of a fever three months after I was born—which was the occasion she gave me suck no longer—her friends and servants thought to all outward appearance that she was dead, and so [she] lay almost two days and a night: but Doctor Winston coming to comfort my father, went into my mother's chamber, and looking earnestly in her face, said, "She is so handsome and now looks so lovely I cannot think she is dead"; and suddenly took a lancet out of his pocket, and with it cut the sole of her foot, which bled. Upon this he immediately caused her to be laid upon her bed again, and to be rubbed, and such means used that she came to life, and opening her eyes saw two of her kinswomen stand by her, my Lady Knollys and my Lady Russell,

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CHURCH OF ST. OLAVE, HART ST., LONDON, CITY

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both with great wide sleeves, as the fashion was then. And [she] said, "Did ye not promise me fifteen years? and are you come again?" Which they not understanding persuaded her to keep her spirits quiet, in that great weakness wherein she then was. But some few hours after she desired my father and Doctor Holdsworth might be left alone with her, to whom she said, "I will acquaint you that during the time of my trance I was in great quiet, but in a place I could neither distinguish nor describe; but the sense of leaving my girl, which is dearer to me than all my children, remained a trouble upon my spirit. Suddenly I saw two by me clothed in long white garments, and methought I fell down with my face in the dust; and they asked why I was troubled in so great happiness. I replied, 'Oh let me have the same grant given to Hezekiah, that I may live fifteen years to see my daughter a woman.' To which they answered, 'It is done'; and then at that instant I awaked out of my trance." And Doctor Holdsworth did there affirm that that day she died made just fifteen years from that time.

My dear mother was of excellent beauty and good understanding, a loving wife and most tender mother, very pious, and charitable to that degree that she relieved (besides the offal of the

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table which she constantly gave to the poor) many with her own hand daily out of her purse, and dressed many wounds of miserable people, when she had her health; and when that failed, as it did often, she caused her servant to supply that place.

She left behind her three sons, all much older than myself. The eldest, John, married three wives. By his last, which was the daughter of Mr. Ludlow, a very ancient and noble family, he left two daughters, which are both unmarried. My second brother, William, died at Oxford with a bruise on his side caused by the fall of his horse, which was shot under him as he went out with a party of horse against a party of the Earl of Essex in 1643. He was a very good and gallant young man, and they are the very words the King said of him when he was told of his death. He was much lamented by all that knew him. The third, Abraham, hath left no issue. I was the fourth, and my sister Margaret the fifth, who married Sir Edmund Turnor of South Stoke in Lincolnshire, a worthy, pious man.

My father in his old age married again, the daughter of Mr. Shotbolt of Hertfordshire, and had by her a son Richard and a daughter Mary. The son married the eldest daughter of the now Lord Grandison, and the daughter married the

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eldest son of Sir Rowland Lytton, of Knebworth, in Hertfordshire. My father lived to see them both married, and enjoyed a firm health until above eighty years of age. He was a handsome gentleman, of great natural parts, a great accountant, of vast memory, an incomparable penman, of great integrity and service to his Prince, had been a member of five Parliaments, a good husband and father, especially to me, who never can sufficiently praise God for him nor acknowledge his most tender affection and bounty to me and mine; but as in duty bound I will say none ever had a kinder and better father than myself. He died on the 28th day of September, 16[69], and lies buried by my mother in his own vault in All Hallows Church in Hertford.

My father was born in Bemond, in Lancashire, the twelfth son of his father, whose mother was the daughter of Mr. Heysham, cousin-german to the old Countess of Rivers. I have little knowledge of my father's relations, more than the families of Aston, Ireland, Sandys, Bemond, and Curwen, who brought him to London, and placed him with my Lord Treasurer Salisbury, then Secretary of Estate, who sent him into Sir John Wolstenholme's family, and gave him a small place in the Custom House to enable him

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paid, and prayed to go home. But afterwards their plague infected the whole nation, as to all our sorrows we know, and this debt of my father remained to him until the restoration of the King. In 1642 my father was taken prisoner at his house, called Montague House, in Bishopsgate Street, and threatened to be sent aboard a ship into the Plantations, with many more of his own quality; and then they plundered his house, but he getting loose under pretence to fetch some writings they demanded in his hands concerning the public revenue, he went to Oxford in 1643, and thereupon the Long Parliament (of which he was a member for the town of Lancaster) plundered him out of what remained, and sequestered his whole estate, which continued out of his possession until the happy restoration of the King.

My father commanded my sister and myself to come to him to Oxford, where the Court then was; but we that had till that hour lived in great plenty and great order found ourselves like fishes out of water, and the scene so changed that we knew not at all how to act any part but obedience. For from as good house as any gentleman of England had we come to a baker's house in an obscure street, and from rooms well furnished to lie in a very bad bed in a garret;

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to one dish of meat, and that not the best ordered; no money, for we were as poor as Job; nor clothes more than a man or two brought in their cloak bags. We had the perpetual discourse of losing and gaining of towns and men; at the windows the sad spectacle of war, sometimes plague, sometimes sicknesses of other kinds, by reason of so many people being packed together, as I believe there never was before of that quality; always want; yet I must needs say that most bore it with a martyr-like cheerfulness. For my own part I begun to think we should all like Abraham live in tents all the days of our lives. The King sent my father a warrant for a baronet, but he returned it with thanks, saying he had too much honour of his knighthood which his Majesty had honoured him with some years before for the fortune he now possessed. But as, in a wrack, the turbulence of the waves disperses the splinters of the rock, so it was my lot; for having buried my dear brother William Harrison, in Exeter College Chapel, I then married your dear father, in 1644, in Wolvercote Church, two miles from Oxford, upon the 18th of May. None was at our wedding but my dear father (who by my mother's desire gave me her wedding ring, with which I was married) and my sister Margaret

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and my brother and sister Boteler, Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Chancellor, and Sir Geoffrey Palmer, the King's Attorney. Before I was married my husband was sworn Secretary of War to the Prince, now our King, with a promise from Charles the First to be preferred so soon as occasion offered it. But both his fortunes and my promised portion, which was made ten thousand pounds, were both at that time in expectation, and we might truly be called merchant adventurers, for the stock we set up our trading with did not amount to twenty pounds betwixt us. But, however, it was to us as a little piece of armour is against a bullet, which, if it be right placed, though no bigger than a shilling, serves as well as a whole suit of arms. So our stock bought pens, ink, and paper, which was your father's trade; and by it, I assure you, we lived better than those that were born to two thousand pounds a year as long as he had his liberty. Here stay till I have told you your father's life until I married him.

He was but seven years old when his father died, and his mother, my Lady, designed him for the law, having bred him first with that famous schoolmaster Mr. Farnaby, and then under the tuition of Doctor Beale, in Jesus

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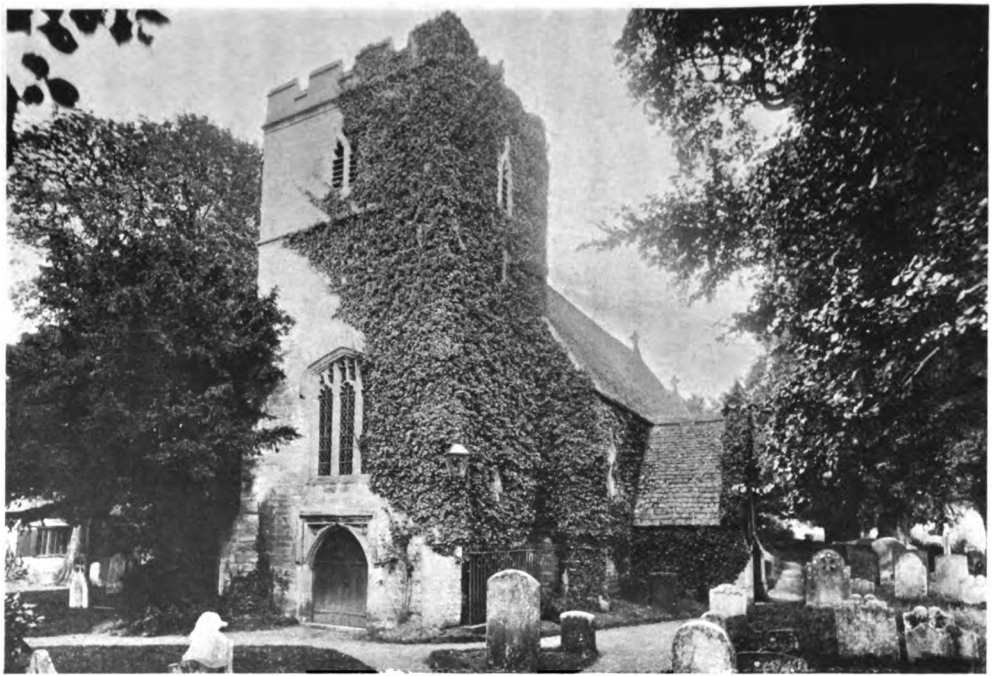

WOLVERCOTE CHURCH, NEAR OXFORD

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College in Cambridge. From whence, being a most excellent Latinist, he was admitted into the Inward Temple; but it seemed so crabbed a study and disagreeable to his inclinations, that he rather studied to obey his mother than to make any progress in the law. Upon the death of his mother, whom he dearly loved and honoured, he went into France, to Paris, where he had three cousins-german, Lord Strangford, Sir John Baker, of Kent, and my cousin Thornhill. √ The whole stock he carried with him was eighty pieces of gold, and French silver to the value of five pounds in his pockets; his gold was quilted in his doublet. He went by post to lodgings in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, with an intent to rest that night and the next day to find out his kindred. But the Devil, that never sleeps, so ordered it that two friars entered the chamber wherein he was, and welcoming him, being his countrymen, invited him to play. He innocently only intended diversion until his supper was ready; but that was not their design, for having engaged him they left him not as long as he was worth a grote. Which when they discovered, one gave him five pieces of his money until he could recruit himself by his friends, which he did the next day, and from that time forward never played for a piece. It came to

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pass that seven years after, my husband being in Huntingdonshire at a bowling green with Sir Capel Bedell and many other persons of quality, one in the company was called Captain Taller. My husband, who had a very quick and piercing eye, marked him much, as knowing his face, and found through his periwig and scarlet coat and buff suit, that his name was neither Captain nor Taller, but the honest Jesuit called Friar Sherwood that had cheated him of the greatest part of his money, and after had lent him the five pieces. So your father went to him and gave him his five pieces, and said, "Father Sherwood, I know you, and you know this." At which he was extremely surprised, and begged of your father not to discover him, for his life was in danger.

After a year's stay in Paris he travelled to Madrid in Spain, there to learn that language. At the same time for that purpose went the late Earl of Carnarvon and my Lord of Bedford, and Lord John Berkeley, and several other gentlemen. Afterwards having spent seven years abroad, he returned to London, and gave so good an account of his travels, that he was, about the year 163[5], made Secretary of the Embassy, when my Lord Aston went Ambassador. During your father's travels he had

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spent a considerable part of his stock which his father and mother had left him. In those days, when there were so many younger children, it was considerable, being fifty pounds a year, and fifteen hundred pounds in money. Upon the return of the Ambassador, your father was left resident until Sir Arthur Hopton went Ambassador, and then he came home, about the year 1637 or 1638.

And I must tell you here of an accident that your father had, coming out of Spain in his journey post. He going into a bed for some few hours to refresh himself in a village five leagues from Madrid, he slept so soundly that notwithstanding the house was on fire, and all the people of the village there, he never awaked. But the honesty of the owners was such that they carried him and set him asleep upon a piece of timber on the highway; and there he awaked, and found his portmanteau and clothes by him, without the least loss,—which is extraordinary, considering the position of his landlord, who had at that time his house burnt to the ground. After being here a year or two, and no preferment coming,—Secretary Windebank calling him Puritan, being his enemy, because himself was a Papist, he was by his eldest brother put into the place of the King's Remembrancer, absolutely,

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by little and little. Nor did I in my distressed condition lack the conversation of many of my relations then in Oxford, and kind visits of very many of the nobility and gentry, both for goodness' sake, and because your father being there in good employment, they found him serviceable to themselves or friends; as to which friendships none better distinguished between his place and person than your father.

It was in May, 1645, the first time I went out of my chamber and to church, where after service Sir William Parkhurst, a very honest gentleman, came to me and said he had a letter for me from your father, and fifty pieces of gold, and was coming to bring them me. I opened first my letter, and read there unexpressible joys, that almost overcame me. For he told me that I should the Thursday following come to him, and to that purpose he had sent me that money, and would send two of his men with horses and all accommodation both for myself, my father and sister; and that Lady Capel and Lady Brentford would meet me on the way. But that gold your father sent me when I was ready to perish did not so much revive me as his summons. I went immediately to walk, or at least to sit in the air, being very weak, in the garden of St. John's College, and there with my good father com-

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municated my joy, who took great pleasure to hear of my husband's good success, and likewise of his journey to him. We all of my household being present heard drums beat in the highway under the garden wall. My father asked me if I would go up upon the mount and see the soldiers march—for it was Sir Charles Lee's company of foot, an acquaintance of ours—I said yes, and went up, leaning my back to a tree that grew on the mount. The commander seeing us there, in compliment gave us a volley of shot, and one of their muskets being loaded shot a brace of bullets not two inches above my head as I leaned to the tree; for which mercy and deliverance I praise God. And next week we were all on our journey for Bristol, very merry, and thought that now all things would mend, and the worst of my misfortunes past. But little thought I to leap into that sea that would toss me until it had wracked me. But we were to ride all night by agreement for fear of the enemies surprising us as we passed, they quartering in the way. About nightfall, having travelled about twenty miles, we discovered a troop of horse coming towards us, which proved Sir Marmaduke Rawdon, a worthy commander and my countryman. He told me that hearing I was to pass by his garrison, he was come out

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to conduct me, he hoped, as far as there was danger, which was about twelve miles. With many thanks we parted, and having refreshed ourselves and horses we set forth for Bristol, where we arrived the 20th of May.

My husband had provided very good lodgings for us, and as soon as he could come home from the Council, where he was at my arrival, he with all expressions of joy received me in his arms, and gave me a hundred pieces of gold, saying, "I know that thou that keepest my heart, so wilt keep my fortune, which from this time I will ever put into thy hands, as God shall bless me with increase." And now I thought myself a Queen, and my husband so glorious a crown, that I more valued myself to be called by his name than born a princess; for I knew him very wise and very good, and his soul doted on me. Upon which confidence I'll tell you what happened.

My Lady Rivers, a brave woman, and one that had suffered very many thousand pounds' loss for the King, and that I had a great reverence for, and she a kindness for me as a kinswoman, in discourse she tacitly commended the knowledge of state affairs, and that some women were very happy in a good understanding thereof, as my Lady Aubigny, Lady Isabella Thynne

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and diverse others, and yet none was at first more capable than I; that in the night she knew there came a post from Paris from the Queen, and she would be extremely glad to hear what the Queen commanded the King in order to his affairs; saying if I would ask my husband privately, he would tell me what he found in the packet, and I might tell her. I that was young, innocent, and to that day had never in my mouth "What news?" begun to think there was more in inquiring into business of public affairs than I thought of, and that it being a fashionable thing would make me more beloved of my husband (if that had been possible) than I was. When my husband returned from Council, after welcoming him home, as his custom ever was, he went with his handful of papers into his study for an hour or more. I followed him. He turning hastily said, "What wouldst thou have, my life?" I told him I heard the Prince had received a packet from the Queen, and I guessed it that in his hand, and I desired to know what was in it. He smilingly replied, "My love, I will immediately come to thee. Pray thee go, for I am very busy." When he came out of his closet I revived my suit. He kissed me and talked of other things. At supper I would eat nothing; he as usually sat by me and

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drank often to me, which was his custom, and was full of discourse to [the] company that was at table. Going to bed I asked him again, and said I could not believe he loved me, if he refused to tell me all he knew; but he answered nothing but stopped my mouth with kisses. So we went to bed; I cried, and he went to sleep. Next morning very early, as his custom was, he called to rise, but begun to discourse with me first, to which I made no reply. He rose, came on the other side of the bed and kissed me, and drew the curtain softly and went to Court. When he came home to dinner, he presently came to me, as was usual, and when I had him by the hand, I said, "Thou dost not care to see me troubled." To which he, taking me in his arms, answered, "My dearest soul, nothing upon earth can afflict me like that; and when you asked me of my business, it was wholly out of my power to satisfy thee; for my life and fortune shall be thine, and every thought of my heart, in which the trust I am in may not be revealed. But my honour is my own, which I cannot preserve if I communicate the Prince's affairs; and pray thee with this answer rest satisfied." So great was his reason and goodness, that upon consideration it made my folly appear to me so vile, that from that day until the day of his death

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I never thought fit to ask him any business, but that he communicated freely to me, in order to his estate or family.

My husband grew much in the Prince's favour, and Mr. Long, not being suffered to execute the business of his place, the Council suspecting that he held private intelligence with the Earl of Essex; which when he perceived, he went into the enemies' quarters, and so to London, and then into France, full of complaints of the Prince's Council, to [the] Queen-Mother. When he was gone, your father supplied his place.

About July this year, the plague increased so fast in Bristol, that the Prince and all his retinue went to Barnstaple, which is one of the finest towns I know in England; and your father and I went two days after the Prince. For during all the time I was in Court I never journeyed but either before him, or when he was gone, nor ever saw him but at church; for it was not in those days the fashion for honest women, except they had business, to visit a man's Court. I saw there, at Mr. Palmer's where we lay—who was a merchant—a parrot above an hundred years old. They have near this town a fruit called a massard, like a cherry, but different in taste, and makes the best pies, with their sort of cream, I ever ate. My Lady Capel here left us, and with

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a pass from the Earl of Essex went to London with her eldest daughter, now Marquesse of Worcester. Sir Allan Apsley was governor of the town, and we had all sorts of good provision and accommodation; but the Prince's affairs calling him from that place, we went to Launceston in Cornwall; and thither came very many gentlemen of that county to do their duties to his Highness. They were generally loyal to the crown and hospitable to their neighbours, but they are of a crafty and censorious nature, as most are so far from London.

That country hath great plenty, especially of fish and fowl, but nothing near so fat and sweet as within forty miles of London. We were quartered at Truro, twenty miles beyond Launceston, in which place I had like to have been robbed one night. Having with me but seven or eight persons, my husband being then at Launceston with his master, some had discovered that my husband had a little trunk of the Prince's in keeping, in which were some jewels that tempted them to this essay. But, praised be God, I defended, with the few servants I had, the house so long, that help came from the town to my rescue, which was not above a flight [of] shot from the place where I dwelt; and the next day, upon my

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notice, my husband sent me a guard by his Highness's command. From thence the Court removed to Pendennis Castle, some time commanded by Sir Nicholas Slanning, who lost his life bravely in the King's service, and left an excellent name behind him. In this place came Sir John Grenvile into his Highness's service, and was made a gentleman of his bedchamber. His father was a very honest gentleman, and lost his life in the King's service; and his uncle, Sir Richard, was a good commander, but a little too severe. I was at Penzance with my father, and in the same town was my brother Fanshawe and his lady and children. My father and that family embarked for Morlaix, in Brittany, with my father's new wife, which he had then married out of that family. My cousin Fanshawe of Jenkins and his eldest son, being with them, went also over. But being in a small vessel of that port, and surprised with a great storm, they had all like to have been cast away, which forced them to land in a little creek two leagues from Morlaix, upon the 28th of [February], 1646.

Five days after, the Prince and all his Council embarked themselves in a ship called *The Phœnix* for the Isle of Scilly. They went from the Land's End, and so did we, being accompanied with many gentlemen of that country, among whom

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was Sir Francis Bassett, governor of the Mount, an honest gentleman, and so were all his family, and, in particular, we received great civility from them. But we left our horses and furniture with Captain Bluett, who promised to keep them until such time as we could dispose of them; but when we sent he said he had been plundered of them, notwithstanding it was well known he lost nothing of his own at that time. This loss went deep with us, for we lost to the value of two hundred pounds and more. But, as the proverb saith, an evil chance seldom comes alone. We having put all our present estate into two trunks, and carried them aboard with us in a ship commanded by Sir Nicholas Crispe, whose skill and honesty the master and seamen had no opinion of, my husband was forced to appease their mutiny which his miscarriage caused, and [he] taking out money to pay the seamen, that night following they broke open one of our trunks, and took out a bag of sixty pounds and a quantity of gold lace, with our best clothes and linen, and all my combs, gloves, and ribbons, which amounted to near three hundred pounds more. The next day after, having been pillaged, and extremely sick, and big with child, I was set ashore almost dead in the Island of Scilly. When we had got to our quarters near the

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Castle, where the Prince lay, I went immediately to bed, which was so vile, that my footman ever lay in a better; and we had but three in the whole house, which consisted of four rooms, or rather partitions, two low rooms and two little lofts, with a ladder to go up. In one of these they kept dry fish (which was their trade), and in this my husband's two clerks lay; one there was for my sister, and one for myself, and one amongst the rest of our servants. But when I awaked in the morning, I was so cold I knew not what to do; but the daylight discovered that our bed was near swimming with the sea, which, the owner told us afterwards, it never did so but at spring tides. With this we were destitute of clothes; and meat or fuel for half the Court, to serve them a month, was not to be had in the whole island. And truly we begged our daily bread of God, for we thought every meal our last. The Council sent for provisions into France, which served us, but they were bad, and a little of them. Then, after three weeks and odd days, we set sail for the Isle of Jersey, where we safely arrived, praised be God, beyond the belief of all the beholders from that island. For the pilot, not knowing the way into the harbour, sailed over the rocks; but, being spring tides, and by chance high

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water, God be praised, his Highness and all of us came safe ashore through so great a danger.

Sir George Carteret was Lieutenant-Governor of that island under my Lord St. Albans, a man formerly bred a sea-boy, and born in that island, the brother's son of Sir Philip Carteret, whose younger daughter he afterwards married. He endeavoured with all his power to entertain his Highness and Court with all plenty and kindness possible, both which the island afforded, and what was wanting he sent for out of France.

There is in this island two castles, both good, but St. Mary's is the best, and hath the largest reception. There is many gentlemen's houses, at which we were entertained. They have fine walks along to their doors of double elms or oaks, which is extremely pleasant, and their ordinary highways are good walks by reason of the shadow. The whole place is grass, except some small parcels of corn ground. Their chiefest employment is knitting. They neither speak English nor good French. They are a cheerful, good-natured people, and truly subject to the present governor. We quartered at a widow's house in the market-place, Madame de Pommes, a stocking merchant. Here I was, upon the 7th of June, 1646, delivered of my second child, a daughter christened Ann.

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And now there began great disputes about the disposal of the Prince. For the Queen would have him to Paris, to which end she sent many letters and messengers to his Highness and Council, who were, for the most part, against his going, both to the Queen his mother, and his going to France, for reasons of State. But the Queen having an excellent solicitor, the Lord Culpeper, it was resolved by his Highness to go; upon which Lord Capel, Lord Hopton, and the Chancellor stayed at Jersey, and with them my husband, whose employment ceased when his master went out of his father's kingdoms. Not that your father sided with either party of the Council, but having no inclination at that time to go to that Court, and because his brother, Lord Fanshawe, was desperate sick at Caen, he intended to stay some time with him.

About the beginning of July the Prince, accompanied with the Earl of Brentford, a soldier of fortune, and Lord Culpeper, and Earl of Berkshire and most of his servants, went to Cotainville, and from thence to Paris, where he remained some little time, by his mother the Queen's counsel, and afterwards went into Holland.

Your father and I remained fifteen days after

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in Jersey, and resolved that he would remain with his brother in Caen whilst he sent me into England, whither my father was gone a month before, to see if I could procure a sum of money. The beginning of August we took our leaves of the Governor's family, and left our child with a nurse under the care of the Lady Carteret, and in four days we came to Caen; and myself, sister and maid went from Mr. Sambourne's house (where my brother and all his family lodged) aboard a small merchantman that lay in that river, and upon the 30th of August I arrived in the Cowes, near Southampton, to which town I went that night, and came to London two days after. This was the first time that I had taken any journey without your father, and the first manage of business he ever put into my hand, in which I thank God I had good success. For lodging in Fleet Street at Mr. East's, the watchmaker, with my sister Boteler, I procured by the means of Colonel Copley (a great Parliament-man, whose wife had formerly been obliged to our family) a pass for your father to come and compound for three hundred pounds a year, which was a part of my portion. But it was only a pretence, for your grandfather was obliged to compound for it and deliver it us free. And when your father was

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come he was very private in London, for he was in daily fear to be imprisoned in London before he could raise money to go back again to his master, who then was not in a condition to maintain him. Thus upon thorns he stayed the October, 1647. In the October before (1646) my brother Richard Harrison was born, and this year my sister Boteler married Sir Philip Warwick, her second husband; for her first, Sir William Boteler, was killed at Cropredy Bridge, commanding a part of the King's army. He was a most gallant and worthy honest gentleman.

In this year, being big with child, I fell down one pair of stairs, and never hurt myself in the least; but upon the 30th of [May] I was delivered of a son called Henry, in lodgings in Portugal Row, in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

This was a very sad time for us all in the King's party; for by their folly (to give it no worse name) Sir John Berkeley, since Lord Berkeley, and Mr. John Ashburnham, of the King's bedchamber, were drawn in by the cursed crew of the then standing army for the Parliament, to persuade the King to leave Hampton Court (to which they had then carried him) [and] to make his escape. Which design failing, as the plot was laid, he was tormented, and afterwards shamefully and barbarously murdered, as all the world knows.

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During his stay at Hampton Court my husband was with him, to whom he was pleased to talk much of his concerns, and gave him there credentials for Spain, with private instructions and letters for his service. But God for our sins disposed his Majesty's affairs otherwise.

I went three times to pay my duty to him, both as I was the daughter of his servant and wife to his servant. The last time I ever saw him, when I took my leave, I could not refrain from weeping. When he had saluted me I prayed God to preserve his Majesty with long life and happy years. He stroked me on my cheek and said, "Child, if God pleaseth it shall be so; but both you and I must submit to God's will—and you know in what hands I am." Then turning to your father he said, "Be sure, Dick, to tell my son all that I have said, and deliver those letters to my wife. Pray God bless her; I hope I shall do well"; and taking him in his arms said, "Thou hast ever been an honest man, and I hope God will bless thee and make thee a happy servant to my son, whom I have charged in my letter to continue his love and trust to you," adding, "And I do promise you both that if ever I am restored to my dignity, I will bountifully reward you both for your service and sufferings."

Thus did we part from that glorious sun, that

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within a few months after set, to the grief of all Christians that were not forsaken by God.

In October, as I told you, my husband and I went into France by the way of Portsmouth, where, walking by the seaside about a mile from our lodging, two ships of the Dutch, then in war with England, shot bullets at us, so near that we heard them whiz by us; at which I called to my husband to make haste back, and began to run. But he altered not his pace, saying, if we must be killed it were as good to be killed walking as running. But, escaping, we embarked the next day, and in that journey fetched home our girl we had left in Jersey. And my husband was forced to come out of France to Hamerton, in Huntingdonshire, to my sister Bedell, to the wedding of his nephew, the last Lord Thomas Fanshawe, who then married the daughter of Mr. Knighton Ferrers, as I have said before. She was a very great fortune, and a most excellent woman, and brought up some time after her mother's death with my sister Bedell.

About two months after this, in June, I was delivered of a son, on the 8th day of June, 1648. In the latter end of July I went to London, leaving my little boy Richard at nurse with his brother at Hartingfordbury. It happened to be the very day after that the Lord Holland was

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taken prisoner at St. Neots, and Lord Francis Villiers was killed; and as we passed through the town we saw Colonel Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, spoiling the town for the Parliament and himself. Coming to London, I went to welcome the Marquesse of Ormonde to town, that then was newly come out of France, who received me with great kindness, as she ever had done before, and told me she must love me for many reasons, and one was that we were both born in one chamber. When I left her she presented me with a ruby ring set with two diamonds, which she prayed me to wear for her sake; and I have it at this day.

In the month of September my husband was commanded by the Prince to wait on him in the Downs, where he was with a very considerable fleet. But the fleet was divided, part being for the King and part for the Parliament. They were resolved to fight that day, which, if they had, would have been the most cruel fight that ever England knew; but God by His will parted them by a storm; and afterwards, as it was said, Lord Culpeper and one Low, a surgeon, that was a reputed knave, so ordered the business that for money the fleet was betrayed to the enemy.

During this time my husband wrote me a letter from aboard the Prince's ship, full of concern for

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me, believing they should engage on great odds; but if he should lose his life, he advised me to patience, and this with so much love and reason that my heart melts to this day when I think of it. But, God be praised, he was reserved for better things.

In [Novem]ber my husband went to Paris on his master's business, and sent for me from London. I carried him three hundred pounds of his money. During our stay at Paris I was highly obliged to the Queen-Mother of England. We passed away six weeks with delight, in very good company. My Lady Morton, that was governess to the Lady Henrietta, Charles the First's youngest daughter, was very kind, and I had the honour of her company, both in my own lodging and in the Palais Royal, where she attended her charge. My eldest daughter by her favour was admitted to play with the Princess daily, and presented with many toys. Likewise my Lady Denbigh and her daughter, my Lady Guildford, and many other of our nation, both in the court and out of it, amongst whom was Mr. Waller, the poet, and his wife. They went with us to Calais. Upon the 25th of December, 164[8], I with my husband kissed the Queen-Mother's hand, who promised her favour with much grace to us both, and sent letters to the King, then in

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Holland, by my husband. From her Majesty we waited on the Princess, and afterwards took our leaves of all the court.

When we came to Calais we met the Earl of Strafford and Sir Kenelm Digby, with some of our countrymen. We were all feasted at the Governor's of the Castle, and much excellent discourse passed; but, as was reason, most share was Sir Kenelm Digby's, who had enlarged somewhat more in extraordinary stories than might be averred, and all of them passed with great applause and wonder of the French then at table. But the concluding was that barnacles, a bird in Jersey, was first a shell-fish to appearance, and from that, sticking upon old wood, became in time a bird. After some consideration, they all unanimously burst out into laughter, believing it altogether false; and, to say the truth, it was the only thing true he had discoursed with them. This was his infirmity, though otherwise a person of most excellent parts and a very fine-bred gentleman.

My husband thought it convenient to send me into England again, there to try what sums I could raise, both for his subsistence abroad and mine at home; and though nothing was so grievous to us both as parting, yet the necessity both of the public and your father's private affairs

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obliged us often to yield to the trouble of absence, as at this time. I took my leave with a sad heart and embarked myself in a hoy for Dover, with Mrs. Waller and my sister Margaret Harrison and my little girl Nan. But a great storm arising, we had like to be cast away, the vessel being half full of water, and we forced to land at Deal, everyone carried upon men's backs, and we up to the middle in water, and very glad to escape so.

About this time the Prince of Orange was born.

My husband went thence by Flanders into Holland to his master; and the February following your father was sent into Ireland by the King, there to receive such monies as Prince Rupert could raise by the fleet he then commanded of the King's. But a few months put an end to that design, though it had a very good aspect at the beginning, which made my husband send for me and the little family I had. Thither we went by Bristol, very cheerfully towards my North Star, that only had the power to fix me, and because I had had the good fortune, as I then thought it, to sell three hundred pounds a year to him that is now Judge Archer, in Essex, for which he gave me near four thousand pounds,—which at that time I thought a

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vast sum. But be it more or less, I am sure it was all spent in seven years' time in the King's service; and to this hour I repent it not, I thank God. Five hundred pounds I carried my husband. The rest I left in my father's agent's hands, to be returned as we needed it.

I landed at Youghall, in Munster, as my husband directed me, in hopes to meet me there. But I had the discomfort of [both] a very hazardous voyage, and the absence of your father, he then being upon business at Cork. So soon as he heard I was landed he came to me, and with mutual joy we discovered those things that were proper to entertain us both. And thus for six months we lived so much to our satisfaction that we began to think of making our abode there during the war; for the country was fertile, and all provisions cheap, and the houses good, and we were placed in Red Abbey, a house of Dean Boyle's, in Cork; and my Lord of Ormonde had a very good army, and the country seemingly quiet. And to complete our content, all persons very civil to us, especially Dean Boyle, now Lord Chancellor of Ireland and Archbishop of Dublin, and the Lord Inchiquin, whose daughter Ellena I christened in 1650.

But what earthly comfort is exempt from change! For here I heard of the death of my

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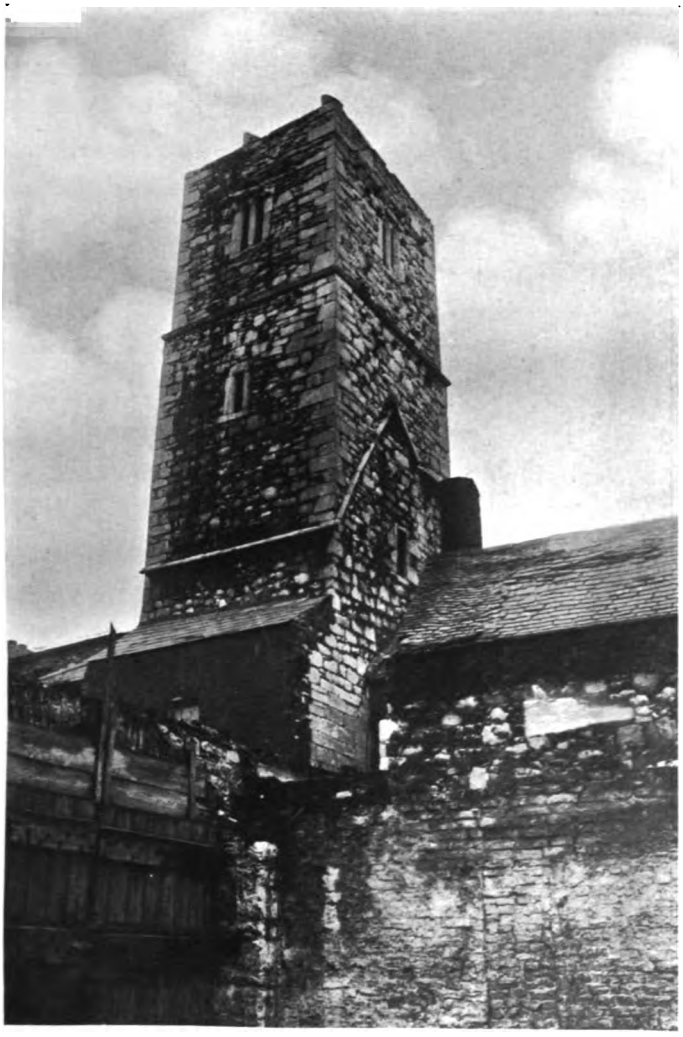

TOWER OF THE RED ABBEY, CORK

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second son, Henry; and within a few weeks of the landing of Cromwell, who so hotly marched over Ireland that the fleet with Prince Rupert was forced to set sail. And within a small time after, he lost all his riches, which was thought to be worth hundreds of thousands of pounds, in one of his best ships, commanded by his brother Maurice, who with many a brave man all sank, being lost in a storm at sea.

We remained some time behind in Ireland, until my husband could receive his Majesty's command how to dispose of himself. During this time I had, by a fall of a stumbling horse, being with child, broke my left wrist, which because it was ill set, put me to great and long pain; and I was in my bed when Cork revolted. By chance my husband that day was gone upon business to Kinsale. It was in the beginning of [Octo]ber 16[49], at midnight, I heard the great guns go off, and thereupon I called my family to rise; which they and I did as well as I could in that condition. Hearing lamentable shrieks of men and women and children, I asked at a window the cause. They told me they were all Irish, stripped and wounded, turned out of the town; and that Colonel Jeffries, with some others, had possessed themselves of the town for Cromwell. Upon this I immediately wrote a

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letter to my husband, blessing God's providence that he was not there with me, persuading him to patience and hope that I should get safely out of the town by God's assistance; and desired him to shift for himself for fear of a surprise, with promise I would secure his papers. So soon as I had finished my letter, I sent it by a faithful servant, who was let down the garden wall of Red Abbey, and, sheltered by the darkness of the night, he made his escape. Immediately I packed up my husband's cabinet, with all his writings, and near £1000 in gold and silver, and all other things, both of clothes, linen, and household stuff, that were portable and of value. And then, about three o'clock in the morning, by the light of a taper, and in that pain I was in, I went into the market-place with only a man and maid; and passing through an unruly tumult, with their swords in their hands, searched for their chief commander Jeffries, who whilst he was loyal had received many civilities from your father. I told him that it was necessary that upon that change I should remove, and desired his pass that would be obeyed, or else I must remain there. I hoped he would not deny me that kindness. He instantly wrote me a pass both for myself, family and goods, and said he would never forget the respects he owed your father. With this I came

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through thousands of naked swords to Red Abbey, and hired the next neighbour's cart, which carried all that I could remove; and myself, sister, and little girl Nan, with three maids and two men, set forth at five o'clock in [Octo]ber, having but two horses amongst us all, which we rode on by turns. In this sad condition I left Red Abbey, with as many goods as was worth three hundred pounds, which could not be removed, and so were plundered. We went ten miles to Kinsale in perpetual fear of being fetched back again; but by little and little, I thank God, we got safe to the garrison, where I found your father the most disconsolate man in the world, for fear of his family, which he had no possibility to assist. But his joys exceeded to see me and his darling daughter, and to hear the wonderful escape we through the assistance of God had made.

But when the rebels went to give an account to Cromwell of their meritorious act, he immediately asked them where Mr. Fanshawe was. They replied, he was that day gone to Kinsale. Then he demanded where his papers and his family were; at which they all stared one at another, but made no reply. Their general said, "It was as much worth to have seized his papers as the Town; for I did make account of them to have

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known what these parts of the country were worth."

But we within a few days received the King's command, which was that my husband should upon sight thereof go into Spain to Philip the Fourth, and deliver him his Majesty's letters; and by my husband also his Majesty sent letters to my Lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde, his ambassadors-extraordinary in that Court. Upon this order we went to Macroom to the Lord Clancarty, who married a sister of the Lord Ormonde. We stayed there two nights, and at my coming away after very noble entertainment my lady gave me a great Irish greyhound, and I presented her with a very fine bezoar stone.

From thence we went to Limerick, where we were entertained by the Mayor and aldermen very nobly, and the Recorder of the town was very kind; and in respect they made my husband a freeman of Limerick. There we met the Bishop of Londonderry and the Earl of Roscommon, who was Lord Chancellor of that Kingdom at that time. These two persons with my husband being together writing letters to the King, to give an account of that Kingdom, when they were going downstairs from my Lord Roscommon's chamber, striving to hold a candle at the stairs' head (because the privacy of their despatch

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admitted not a servant to be near), my Lord Roscommon fell down the stairs, and his head fell upon the corner of a stone, and broke his skull in three places—of which he died in five days, after leaving the broad seal of Ireland in your father's hands until such time as he could acquaint his Majesty with this sad accident, and receive orders how to dispose of the seals. This caused our longer stay. But your father and I being invited to my Lord Inchiquin's, there to stay until we heard out of Holland from the King, which was a month before the messenger returned, we had very kind entertainment and vast plenty of fish and fowl. By this time my Lord Lieutenant's, the now Duke of Ormonde's army, was quite dispersed, and himself gone to Holland, and every person concerned in that interest shifting for their lives; and Cromwell went through as bloodily as victoriously, many worthy persons being murdered in cold blood, and their families quite ruined.

From thence we went to the Lady Honora O'Brien's, a lady that went for a maid, but few believed it. She was the youngest daughter of the Earl of Thomond. There we stayed three nights, the first of which I was surprised at being laid in a chamber where, about one o'clock, I heard a voice that awaked me. I

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drew the curtain, and in the casement of the window I saw by the light of the moon a woman leaning into the window through the casement, in white, with red hair and ghastly complexion. She spake loud, and in a tone I never heard, thrice "*Ahone*"; and then with a sigh more like wind than breath she vanished, and to me her body looked more like a thick cloud than substance. I was so much affrighted that my hair stood on end and my night-clothes fell off. I pulled and pinched your father, who never awaked during this disorder I was in, but at last was much surprised to find me in this fright—and more when I related the story and showed him the window opened. Neither of us slept more that night; but he entertained me with telling how much more those apparitions were usual in that country than in England. And we concluded the cause to be the great superstition of the Irish, and the want of that knowing faith that should defend them from the power of the devil, which he exercises amongst them very much. About eight o'clock the lady of the house came to see us, saying she had not been a-bed all night, because a cousin O'Brien of hers, whose ancestors had owned that house, had desired her to stay with him in his chamber, who died at two o'clock. "And," said she, "I wish

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you to have had no disturbance, for it is the custom of this place that when any die of this family, there is the shape of a woman appears in this window every night until they be dead. This woman was many ages ago got with child by the owner of this place, and he in his garden murdered her and flung her into the river under your window. But truly I thought not of it when I lodged you here, it being the best room I had." We made little reply to her speech, but disposed ourselves to be gone suddenly.

By this time my husband had received order from the King to give the Lord Inchiquin the seal to keep until further orders from his Majesty. When the business was settled we went, accompanied with my Lord Inchiquin and his family four or five miles, towards Galway, which we did by force and not by choice. For the plague had been so hot in that city the summer before that it was almost depopulated—and the haven as much as the town. But your father, hearing that by accident there was a great ship of Amsterdam bound for Malaga in Spain, and Cromwell pursuing his conquest at our backs, resolved to fall into the hands of God rather than into the hands of men, and with his family of about ten persons, came to the town at the latter end of [January], where we found guards placed,

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that none should enter without certificate from whence they came. But notwithstanding that your father came to embark himself for Spain, and that there was a merchant's house took for us that was near the sea-side (and one of their best), they told us if we pleased to 'light they would wait on us to the place. But it was long from thence, and no horses were admitted into the town. An Irish footman that heard this, and served us, said, "I lived here some years and know every street, and I likewise know a much nearer way than these men can show you, sir. Therefore come with me, if you please." We resolved to follow him, and sent our horses to stables in the suburbs. He led us all on the back side of the town under the walls, over which people during the plague (which was not yet quite stopped) had flung out all their dung, dirt, and rags, and we walked up to the middle of our legs in them; for being engaged, we could not get back. At last we found the house, by the master standing at the door expecting us, who said, "You are welcome to this desolate city, where you now see the street grown over with grass, once the finest little city in the world"; and, indeed, it was easy to think so, the buildings being uniformly built, and a very fine market-place, and walks arched and paved

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by the sea-side for their merchants to walk on, and a most noble harbour. Our house was very clean, only one maid in it besides the master. We had a very good supper provided, and being very weary we went early to bed. But we could not rest very well, fancying our legs bit. The next morning, as soon as my husband had put on his gown and began to put on his stockings, he called me, saying, "My heart, what great spots are these on my legs? Sure, it is the plague. But I am very well, and feel nothing." At which I ran out of the bed to him, and saw my own legs in the same condition; and upon examining the cause we found that the sheets being short and the blankets full of fleas, we had those spots made by them. The owner of this house entertained us with the story of the last Marquis of Worcester, who had been there some time the year before. "He had of his own and other friends jewels to the value of eight thousand pounds, which some merchant had lent upon them. My lord appointed the day of receiving the money and delivering his jewels. Being met, he shews them all to these persons, then seals them up in a box and delivered them to one of these merchants, by consent of the rest, to be kept for one year, and upon the then payment of eight thousand pounds by my Lord

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Marquis to be delivered him. After my lord had received this money, he was entertained at all these person's houses, and nobly feasted, staying with them near a month. Then he went from thence into France. When the year was expired they, by letters into France, pressed the payment of this borrowed money several times, alleging that they had great necessity of their money to drive their trade with; to which my Lord Marquis made no answer—which did at last so exasperate these men that they broke open the seal, and opening the box found nothing but rags and stones for their eight thousand pounds; at which they were highly enraged. And in this rage I left them.

In the beginning of February we took ship, and our kind host with much satisfaction in our company prayed God to bless us and give us a good voyage; "for," said he, "I thank God you are all gone safe aboard from my house, notwithstanding I have buried nine persons out of my house within these six months,"—which saying much startled us. But God's name be praised, we were all well and so continued.

Here now our scene was shifted from land to sea, and we left that brave Kingdom fallen in six or eight months into a most miserable sad condition, as it hath been many times in most kings'

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reigns. God knows why, for I presume not to say. But the natives seem to me a very loving people to each other, and constantly false to strangers, the Spaniards only excepted. The country exceeds in timber and seaports, and great plenty of fish, fowl, flesh; and by shipping wants no foreign commodities.

We pursued our voyage with prosperous winds, but with a most tempestuous master, a Dutchman (which is enough to say), but truly, I think, the greatest beast I ever saw of his kind. When we had just passed the Straits, we saw coming towards us with full sail a Turkish galley, well manned, and we believed we should all be carried away slaves. For this man had so loaden his ship with goods for Spain that his guns were useless, though the ship carried sixty guns. He called for brandy, and after he had well drunken, and all his men (which were near two hundred), he called for arms and cleared the deck as well as he could, resolving to fight rather than lose his ship, that was worth thirty thousand pounds. This was sad for us passengers; but my husband bid us be sure to keep in the cabin and no woman appear, which would make the Turks think we were a man-of-war; but if they saw women they would take us for merchants and board us. He went upon the decks and took a gun and

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bandoliers and sword, and with the rest of the ship's company stood on the deck expecting the arrival of the Turkish man-of-war. This beast captain had locked me up in the cabin. I knocked and called long to no purpose, until at length a cabin-boy came and opened the door. I all in tears desired him to be so good as to give me his blue thrum-cap he wore, and his tarred coat; which he did, and I gave him half-a-crown; and putting them on, and flinging away my night's clothes, I crept up softly and stood upon the deck by my husband's side as free from sickness and fear as, I confess, from discretion; but it was the effect of that passion which I could never master. By this time the two vessels were engaged in parley, and so well satisfied with speech and sight of each other's forces, that the Turk's man-of-war tacked about, and we continued our course. But when your father saw it convenient to retreat, looking upon me he blessed himself, and snatched me up in his arms, saying, "Good God, that love can make this change!"; and though he seemingly chid me, he would laugh at it as often as he remembered that voyage.

In the beginning of March we all landed, praised be God, in Malaga, very well, and full of content to see ourselves delivered from the sword and the plague, and living in hope that we should

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one day return happily to our own country. Notwithstanding we thought it great odds, considering how the affairs of the King's three Kingdoms stood. But we trusted to the providence of Almighty God, and proceeded. We were very kindly entertained by the English merchants, and by them lodged in a merchant's house, where we had not been, with our goods, three days, but the vessel that brought us thither, by the negligence of a cabin-boy, was blown up in the harbour, with the loss of above a hundred men and all her lading.

After we had refreshed ourselves some days, we went on our journey towards Madrid, and lodged the first night at Velez Malaga, to which we were accompanied by most of the merchants. The next day we went [to] Granada, having passed the highest mountains I ever saw in my life. But under these lieth the finest valley that can be possibly described, adorned with high trees, rich grass, and beautified with a large, deep, clear river. Over the town and this standeth that goodly vast palace of the Kings, called the Alhambra, whose buildings are, after the fashion of the Moors, adorned with vast quantities of jasper stone, many courts, many fountains; and, by reason that it is situated on the side of a high hill and not built uniform, many gardens, with

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ponds in them, and many baths made of jasper, and most of their principal rooms roofed with the mosaic work which exceeds the finest enamel I ever saw. Here I was shewed, in the midst of an exeeding large piece of rich embroidery made by the Moors of Granada, in the middle, as long as half a yard of the true Tyrian dye, which is so glorious a colour that it cannot be expressed. It hath the glory of scarlet, the beauty of purple, and is so bright that when the eye is removed upon any other object it seems as white as snow.

The entry into this great palace is of stone for a porter's lodge, but very magnificent, though the gate be low, which is adorned with figures of forest work, in which the Moors did transcend. High above this gate was a bunch of keys cut in stone, and many yards under them, perpendicularly, was a hand, cut in stone likewise, with this motto :—

UNTIL THAT HAND HOLD THOSE KEYS THE CHRISTIANS SHALL NEVER POSSESS THIS ALHAMBRA.

This was the prophecy they had, in which they animated themselves, by reason of the impossibility that ever they should meet. But see how true [it is that] there is a time for all things. It happened that when the Moors were besieged in that place by Don Fernando and his Queen

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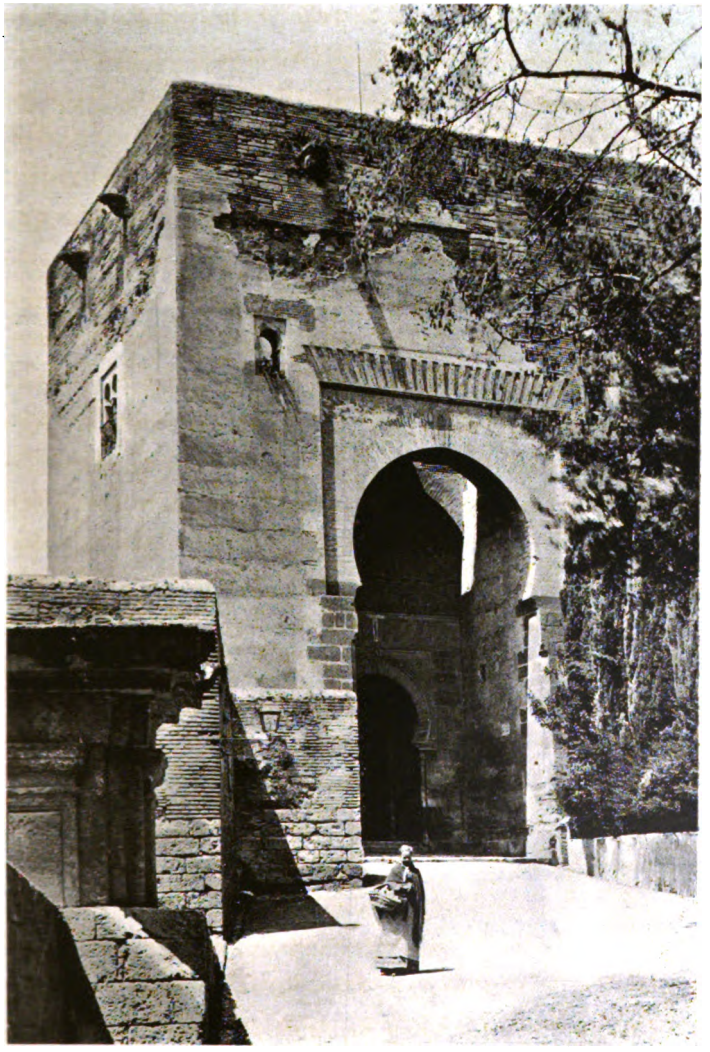

GATE OF JUSTICE, THE ALHAMBRA, GRANADA

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Isabella, the King with an arrow out of a bow, which they then used in war, shooting the first arrow, as their custom is, cut the part of stone that held the keys, which was in the fashion of a chain; and the keys falling remained in the hand underneath. This strange accident preceded but a few days the conquest of the town of Granada and kingdom.

They have in this place an iron gate fixed into the side of a hill that is a rock. I did lay my head to the keyhole, and heard a noise like a clashing of arms, but could not distinguish other shrill noises I heard with that. But tradition says it could never be opened since the Moors left it, notwithstanding several persons had endeavoured to wrench it open; but they perished in the attempt. The truth of this I can say no more to, but that there is such a gate, and I have seen it.

After two days we went on our journey, and on the 13th of April, 1650, we came to the court of Madrid, where we were the next day visited by the two English ambassadors, and afterwards by all the English merchants. Here I was delivered of my first daughter that was called Elizabeth, upon the 13th of Ju[ne]. She lived but fifteen days, and lies buried in the chapel of the French hospital. Your father had great difficulty

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to carry on his business, without intrenching upon the extraordinary ambassador's negotiation, and the performance of his master's commands to show his present necessities (which he was sent to Philip the Fourth for), in hopes of a present supply of money which our King then lacked. But finding no good to be done upon that errand, he and I, accompanied with Doctor Beale, Master of Jesus College in Cambridge (who had been his tutor), went a day's journey together towards San Sebastian, there to embark for France. Whilst we stayed in this court we were kindly treated by all the English, and it was no small trouble to your father's tutor to quit his company. But having undertaken the charge of the family of the ambassadors as their chaplain, he said he held himself obliged in conscience to stay; and so he did, for within a few months after he died there, and lies buried in the garden of the house where they then lived.

When we were in Madrid there was sent one [Ascham] as resident from the then Governor of England. He lay in a common eating-house, where some travellers used to lie; and being one day at dinner, some young men meeting in the street with Mr. Prodgers, a gentleman belonging to the Lord ambassador Cottington, and Mr. Sparks an English merchant, discoursing of

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news, began to speak of the impudence of this Ascham to come a public minister from rebels to a court where there were two ambassadors from his King. This subject being handled with heat, they all resolved without more consideration to go immediately into his lodging and kill him. They came up to his chamber door, and finding it open, and he set at his dinner, seized him and so killed him, and went their several ways. Afterwards they [the Spaniards] found Mr. Sparks in a church for refuge: [and] notwithstanding it was contrary to their religion and laws, they forced him out from thence and executed him publicly; their fear of the English power was then so great.

There was at that time the Lord Goring, son to the Earl of Norwich. He had a command under Philip the Fourth of Spain against the Portuguese. He was generally esteemed a good and great commander, and had been so brought up in Holland in his youth—of vast natural parts; for I have heard your father say he hath dictated to several persons at once that were upon several dispatches, and all so admirably well that no one of them could be mended. He was exceeding facetious and pleasant company, and in converse, where good manners were due, the civilest person imaginable; so that he would blush, like a girl,

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which was natural to him. He was very tall and very handsome. He had been married to a daughter of the Earl of Cork, but never had a child by her. His expenses were what he could get, and his debauchery beyond all precedents, which at last lost him that love the Spaniards had for him, and that country not admitting his constant drinking, he fell sick of a hectic fever, in which he turned his religion; and with that artifice could scarce get to keep him whilst he lived in that sickness, or to bury him when he was dead.

We came to San Sebastian about the beginning of September, and there hired a French small vessel to carry us to Nantes. We embarked within two days after our coming into this town. I never saw so wild a place, nor were the inhabitants unsuitable, but like to like, which made us hasten away with the first; and I am sure to our cost we found the proverb true, for our haste brought us woe. We had not been a day at sea before we had a storm begun, that continued two days and two nights in a most violent manner, and being in the Bay of Biscay, we had a hurricane that drew the vessel up from the water, which neither had sail nor mast left, and but six men and a boy. Whilst they had hopes of life they ran about swearing like devils, but when that failed them they ran into holes, and let the

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ship drive as it would. In this great hazard of our lives we were in the beginning of the third night, when God in his mercy ceased the storm of a sudden, and there was a great calm; which made us exceeding joyful. But when those beasts (for they were scarce men) that manned the vessel, began to rummage the bark, they could not find their compass nowhere; for the loss of which they began again such horrible lamentation as was as dismal to us as the storm past. Thus between hope and fear we passed the night, they protesting to us they knew not where they were. And truly we believed them; for with fear and drink I think they were bereft of sense. So soon as it was day, about six of the clock, the master cried out, "The land! The land!" But we did not receive that news with the joy belonging to it, but sighing said, "God's will be done." Thus the tide drove us until about 5 o'clock in the afternoon; and drawing near the side of a small rock that had a creek by it, we ran on ground. But the sea was so calm that we all got out without the loss of any man or goods; but the vessel was so shattered that it was not afterwards serviceable. Thus, God be praised, we escaped this great danger, and found ourselves near a little village, about four leagues from Nantes. We hired there six asses, upon

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which we rode, as many as could, by turns, and the rest carried our goods. This journey took us up all the next day; for I should have told you that we stirred not that night, because we sat up, and made good cheer; for beds we had none, and we were so transported that we thought we had no need of any. But we had very good fires and Nantes white wine, and butter and milk, and walnuts and eggs, and some very bad cheese. And was not this enough, with the escape of shipwreck, to be thought better than a feast? I am sure until that hour I never knew such pleasure in eating, between which we a thousand times repeated what we had spoken when every word seemed our last. Then we praised God. I wept, your father lifting up his hands admired so great salvation. Then we often kissed each other, as if yet we feared death, sighed and complained of the cruelty of the rebels that forced us to wander. Then we again comforted ourselves in the submitting to God's will for his cause and our country's, and remembered the lot and present sufferings of our King. The much discourse and weariness of our journey made us fall asleep.

As soon as it was day we began our journey towards Nantes, and by the way we passed by a little poor chapel, at the door of which a friar

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begged an alms, saying that he would show us there the greatest miracle in the world. We resolved to go with him. He went before us to the altar, and out of a cupboard with great devotion he took a box, and crossing himself he opened it. In it was another of crystal that contained a little silver box. He, lifting this crystal box up, cried, "Behold in this the hem of St. Joseph, which was taken as he hewed his timber." To which my husband replied, "Indeed, Father, it is the lightest, considering the greatness, that I ever handled in my life." The ridiculousness of this, with the simplicity of the man, entertained us until we came to Nantes. We met by the way good grapes and walnuts growing, of which we culled out the best.

Nantes is a passable good town, but decayed, some monasteries in it, but none good nor rich. There was in a nunnery when I was there a daughter of Secretary Windebank. There is English provisions, and of all sorts, cheap and good. We hired a boat to carry us up to Orleans, and we were towed up all the river of Loire so far. Every night we went ashore to bed, and every morning carried into the boat wine and fruit and bread, with some flesh, which we dressed in the boat; for it had a hearth, on which we burned charcoal. We likewise caught

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carps, which were the fattest and the best I ever ate in my life. And of all my travels none was, for travel's sake, as I may call it, so pleasant as this; for we saw the finest cities, seats, woods, meadows, pastures, vineyards, and champain, that ever I saw in my life, adorned with the most pleasant river of Loire; of which at Orleans we took our leaves, and arriving about the beginning of November, 1650, at Paris, we went, as soon as we could get clothes, to wait on [the] Queen-Mother and the Princess Henrietta. The Queen entertained us very kindly, and after many favours done us, and discourses in private with your father about affairs of State, he receiving her Majesty's letters to send the King, who was then on his way for Scotland, we kissed her hand and went to Calais, with resolution that I should go for England to send my husband more money; for this long journey cost us all we could procure. Yet this I will tell you, praised be God for his peculiar grace herein, that your father nor I never borrowed money, nor owed for clothes, or diet, or lodgings beyond sea in our lives; which was very much, considering the straits we were in many times, and the bad custom which our countrymen had that way, which did redound much to the King's dishonour and their own discredit.

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When we came to Calais my husband sent me to England and stayed himself there, intending as soon as he had received money to go and live in Holland, until such time as it should please Almighty God to enable him to wait again on his master, now in Scotland, both to give him an account of his journey into Spain, as of the rest of his employments since he kissed his hand. But God ordered it otherwise; for the case being that the two parties in Scotland being both dissatisfied with each other's ministers; and Sir E[dward] Hyde and Secretary Nicholas being excepted against and left in Holland, it was proposed, the State wanting a Secretary for the King, that your father should be immediately sent for, which was done accordingly; and he went with letters and presents from the Princess of Orange and the Princess Royal.

Here I will shew you something of Sir Edward Hyde's nature. He being surprised at this news, and suspecting that my husband might come to a greater power than himself, both because of his parts and integrity, and because himself had been sometimes absent in his Spanish embassy, he with all the humility possible, and earnest passion, begged my husband to remember the King often of him to his advantage, as occasion should serve, and to procure leave that he might

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wait upon the King; promising, with all the oaths that he could express to cause belief, that he would make it his business all the days of his life to serve your father's interest, in what condition soever he should be in. Thus they parted, with your father's promises to serve him in what he was capable of; upon which account many letters passed between them.

When your father arrived in Scotland he was received by the King with great expressions of great content, and after he had given an account of his past employments, he was by the King recommended to the Kirk party, who received him very kindly, and gave him both the broad seal and the signet to keep. They several times pressed him to take the Covenant, but he never did; but followed his business so close, with such diligence and temper, that he was beloved of all sides, and they reposed great trust in him. When he went out of Holland he wrote to me to arm myself with patience in his absence; and likewise that I would not expect many letters as was his custom, for that was now impossible. But he hoped that when we did meet again, it would be happy and of long continuance; and bid me trust God with him, as he did [with] me, in whose mercy he hoped; being upon that duty he was obliged to;—with a thousand kind expressions.

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But God knows how great a surprise this was to me being great with child, and two children with me, not in the best condition to maintain them; and in daily fear of your father's life, upon the public account of war and upon the private account of animosities amongst themselves in Scotland. But I did what I could to arm myself, and was kindly visited by both my relations and friends.

About this time my cousin Evelyn's wife came to London, and had newly buried her mother my Lady Browne, wife to Sir Richard Browne that was resident for the King at Paris. A little before, she and I and Doctor Steward, clerk-of-the-closet to King Charles the First, christened a daughter of Mr. Waller's, near a year old. About this time my Lord Chief Justice Heath died at Calais, and several of the King's servants at Paris, amongst others, Mr. Henry Murray, of his bedchamber, a very good man.

I now settled myself in a lodging in Hunsdon House in London, with a heavy heart. I stayed in this lodging almost seven months, and in that time I did not go abroad seven times, but spent my time in prayers to God for the deliverance of the King and my husband, whose danger was ever before my eyes. I was seldom without the best company in the town, and sometimes my

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father would stay a week; for all had compassion upon my condition. I removed to Queen Street, and there in very good lodging I was upon the 24th of June delivered of a daughter. In all this time I had but four letters from your father, which made the pain I was in more difficult to bear. I went with my brother Fanshawe to Ware Park, and my sister went to Balls to my father's, both intending to meet in winter. And so indeed we did with tears, for upon the [third] day of September following was fought the battle of Worcester, when, the King being missed, and nothing of your father being dead or alive for three days heard of, it is inexpressible what affliction I was in. I neither ate nor slept, but trembled at every motion I heard, expecting the fatal news; which at last came in their news-book, which mentioned your father a prisoner. Then, with some hopes, immediately I went to London, intending to leave my little girl Nan, the companion of my troubles, there, and so find out my husband, wheresoever he was carried; but upon my coming to London, I met a messenger from him, with a letter which advised me of his condition, and told me he was very civilly used, and said little more but that I should be in some room in Charing Cross; and he had promise from his keeper that he should rest there in

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my company a dinner-time. This was meant to him for a great favour. I expected with impatience, and on the appointed day provided a dinner and room as I was ordered, in which I was with my father and some more of our friends; where about eleven of the clock, we saw hundreds of poor soldiers, both English and Scotch, march all naked on foot, and many a-horseback. At last came the captain and a soldier with your father, who was very cheerful in appearance; who, after he had spoke and saluted me and his friends there, said, "Pray let us not lose time, for I know not how little I have to spare. This is the chance of war—Nothing venture, nothing have; and so let us sit down and be merry whilst we may." Then taking my hand in his, and kissing me, said, "Cease weeping; no other thing upon earth can move me. Remember we are all at God's dispose." Then he began to tell how kind his captain was to him; and the people as he passed offered him money, and brought him good things, and particularly my Lady Denham, at Borstal House, who would have given him all the money she had in the house. But he returned her thanks, and told her he had so ill kept his own that he would not tempt his governor with more; but if she would give him a shirt or two and some hand-kerchiefs he would keep them as long as he could for her

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sake. She went and fetched him two smocks of her own and some hand-kerchiefs, saying she was ashamed to give him them; but having none of her sons at home she desired him to wear them. Thus we passed the time until order came to carry him to Whitehall, where, in a little room yet standing in the bowling green he was kept prisoner, without the speech of any one, so far as they knew, ten weeks, and in expectation of death. They often examined him, and at last he grew so ill in health by the cold and hard marches he had undergone, and being pent up in a room close and small, that the scurvy brought him almost to death's door. During this time of his imprisonment I failed not constantly to go, when the clock struck four in the morning, with a dark lantern in my hand, all alone and on foot, from my lodging in Chancery Lane, at my cousin Young's, to Whitehall, at the entry that went out of King's Street into the bowling ground. There I would go under his window and softly call him. He that after the first time expected me never failed to put out his head at first call. Thus we talked together; and sometimes I was so wet with rain that it went in at my neck and out at my heels. He directed me how I should make my address, which I did ever to their General Cromwell, who had a great respect for your

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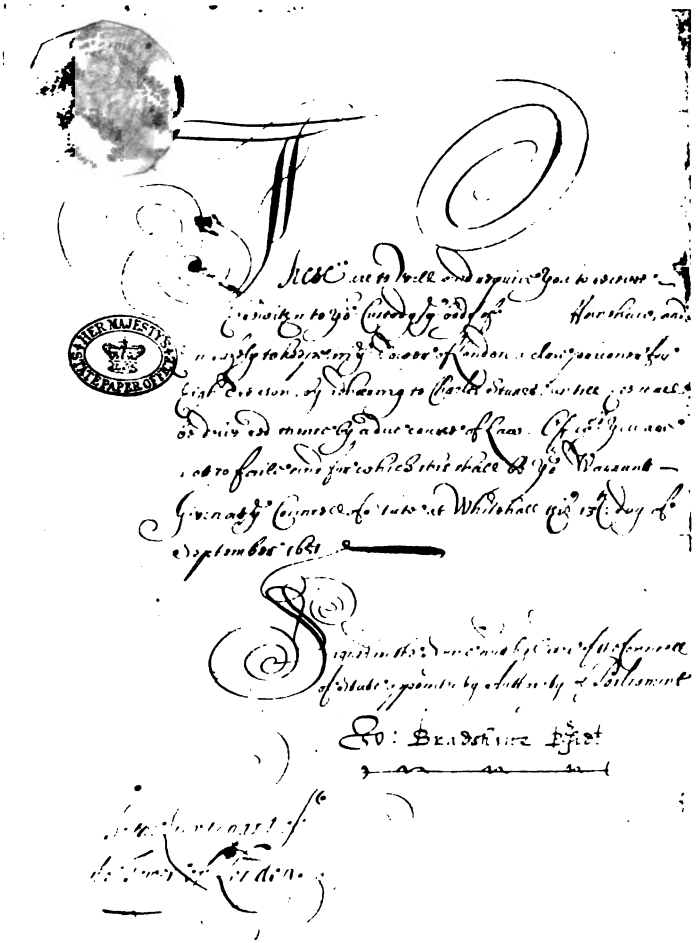

FACSIMILE OF THE WARRANT OF PRESIDENT BRADSHAWE,
SEPT. 13, 1651

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father, and would have bought him off to his service upon any terms. Being one day to solicit for my husband's liberty for a time, he bid me bring the next day a certificate from a physician that he was really ill. Immediately I went to Doctor Bathurst, that was by chance both physician to Cromwell and to our family, who gave me one very favourable in my husband's behalf. I delivered it at the council-chamber door at three of the clock that afternoon to his own hand, as he commanded me; and himself moved that seeing they could make no use of his imprisonment whereby to lighten them in their business, that he might have his liberty upon four thousand pounds bail, to take a course of physic, he being dangerously ill. Many spoke against it, but most Sir Henry Vane, who said he would be instrumental, for aught he knew, to hang them all that sat there, if ever he had opportunity; but if he had liberty for a time that he might take the engagements before he went out. Upon which Cromwell said, "I never knew that the engagement was a medicine for the scorbute." They hearing their general say so, thought it obliged him, and so ordered him his liberty upon bail. His eldest brother and sister Bedell and self were bound in four thousand pounds, and so, the latter end of November, he

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came to my lodgings at my cousin Young's. He there met many of his good friends and kindred; and my joy was inexpressible, and so was poor Nan's, of whom your father was very fond.

I forgot to tell you that when your father was taken prisoner of war, he, before they entered the house where he was, burned all his papers; which saved the lives and estates of many a brave gentleman. When he came out of Scotland he left behind him a box of writings, in which his patent of baronet was, and his patent of additional arms; which was safely sent him after the happy restoration of the King. You may read your father's demeanour of his self in this affair, writ by his own hand in a book by itself amongst your books; and it is a great masterpiece, as you will find.

Within ten days he fell very sick; and the fever settled in his throat and face so violently that for many days and nights he slept no more but as he leaned on my shoulders as I [waked]. At last, after all that the doctor and surgeon could do, it broke, and with that he had ease, and so recovered, God be praised.

In 1652 he was advised to go to the Bath for his scorbute that still hung on him; but he deferred his journey until August, because I was delivered on the 30th of July of a daughter.

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At his return we went to live that winter following at Bayfordbury in Hertfordshire, a house of my niece Fanshawe's. In this winter my husband went to wait on his good friend the Earl of Strafford in Yorkshire, and there my lord offered him a house of his in Tankersley Park, which he took, and paid £120 a year for. When my husband returned, we prepared to go in the spring to this place; but [were] confined that my husband should not stir five miles from home without leave.

About February following my brother Newce died at his house at Much Hadham in Hertfordshire. My sister, Margaret Harrison, desired to go to London, and there we left her. She soon after married Mr. Edmond Turnor, afterward Sir Edmond Turnor.

In March we, with our three children, Ann, Richard, and Betty, went into Yorkshire, where we lived an innocent country life, minding only the country sports and the country affairs. Here my husband translated Luis de Camoëns, and in October the 8th, 1653, I was delivered of my daughter Margaret. I found all the neighbourhood very civil and kind upon all occasions, the place plentiful and healthful and very pleasant; but there was no fruit until we planted some; and my Lord Strafford says now that what we planted

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is the best fruit in the north. The house of Tankersley and park are both very pleasant and good, and we lived there with great content. But God had ordered that it should not last; for upon the 2[2nd] of July, 1654, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, died our most dearly beloved daughter Ann Fanshawe, whose beauty and wit exceeded all that ever I saw of her age. She was between nine and ten years old, very tall, and the dear companion of our travels and sorrows. She lay sick but five days of the small-pox; in which time she expressed many wise and devout sayings, as is a miracle for her years. We both wished to have gone into the grave with her. She lies buried in Tankersley church; and her death made us both desirous to quit that fatal place to us. And so, the week after her death we did, and came to Hamerton, and were half a year with my sister Bedell. Then my husband was sent for to London, there to stay by command of the High Court of Justice, and not to go five miles out of that town, but to appear once a month before them. We then went to my cousin Young's in Chancery Lane; and about Christmas my husband got leave to go to Frogpool in Kent, to my brother Warwick's, where upon the 22nd of February, 1655, I was delivered of a daughter whom we named Ann, to keep in re-

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membrance her dear sister whom we had newly lost. We returned to our lodgings in Chancery Lane, where my husband was forced to attend until Christmas 1655, and then we went down to Jenkins to Sir Thomas Fanshawe's. But upon New Year's Day my husband fell very sick, and the scorbute again prevailed, so much that it drew his upper lip awry. Upon which we that day came to London into Chancery Lane, but not to my cousin Young's, but to a house we took of George Carey for a year. Thence by the advice of Doctor Bathurst and Doctor Ridgley my husband took physic for two months together, and at last, God be praised, he perfectly recovered his sickness, and his lip was as well as ever. In this house, upon the 12th day of July in 1656, I was delivered of a daughter named Mary; and in this month died my second daughter Elizabeth, that I had left with my sister [Warwick] at Frogpool to see if that would recover her; but she died of a hectic fever, and lies buried in the church of Foot's Cray.

My husband, weary of the town, and being advised to go into the country for his health, procured leave to go in September to Bengeo in Hertfordshire, to a little house lent us by my brother Fanshawe. It happened at that time

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there was a very ill kind of fever of which many died, and it ran generally through all families. This we and all our small family fell sick of, and my husband's and mine after some months turned to quartan agues. But I, being with child, none thought I could live; for I was brought to bed of a son in November, ten weeks before my time, and thenceforward until April 1658 I had two fits every day. That brought me so weak that I was like an anatomy. I never stirred out of my bed in seven months, nor during that time ate flesh, or fish, or bread, but sack, posset drink, and pancake or eggs, or now and then a turnip or carrot. Your father was likewise very ill, but he rose out of his bed some hours daily and had such a greediness upon him that he would eat and drink more than ordinary persons that ate most, though he could not stand upright without being held, and in perpetual sweats, and that so violently that it ran down like water day and night. This I have told you that you may see how near dying we were, for which recovery I humbly praise God. This son Henry lies buried in Bengeo church.

We got leave in August to go to the Bath, which, God be praised, perfectly recovered us, and so we returned into Hertfordshire to the Friary of Ware, which we hired of Mrs. Haydon

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for a year. This place we accounted happy to us, because in October we heard the news of Cromwell's death; upon which my husband began to hope that he should get loose of his fetters in which he had been seven years. And going to London in the company of my Lord Philip Earl of Pembroke, he lamented his case of his bonds to him that was his old and constant friend. He told him that if he would dine with him the next day he would give him some account of that business. The next day he said to him, "Mr. Fanshawe, I must send my eldest son into France. If you will not take it ill that I desire your company with him and care of him for one year, I will procure you your bonds within this week." My husband was overjoyed to get loose upon any terms that were innocent; so having seen his bonds cancelled he went into France to Paris, from whence he by letter gave an account to Lord Chancellor Clarendon of his being got loose, and desired him to acquaint his Majesty with it and to send him his commands. Which about April 1659 he did, to this effect: that his Majesty was then going a journey (which afterwards proved to Spain), but upon his return, which he supposed would be about the beginning of winter, my husband should come to him, and that he should have in present

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the place of one of the Masters of Requests, and the Secretary of the Latin Tongue.

Then my husband sent me word of this, and bid me bring my son Richard and my two eldest daughters with me to Paris; for that he intended to put him into a very good school that he had found in Paris. I went, as soon as possibly I could accommodate myself with money and other necessaries, with my three children, one maid, and one man. I could not go without a pass, and to that purpose I went to my cousin Henry Neville, one of the High Court of Justice, where he then was sitting at Whitehall, and told him that my husband had sent for me and his son, to place him there; and that I desired his kindness to help him to a pass. He went into the then Master's and returned to me saying that by a trick my husband had got his liberty; but for me and his children upon no conditions we should not stir. To this I made no reply, but thanked my cousin Henry Neville, and took my leave. I set me down in the next room full sadly, to consider what I should do, desiring God to help me in so just a case as I then was in. I began and thought, if I were denied a passage then, they would ever after be more severe upon all occasions, and it might be very ill for us both. I was ready to go, if I had a

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pass, the next tide, and might be there before they could suspect I was gone. These thoughts put this invention in my head. At Wallingford House the office was kept where they gave passes. Thither I went in as plain a way and speech as I could devise. Leaving my maid at the gate, who was much a finer gentlewoman than myself, with as ill mien and tone as I could express, I told a fellow I found in the office that I desired a pass for Paris to go to my husband. "Woman," says he, "what is your husband, and your name?" "Sir," said I with many courtesies, "he is a young merchant, and my name is Ann Harrison." "Well," says he, "it will cost you a crown." Said I, "That is a great sum for me; but pray put in a man, my maid, and three children"—all which he immediately did, telling me that a Malignant would give him five pound for such a pass. I thanked him kindly, and so immediately went to my lodging, and with a pen I made the great H (of Harrison) two F F and the two R's an N, and the I an S, and the S an H, and the O an A, and the N a W, so completely that none could find out the change. With all speed I hired a barge, and that night at six o'clock I went to Gravesend, and from thence by coach to Dover; where upon my arrival the searchers

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came, and, knowing me, demanded my pass, which they were to keep for their discharge. When they had read it they said, "Madam, you may go when you please." "But," says one, "I little thought they would give [a] pass to so great a Malignant, especially in such a troublesome time as this."

About nine o'clock at night I went on board the packet-boat, and about eight o'clock in the morning landed safe (God be praised) at Calais. I went to Mr. Booth's, an English merchant and a very honest man. There I rested two days. But upon the next day he had advice from Dover that a post was sent to stay me, from London; because they had sent for me to my lodging by a messenger of their Court, to know why and upon what business I went to France. Then I discovered my invention to him of the change of my name; at which as at their disappointment we all laughed, and so did your father, and as many as knew the deceit.

We hired a wagon-coach, for there is no other at Calais, and began our journey about the middle of June in 1659. Coming one night to Abbeville, the governor sent his lieutenant to me to let me know my husband was well the week before, that he had seen him at Paris, and had promised him to take care of me in my going through his

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government, there being much robbery daily committed; that he would advise to take a guard of the garrison soldiers, and giving them a pistole a-piece they would convey me very safely. This, he said, the governor would have told me himself, but that he was in bed with the gout. I thanked him and accepted his proffer. The next morning he sent me ten troopers well armed; and when I had gone about four leagues, as we ascended a hill, says some of these, "Madame, look out, but fear nothing." They rid all up to a well-mounted troop of horse, about fifty or more, which after some parley wheeled about into the woods again. When we came upon the hill I asked how it was possible so many men so well armed should turn, having so few to oppose them; at which they laughed and said, "Madame, we are all of a company, and quarter in this town. The truth is, our pay is short, and we are forced to help ourselves this way. But we have this rule, that if we in a party guard any company, the rest never molest them, but let them pass free." I having passed all danger, as they said, gave them a pistole each man, and so left them and went on my journey, and met my husband at St. Denis, God be praised.

The 1[3th] day of October died my then only son, Richard, of the small-pox. He lies buried

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in the Protestant church near Paris, between the Earl of Bristol and Dean Steward. Both my eldest daughters had the small-pox at the same time; and though I neglected them, and day and night tended my dear son, yet it pleased God they recovered and he died, the grief of which made me miscarry, and caused a sickness of three weeks.

After this, in the beginning of November, the King came to visit his mother, who was at her own house at Colombes, two leagues from Paris; and thither went my husband and myself. I had not seen him in almost ten years. He told me that if God pleased to restore him to his kingdoms my husband should partake of his happiness in as great a share as any servant he had. Then he asked me many questions of England, and fell into discourse with my husband privately, two hours, and then commanded him to follow into Flanders. His Majesty went the next day. My husband that day month, which was the beginning of December, went with our family to Calais, and my husband sent me privately to London for money. In January I returned him one hundred and fifty pounds, with which he went to the King, and I followed to Nieuport and Bruges and Ghent, and to Brussels, where the King received us very graciously,

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LADY FANSHAWE AND HER DAUGHTER MARY, BY TENIERS

From the painting in possession of Colonel H. Walrond

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with the Princess Royal and the Dukes of York and Gloucester. After staying three weeks at Brussels we went to Breda, where we heard the happy news of the King's return into England. In the beginning of May we went with all the Court to the Hague, where I first saw the Queen of Bohemia, who was exceeding kind to us all.

Here the King and all the royal family were entertained at a very great supper by the States, and now business of State took up much time. The King promised my husband he should be one of the Secretaries of State, and both the now Duke of Ormonde and Lord Chancellor Clarendon were witnesses of it. Yet that false man made the King break his word for his own accommodation, and place Mr. Morrice, a poor country gentleman of about two hundred pounds a year, a fierce Presbyterian, and one that never saw the King's face. But still promises were made of the reversion to your father.

Upon the King's return, the Duke of York, then made Admiral, appointed ships to carry over all the company and servants of the King, which was very great. His Highness appointed for my husband and his family a third-rate frigate called the *Speedwell;* but his Majesty commanded my husband to wait on him in his own ship. We had, by the States' order, sent aboard

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to the King's most eminent servants, great store of provisions. For our family we had, sent aboard the *Speedwell*, a tierce of claret and a hogshead of Rhenish wine, six dozens of fowls, a dozen of gammons of bacon, a great basket of bread, and six sheep, and two dozen of neats' tongues, and a great box of sweetmeats. Thus taking our leave of those obliging persons we had conversed with in the Hague, we went aboard upon the 23rd of May, about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The King embarked about 4 o'clock, upon which we set sail, the shore being covered with people, and shouts from all places of a good voyage, which was seconded with many volleys of shot interchanged. So favourable was the wind that the ships' wherries went from ship to ship to visit their friends all night long. But who can sufficiently express the joy and gallantry of that voyage? To see so many great ships, the best in the world; to hear the trumpets and all other music; to see near an hundred brave ships sail before the wind with their waist cloths and streamers; the neatness and cleanness of the ships; the strength and jollity of the mariners; the gallantry of the commanders; the vast plenty of all sorts of provisions; and, above all, the glorious majesties of the King and his two brothers,—was so beyond

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man's expectation and expression. The sea was calm; the moon shone at full; and the sun suffered not a cloud to hinder his prospect of the best sight; by whose light and the merciful bounty of God he was set safely on shore at Dover in Kent upon the 25th of May, 1660.

So great were the acclamations and numbers of people that it reached like one street from Dover to Whitehall. We lay that night at Dover, and the next day we went in Sir Arnold Bream's coach towards London, where on Sunday night we came to a house in the Savoy. My niece Fanshawe lay then in the Strand, where I stood to see the King's entry with his brothers, surely the most pompous show that ever was; for the hearts of all men in this Kingdom moved at his will.

The next day I went with other ladies of the family to congratulate his Majesty's happy arrival, who received me with great grace, and promised me future favours to my husband and self. His Majesty gave my husband his picture set with small diamonds, when he was a child. It is a great rarity, because there never was but that one.

We took a house in Portugal Row in Lincoln's Inn Fields. My husband was not long entered upon his office, but he found an oppression from

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Secretary Nicholas, to his great vexation; for he as much as in him lay engrossed all the petitions which really, by the foundation, belonged to the Masters of the Requests; and in this he was countenanced by Lord Chancellor Clarendon, his great patron, notwithstanding he had married Sir Thomas Aylesbury's daughter, that was one of the Masters of the Requests.

This year I sent for my daughter Nan from my sister [Warwick] in Kent, where I had left her. And my daughter Mary died in Hertfordshire in August, and lies buried in Hertford church, in my father's vault. In the latter end of this summer I miscarried, when I was near half gone with child, of three sons, two hours one after the other. I think it was with the great hurry of business I then was in, and perpetual company that resorted to us, of all qualities, some for kindness, and some for their own advantage. As that was a time of advantage, so it was of a vast expense; for on April the 23rd the King was crowned, and then my husband being in waiting rode upon his Majesty's left hand, with very rich foot-cloths and four footmen in very rich liveries. And this year we furnished our house, and paid all our debts which we had contracted during the war. The 8th day of May following, the King rode to the Parliament, and then my husband

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rode in the same manner. His Majesty had commanded my husband to execute the place of the Chancellor of the Garter, both because he understood it better than any, and was to have the reversion of it. The first feast of St. George my husband was proxy for the Earl of Bristol, and was installed for him Knight of the Garter. The Duke of Buckingham put on his robes, and the Duke of Ormonde his spur, in the stall of the Earl of Bristol.

Now it was the business of the Chancellor to put your father as far from the King as he could, because his ignorance in State affairs was daily discovered by your father, who shewed it to the King. But at that time the King was so content that he should almost alone manage his affairs, that he might have the more time for his pleasures, that his faults were not so visible as otherwise they would have been, and afterwards proved. But now he sends for your father and tells him that he was by the King's particular choice resolved on to be sent to Lisbon, with the King's letter and picture, to the Princess, now our Queen, which then indeed was an employment any nobleman would be glad of; but the design from that time forth was to fix him there.

When your father was gone on this errand I

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stayed in our house in Portugal Row, and at Christmas I received the New Year's gifts belonging to his places, which is the custom, of two tuns of wine at the Custom House for Master of Requests, and fifteen ounces of gilt plate at the Jewel House as Secretary of the Latin Tongue. At the latter end of Christmas my husband came from Lisbon, and was very well received by the King. And upon the 22nd of February following I was delivered of my daughter Elizabeth.

Upon the 8th of June, 1662, my husband was made a Privy Councillor of Ireland. And some time after, my Lord and Lady of Ormonde went into Ireland; and upon my taking leave of her Grace she gave me a turquoise and diamond bracelet, and my husband a facet diamond ring. I never parted from her upon a journey but she ever gave me some present. When her daughter the Lady Mary Cavendish was married, none was present but his grandmother and father, and my husband and self. They were married in my lord Duke's lodgings at Whitehall, and given by the King, who came privately without any train.

As soon as the King had notice of the Queen's landing he immediately sent my husband that night to welcome her Majesty on shore, and

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followed himself the next day, and upon the 21st of May the King married the Queen at Portsmouth in the presence-chamber of his Majesty's house. There was a rail across the upper part of the room, into which entered only the King and Queen, the Bishop of London and the Marques de Sande, the Portuguese Ambassador, and my husband. In the other part of the room were many of the nobility, and servants to their Majesties. The Bishop of London declared them married in the name of the Father and the Son and of the Holy Ghost. And then they caused the ribbons her Majesty wore to be cut in little pieces, and as far as it would go everybody had some. Upon the 29th of May their Majesties came to Hampton Court, where was all that pretended to her Majesty's service, and all the King's servants, ladies and other persons of quality, who received her Majesty in several rooms according to their several qualifications. The next morning about 11 o'clock the Duchess of Ormonde and her daughter, the now Lady Cavendish, and myself, went to wait on her Majesty as soon as her Majesty was dressed, where I had the honour from the King, who was then present, to tell the Queen who I was, saying many kind things of me to ingratiate me with her Majesty; whereupon her Majesty gave her

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hand to me to kiss, with promises of her future favour. After this we remained in Hampton Court, in the Request lodgings, my husband being then in waiting, until the 10th day of August, upon which day he received his despatches for Ambassador to Portugal.

His Majesty was graciously pleased to promise my husband his picture, which afterwards we received, set with diamonds to the value of between three and four hundred pounds. His Majesty having been pleased to give my husband, at his first going to Portugal, his picture, at length, in his garter robes, my husband had also, by his Majesty's order, out of the wardrobe, a crimson velvet cloth of state, fringed and laced with gold, with a chair, a footstool, two cushions, and two other stools of the same, with a Persia carpet to lay under them, and a suite of fine tapestry hangings for that room; with two velvet altar cloths for the chapel, and fringed with gold, with surplices, altar clothes and napkins of fine linen; with a Bible in Ogilby's print, and cuts, two common Prayer-books in folio, and six in quarto; with eight hundred ounces of gilt plate and four thousand ounces of gilt plate. But there wanted a velvet bed, which he should have had by custom.

Having thus perfected the ceremonies of taking

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QUEEN CATHERINE OF BRAGANZA

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our leave of their Majesties, and receiving their commands, and likewise taking our leave of our friends, as I said, upon Sunday the 10th of August, we took our journey for Portugal, carrying our three daughters with us, Katherine, Margaret and Ann. This night we lay at Windsor, where on Monday the 11th, in the morning, we went to prayers in the King's chapel, with Doctor Heaver my husband's chaplain. At our return we were visited by the Provost of Eton, with divers others of the clergy of that place, and Sir Thomas Woodcock, the chief commander of that place in the absence of my Lord Mordaunt, Lord Constable of Windsor Castle. Upon the desire of some there, my husband left some of his coats of arms which he carried with him for that purpose, as the custom of ambassadors is, to dispose of where they lodge. That night we lay at Bagshot. Tuesday the 12th we dined at Basingstoke and lay at Andover. Wednesday the 13th we dined at Salisbury and there lay that night; and borrowed in the afternoon the Dean of Westminster's coach, being willing to ease our own horses for half a day, having a long journey to go. We went in the Dean's coach to see Wilton, being but two miles from Salisbury. We found my Lord Herbert at home. He entertained us

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On [Satur]day the 30th, the wind coming fair, we embarked, accompanied by my cousin Edgcumbe and all his family, and with much company of the town, that would shew their kindness until the last. Taking our leave of our landlord and landlady we gave her twenty pieces in gold to buy her a ring, and they presented my children with many pretty toys. Thus on Monday at 9 o'clock in the morning we were received on board the *Ruby* frigate, commanded by Captain Robinson. We had very many presents sent us on board by divers gentlemen, amongst which my cousin Edgcumbe sent us a brace of fat bucks, three milk-goats, wine, ale and beer, with fruit of several sorts, biscuit and sweetmeats.

On [Su]nday the 31st of August, 1662, we set sail for Lisbon, and landed the 14th of September (our style), between the Conde de San Lourenço's house and Belem—God be praised, all in good health. As soon as we had anchored, the English consul, with the merchants, came aboard us, but we went presently to a country house of the Duke of Aveiro's, where my husband was placed by his Majesty when he was there before, in which he had then left his chief secretary and one other with some others of his family.

The first that visited my husband *incognito*

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there (for he was not to own any till he had made his entry) was the King of Portugal's secretary, Antonio de Sousa. There came about that time also the Earl of Inchiquin and Count Schomberg to visit us. The $\frac{18}{28}$th day my husband went privately on board the frigate in which he came, with all his family, to whom the King sent a nobleman to receive him on shore, with his own and the Queen-Mother's and very many other coaches of the nobilities. As soon as they met, there passed great salutations of cannons from the ships to the frigate in which my husband came, and from our ship to the King's forts, and from all the forts innumerable shot returned again. So soon as my husband landed he entered the King's coach, and the nobleman that fetched him (whose name I have forgot). Before him went the English consul, with all the merchants; on his right hand went four pages; on the left side the coach, by the horses' heads, eight coachmen all clothed in rich livery. In the coaches that followed went my husband's own gentlemen, after, the coach of state, empty, and those that did him the favour to accompany him. Thus they went to the house where my husband was lodged. Three suppers and three dinners the King entertained him, with great plenty of provisions in all kinds, and all

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manner of utensils belonging thereunto, as the custom of that country is. Their Majesties did for some time furnish the house till my husband could otherwise provide himself in town. The Abadessa of the Alcantara, niece to the Queen-Mother, natural daughter to the Duke de Medina Sidonia, sent, to welcome me into the country, a very noble present of perfumes, waters and sweet-meats, and during my abode in Lisbon we often made visits and interchanged messages, to my great content, for she was a very fine lady. On the $\frac{18}{28}$th one Mr. Bridgewood, a merchant, sent me a silver basin and ewer for a present. On the 10th of October (*stilo novo*) my husband had his audience of his Majesty in his Palace at Lisbon, going into the King's coach with the same noble-man and in the same form as he had made his entry. The King received him with great kind-ness and respect, much to his satisfaction. On the 11th Dom Joao de Sousa, the Queen's *Vedor*, came from her Majesty to us both, to welcome us into the country. On the 13th her Majesty sent her chief coach, accompanied with other coaches, to fetch my husband to the audience of her Majesty, where she received him very graciously; and the same day he had audience of Dom Pedro, the King's brother, at his own palace.

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Saturday, the 14th, her Majesty sent her best coach for me and my children. When we came there the captain of the guard received me at the foot of the stairs, all my people going up before me, as the custom is. On each side were the guards placed, with halberts in their hands, as far as the presence-chamber door. There I was received by the Queen's Lord Chamberlain, who carried me to the door of the next room, where the Queen was. There the Queen's principal lady (as our groom-of-the-stole) received me, telling me she had commands from the Queen to bid me welcome to that court, and to accompany me to her Majesty's presence. She sat in the next room, which was very large, in a black velvet chair with arms, upon a black velvet carpet, with a state of the same. She had caused a low chair without arms to be set some distance from her, about two yards on her left hand, on which side stood all the noblemen, on her right all the ladies of the Court. After making my reverences, due to her Majesty according to custom, and said those respects which became me to her Majesty, she sat down and then I presented my daughters to her. She having expressed much favour to me and mine bid me sit down, which at first I refused, desiring to wait on her Majesty as my Queen's Mother;

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but she pressing me again I sat down, and then she made her discourse of England, and questions of the Queen's health and liking of our country, with some little hints of her own and her family's condition; which having continued better than half-an-hour I took my leave. During my stay at court I several times waited on the Queen-Mother. Truly she was a very honourable wise woman, and I believe had been very handsome. She was magnificent in her discourse and nature, but in the prudentest manner. She was ambitious, but not vain. She loved government, and I do believe the quitting of it did shorten her life. After saluting the ladies and noblemen of the court, I went home as I came.

The next day the Secretary of State and his lady came to visit me. She had at my arrival sent me a present of sweetmeats. My husband had left in this person's family one of his pages to improve himself in writing and reading the Spanish tongue until his return again to that court, when he went the last year for England, in consideration of which we presented his lady with a piece of India plate, of about twenty pound sterling. They were both very civil, worthy persons, and had formerly been in England, where the King, Charles the First, had made his son an

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English baron. She told me in discourse one day this of a French ambassador, that lately had been in that court, and lodged next to her. There was ever a numerous sort of people about the ambassador's door, as is usual; amongst them a poor little boy that his mother had animated daily to cry for relief—so troublesomely that at last the Ambassador would say, "What noise is that at the gate, of perpetual screaking? I will have it so no more." Upon which they carried the child to his mother and bid her keep him at home, for it screaked like a devil; and if it returned the porter swore he would punish him severely. Not many days after according to his former custom this child returned, louder than before if possible. The porter, keeping his word, took this boy and pulled off his rags and anointed him all over with honey, leaving no part undone, and very thick, and then threw him into a tub of fine feathers; which as soon as he had done he set him on his legs and frighted him home to his mother—who seeing this thing (for none living could guess him a boy) ran out into the city, the boy screaking after her, and all the people in the street after them, thinking it was a devil or some strange creature.

But to return to the business. We were visited by many persons of the court, some upon busi-

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ness and others upon compliment, which is more formal than pleasant, for they are not generally a cheerful people. About February the King intended to go into the field and lead his army himself. During this resolution my husband prepared himself to wait on his Majesty, which cost him much, those kind of expenses in that place being scarce and very dear. But the council would not suffer him to go, and so that ended. The King loved hunting much, and ever when he went would send my husband some of what he killed, which was stag and wild boar — both excellent meat. We kept the Queen's birthday with great feasting. We had all the English merchants.

There was during my stay in this town a Portugal merchant jealous of his mistress's favouring an Englishman, whom he entertained with much kindness. Having his suspicion, one evening he invited him to see a country house and eat a collation, which he did; after which the merchant with three or four of his friends for a rarity shewed him a cave hard by the house, which went in at a very narrow hole, but within was very capacious, in the side of a high mountain. It was so dark that one carried a torch. Says one to the Englishman, "Did you ever know where bats dwell?" He replied "No," "Then here,

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Sir, you shall see them." Then holding up the light to the roof they saw millions hanged by their legs. So soon as they had done [this] they, frighting the birds, made them all fly about him, and put out the light; [then] ran away and left the Englishman there to get out as well as he could, which was not until the next morning.

This winter I fell sick of an agueish distemper, being then with child, but I believe it was with eating more grapes than I am accustomed to eat, being tempted by their goodness, especially the Frontignac, which excels all I ever ate both in Spain and France.

The beginning of May '63 there happened in Lisbon an insurrection of the people in the town, about a suspicion, as they pretended, of some persons disaffected to the public; [in] which they plundered the Archbishop's house and the Marques of Marialva's house, and broke into the treasure. But after about ten thousand of these ordinary people had run for six or seven hours about the town, crying, "Kill all that is for Castile!" they were appeased by their priests, who carried the sacrament amongst them, threatening excommunication; which with the night made them depart with their plunder. Some few persons were lost in the number, but not many.

Upon the 10th of June came the news to this

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court of the total rout of Don John of Austria at the battle of Evora, after which our house and tables were full of distressed, honest, brave English soldiers, who by their and their fellows' valour had got one of the greatest victories that ever was. These poor but brave men were most lost between the Portugueses' poverty and Lord Chancellor Hyde's neglect, not to give it a worse name. While my husband stayed there he did what he could, but not proportionally either to their merits or wants.

About this time my husband sent great assistance to the Governor of Tangier, the Earl of Peterborough (then being Governor) whose letters of supplication and thanks for that kindness and care I have yet to shew.

June the 26th I was delivered of a son ten weeks before my time. He lived some hours and was christened Richard by our chaplain Mr. Marsden, who performed the ceremonies of the Church of England in his burial, and then laid him in the parish church in which we lived, in the principal part of the chancel. The Queen sent to condole with me for the loss of my son; and the Marques de Castel-Melhor, the Marques de Niça, the Condessa of Villa Franca, the Condessa de Abaça, the Condessa de Telegare, Doña Maria de Antonia, with many other ladies and

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several good gentlewomen that were English merchants' wives.

Several times we saw the feasts of bulls, and at them had great voiders of dried sweetmeats brought us upon the King's account, with rich drinks. Once we had some dispute about some English commanders that thought themselves not well enough placed at the show, according to their merit, by the King's officers; which they did so ill represent to my husband that he was extremely concerned at it; upon which, notice being given to the chief minister, the Conde de Castel-Melhor came to my husband, after having examined the business, and desired that there might be no misunderstanding between the King and him: that the business was only the impertinence of a servant, and that it might so pass. My husband was well satisfied, and presented his most humble acknowledgments to the King for his care and favour to him, as well as the honour he had received. The Conde de Castel-Melhor, when he had finished his visit to my husband, came to my apartment and told me that he hoped I took no offence at what had passed at the feast, because the King had heard I was sad to see my husband troubled; assuring me that his Majesty and the whole Court desired nothing more than that we should receive all content imaginable.

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I gave him many thanks for the honour of his visit and desired him to present my most humble services to the King, assuring him that I and my husband had all the respects imaginable for his Majesty: true it was, according to the English fashion I did make a little whine when I saw my husband disordered, but I should for ever remain his Majesty's humble servant, with my most humble thanks to his Excellency. And so he returned well satisfied when he left us.

The 14th, the chief ministers met my husband, in order to his return home for England, and expressed a great trouble to part from him. They from the King presented my husband with twelve thousand crowns in gold plate, with many compliments and favours from the King; whom my husband waited on the next day to receive his Majesty's commands for his master in England. After giving his Majesty many thanks for the many honours he had received from his Majesty, the greatest of which he esteemed his Majesty's kind acceptation of his service, then he thanked his Majesty for his present, saying that he wished his Majesty's bounteous kindness to him might not prejudice his Majesty in this example by the next coming ambassador: to which his Majesty replied, "I am sure it cannot, for I shall never have [the like]." Performing all those cere-

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monies with the same persons and coaches as he made his entry [my husband took his leave]. Upon the 19th of August, my husband and I took our leaves of the Queen-Mother at her house, who had commanded all her ladies to give attendance, though her Majesty was then in a retired condition. Her Majesty expressed much resentment for our leaving that Court; and after our respects paid to her Majesty, and I receiving her Majesty's commands to our Queen, with a present, took my leave with the same ceremonies of coaches and persons as I had waited on her Majesty twice before. Upon the 20th my husband took his leave of Dom Pedro, his Majesty's brother. The 21st of August the Secretary of State came to visit me from the King and Queen, wishing me a prosperous voyage, and presented me with a very noble present. The same day I took my leave of my good neighbour the Condessa de Palma, as I had done of all the ladies of my acquaintance before, who all presented me with fine presents, as I did my good neighbour the Countess of Santa Cruz, who had with her, when I went to take my leave, many persons of quality that came on purpose there to take their leaves of me—from whom I received great civility; and the Countess gave me a very great banquet. On the 23rd of August,

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1663, we, accompanied with many persons of all sorts, went on board the King of England's frigate, called the *Reserve*, commanded by Captain Holmes; where, so soon as I was on board, the Conde de Castel-Melhor sent me a very great and noble present, a part of which was the finest case of waters that ever I did see, being made of brazil-wood garnished with silver; the bottles of crystal garnished with the same and filled with rich amber water.

Lisbon with the river is the goodliest situation that ever I saw; the city old and decayed, but they are making new walls of stone which will contain six times their city. Their churches and chapels are the best built, the finest adorned, and the cleanliest kept of any churches in the world. The people delight much in *quintas*, which are a sort of country houses, of which there are abundance within a few leagues of the city, and those that belong to the nobility very fine, both houses and gardens. The nation is generally very civil and obliging; in religion divided between Papists and Jews; the people generally not handsome. They have many religious houses and bishoprics of great revenue; and the religious of both sects for the most part very strict. Their fruits of all kinds is extraordinary good and fair; their wine rough for the most part, but very wholesome;

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their corn dark and gritty; water bad, except some few springs far from the city; the flesh of all kinds indifferent; their mules and asses extraordinary good and large, but their horses few and naught; they have little woods and less grass.

At my coming away I visited several nunneries, in one whereof I was told that the last year there was a girl of fourteen years of age burned for a Jew. She was taken from her mother so soon as she was born in prison (her mother being condemned), and brought up in the Esperança; never heard, as they to me did affirm, what a Jew was, yet she did daily scratch and whip the crucifixes, and run pins into them in private, and when discovered confessed it and said she would never adore that God.

On [Satur]day the 25th, 1663, we set sail for England, and the 4th of September (our style), being on Friday, we landed at Deal, all in good health, praised be God. Saturday the 5th we went to Canterbury and there tarried Sunday, when we went to church; and very many of the gentlemen of Kent came to welcome us into England.

And here I cannot omit relating the ensuing story, confirmed by Sir Thomas Batten, Sir Arnold Bream, the Dean of Canterbury,

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with many more gentlemen and persons of this town.

There lives not far from Canterbury a gentleman, called Colonel Culpeper, whose mother was widow unto the Lord Strangford: this gentleman had a sister, who lived with him, as the world said, in too much love. She married Mr. Porter. This brother and sister being both atheists, and living a life according to their profession, went in a frolic into a vault of their ancestors, where, before they returned, they pulled some of their father's and mother's hairs. Within a very few days after, Mrs. Porter fell sick and died. Her brother kept her body in a coffin set up in his buttery, saying it would not be long before he died, and then they would be both buried together; but from the night after her death, until the time that we were told the story, which was three months, they say that a head, as cold as death, with curled hair like his sister's, did ever lie by him wherever he slept, notwithstanding he removed to several places and countries to avoid it; and several persons told us they had felt this apparition.

On Monday the 7th of September we went to Gravesend and from thence by water to Dorset House in Salisbury Court, where we stayed fifteen days.

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The 8th of September, 1663, within two hours after our arrival, we were visited with very many kindred and friends, amongst which his Grace of Canterbury, who came the next day and dined with us. The same day came the Bishop of Winchester, as did many others of the greatest clergy in England. Upon the 10th of September my husband went to Bath, to wait on his Majesty, who was then there. His Majesty graciously received him, and for a confirmation that he approved his service of his negotiation in Portugal, he was pleased to make him a Privy Councillor. He was also very graciously received of her Majesty the Queen. Being indisposed with a long journey my husband fell sick, but it continued but two days, thanks be to God. On the 17th he went by Cornbury, where my Lord Chancellor then was, and so to London.

And in his absence, on the 16th I took a house in Boswell Court near Temple Bar for two years; immediately removing all my goods thereto, as well those (which were many) that I had left with my sister Turnor in her house in my absence, as those that I brought with me out of Portugal, which were seventeen cart-loads. Upon Saturday the 19th my husband returned from his Majesty and met me at our new house in Boswell Court. On Monday the 21st being at a great

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feast at my sister Turnor's, there met us very many of our friends, upon the same invitation, whereof Sir John Cutler was one; who after dinner brought me a box saying, "Madam, this was to go to Portugal, but that I heard your ladyship was landed." In it there was a piece of cloth of tissue, and ribbons and gloves for my children. Whilst we were at dinner there came an express from Court with a warrant to swear my husband a Privy Councillor, from Sir Henry Bennet. The 22nd we went down for Hertfordshire to my brother Fanshawe. The 24th we dined at Sir John Watt's, where we were very nobly feasted, with great kindness; and to add to my content I there met with my little girl Betty, whom I had left at nurse within two miles of that place, at my going to Portugal. After being entertained at Sir Francis Boteler's, our very good friend, we went to St. Albans to bed, where next day we bought some coach-horses, and on the 26th we returned to London. On Tuesday the 29th we went again to St. Albans, where my husband bought eight more coach-horses. The same night we returned to London. On the 1st of October the King and Queen came from the Baths, and on the 2nd of October my husband was sworn a Privy Councillor in the presence of his Majesty, his Royal Highness, and the great-

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LADY FANSHAWE, CA. 1655

From the painting in the possession of Admiral Sir A. Fanshawe

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est part of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council. On the 3rd my husband waited on her Majesty the Queen-Mother, who received him with great kindness. The 4th I waited on her Majesty at Whitehall, and there delivered the present the Queen-Mother of Portugal had sent her Majesty, who received both them and me in her Majesty's bedchamber with great expressions of kindness. I stayed with her Majesty about an hour and a half, which time her Majesty spent in asking questions of her mother, brothers and country; after which I waited on her Majesty into the drawing-room, whereinto the King entered presently after; and I seeing the King retired to the side of the room, where his Majesty came to me presently, saluting of me, and bade me welcome home with great grace and kindness; asking me many questions of Lisbon and the country.

On Sunday the 4th of October my husband took his place in the King's Chapel as Privy Councillor in the Lords' seat. Likewise this day his Grace of Canterbury took his seat, and the Bishop of Winchester, both in the same place. His Grace of Canterbury did his homage to the King the same day that my husband was sworn a Privy Councillor. I waited on the Queen-Mother at Somerset House, and the Duke and Duchess of

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York at St. James's, who all received me with great cheerfulness and grace. On the 7th the Lord Mayor invited all the lords of the Privy Council to dinner, amongst which was my husband for one. The 1st of January, New Year's day, my husband (as the custom of Privy Councillors is) presented his Majesty with ten pieces of gold in a purse, and the person that carries it hath a ticket given him of receipt thereof, from the cupboard of the privy chamber; where it is delivered to the master of the jewel-house, who is thereupon to give him twenty shillings for his pains, out of which he is to give to the servants of the master of the jewel-house eighteen pence. We received, as the custom is, fifteen ounces of gilt plate for a Privy Councillor, and fifteen ounces for Secretary of the Latin Tongue; likewise we had the impost of four tuns of wine, two for a Privy Councillor and two for a Master of Requests.

January the 16th I took my leave of the King and Queen, who with great kindness wished me a good voyage for Spain. Then I waited on the Queen-Mother at Somerset House. Her Majesty sent for me into her bedchamber, and after some discourse I took my leave of her Majesty. Afterwards I waited on their Royal Highnesses, who received me with more than ordinary kindness;

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who after an hour and a half discourse with me saluted me and gave me leave to depart. Going along the matted gallery from his Highness the Duke of York's lodgings, entering into his Majesty's withdrawing room, I found a twenty shillings piece of gold, which nobody owning that was by, I kept. On Tuesday, January the 19th, my husband carried the Speaker Sir Edward Turnor's eldest son and my brother Turnor to the King at Whitehall, who conferred the honour of knighthood on them both, my husband particularly recommending my brother Turnor to his Majesty's grace and favour.

On the 20th of January my husband took his leave of his Majesty and all the royal family, receiving the dispatches and their commands for Spain; from which hour to our going out of town, day and night our house was full of kindred and friends taking leave of us; and on Thursday, January the 21st, 1663, in the morning at 8 o'clock, we did *rendezvous* at Dorset House in Salisbury Court, in that house which Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Essex then lived in, who entertained us with a very good breakfast and banquet. The company that came thither was very great, as was likewise that which accompanied us out of town.

Thus with many coaches of our family and

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friends we took our journey at ten of the clock towards Portsmouth. The company of our family was my husband, myself, and four daughters; Mr. Bertie, son to the Earl of Lindsay, Lord Great Chamberlain of England; Mr. Newport, second son to the Lord Baron Newport; Sir Benjamin Wright, Baronet; Sir Andrew King; Sir Edward Turnor, Kt., son to the Speaker of the Commons' House of Parliament; Mr. Francis Godolphin, son to Sir Francis Godolphin, Knight of the Bath.

The most part of them went by water. We lay the first night at Guildford; the second night at Petersfield; and the third at Portsmouth, where we stayed till the 31st of the same month, being very civilly used there by the Mayor and his brethren, who made my husband a Freeman of the town, as their custom is to do to persons of quality that pass by that way. And likewise we received many favours from the Lieutenant-Governor Sir Philip Honeywood, with the rest of the commanders of that garrison. As I said, on the 31st, being Sunday, we went on board the Admiral of the fleet, then setting out (Sir John Lawson, Chief Commander), in his Majesty's ship called the *Resolution*. There was Captain Berkeley, commander of the *Bristol* frigate; Captain Utber, commander of the *Phœnix*; Cap-

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tain Terne, commander of the *Portsmouth;* Captain Mohun, commander of the *York;* and Sir John Lawson's ketch commanded by Captain King.

Thus at 10 o'clock we set sail with a good wind, which carried us as far as Tor Bay, and then failed us. There we lay till Monday the 15th of February at 9 o'clock at night, at which hour it pleased God to give us a prosperous wind. We set sail, and on the 23rd of February (our style) we cast anchor in Cadiz road in Spain. So soon as it was known that we were there, the English consul with the English merchants all came on board to welcome us into Spain, and presently after came the Lieutenant-Governor from the Governor for the time being, Don Diego de Ibarra, to give us the joy of our arrival, and to ask leave of my husband to visit him, which Don Diego did within two hours after upon the lieutenant's return. The next morning [the 6th of March] (*stilo novo*) came in a Levant wind which blew so forcibly that we could not possibly land until Friday the 7th of March, at 10 o'clock in the morning. Then came the Governor Don Diego aboard, accompanied with most of the persons of quality of that town, with many boats for the conveyance of our family, and a very rich barge covered with

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crimson damask, fringed with gold, and Persia carpets under foot. So soon as it was day, in the morning, we set sail to go nearer to the shore. We were first saluted by all the ships in the road, and then by all the King of Spain's forts, which salutation we returned again with our guns. My husband received the Governor upon the deck and carried him into the round-house; who, so soon as he was there, told my husband that, contrary to the use of the King of Spain, his Majesty had commanded that his ships and forts should first salute the King of England's ambassador; and that his Majesty had commanded that both in that place of Cadiz and in all others belonging to the Court of Madrid, my husband and all his retinue should be entertained upon the King's account in as full and ample a manner,, both as to persons and conveyances of our goods and persons, as if his Majesty were there in person. My husband and self and children went in the barge, the rest in other barges provided for that purpose. At our setting off Sir John Lawson saluted us with very many guns, and as we went near the shore the cannons saluted us in great numbers. When we landed we were carried on shore in a rich chair supported with eight men. We were welcomed with many volleys of shot, and [by] all

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the persons of quality of that town by the sea-side; amongst whom was the Governor's lady with a coach, to receive me and to conduct me to the house provided for us, as the Governor did conduct my husband with all his train. There were infinite numbers of people, who with the soldiery did shew us all respect and welcome imaginable. I was received by his Excellency Don Melchor de la Cueva, the Duke of Albuquerque's brother, and the governor of the garrison, who both led me four or five paces to a rich sedan, which carried me to the coach where the Governor's lady was, who came out immediately to salute me, and whom after some compliments I took into my coach with me and my children. When we came to the house where we were to lodge we were nobly treated, and the Governor's wife did me the honour to sup with me. That afternoon the Duke of Albuquerque came to visit my husband and afterwards me, with his brother Don Melchor de la Cueva.

And here I must tell you a Spanish compliment. As soon as the Duke was set and covered, he said, "Madame, I am Don Juan de la Cueva, Duke of Albuquerque; Viceroy of Milan; of his Majesty's Privy Council; General of the Galleys; twice a grandee; the first gentleman of his Majesty's bedchamber; and near kins-

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man to his Catholic Majesty, whom God long preserve." And then rising up and making me a low reverence, with his hat off, said, "This, with my family and life, I lay at your Excellency's feet."

They were accompanied with a very great train of gentlemen. At his going away he told me his lady would suddenly visit me. We had a guard constantly waiting on us, and sentries at the gate below and at the stairs-head above. We were visited by all the persons of quality of that town. Our house was richly furnished, both my husband's quarter and mine, the worst bed and chamber of my apartment being furnished with damask, in which my chambermaid lay: and all the chambers, through[out] the floors of them, covered with Persia carpets. The richness of the gilt and silver plates which we had in great abundance, as we had likewise of all sorts of very fine household linen, was fit only for the entertainment of so great a prince as his Majesty our master, in the representation of whose person my husband received this great entertainment. Yet I assure you, notwithstanding this temptation, that your father and myself both wished ourselves in a retired country life in England, as more agreeable to both our inclinations,

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I must not forget here the ceremony that the Governor used to my husband. After supper the Governor brought the keys of the town to my husband, saying, "Whilst your Excellency is here I am no Governor of this town, and therefore desire your Excellency from me your servant to receive these keys, and to begin and give the word to this garrison this night." My husband, with all the demonstrations of sense of so great an honour, returned his Catholic Majesty by him his humble thanks, refusing the keys and wishing the Governor much prosperity with them, who so well deserved that honour the King had given him. Then the Governor pressed my husband again for the word, which my husband gave, and was this: "Long live his Catholic Majesty!" Then the Governor took his leave, and his lady of me, whom I accompanied to the stairs-head.

The next day we were visited by the mayor and all the burgesses of the town. On the same day, Saturday the 8th, the Governor's lady sent me a very noble present of India plate and other commodities thereof. In the afternoon the Duchess of Albuquerque sent a gentleman to me to know if with conveniency her Excellency might visit me next day, as the custom of this Court is. On Sunday the 9th her Excellency

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with her daughter, who was newly married to her uncle Don Melchor de la Cueva, visited me. I met them at the stairs-head, and at her Excellency's going there parted with her. Her Excellency had on, besides other very rich jewels, as I guess, about two thousand pearls, the roundest, the whitest, and the biggest that ever I saw in my life. On Thursday, the 13th March, the English Consul with all the merchants brought us a present of two silver basins and ewers with an hundredweight of chocolate, with crimson taffeta cloths, laced with silver lace, and voiders which were made in the Indies, as were also the basins and ewers.

This afternoon I went to pay my visit to the Duchess of Albuquerque. When I came to take coach the soldiers stood to their arms, and the lieutenant held the colours, after displaying them, which is never done to any but to Kings or such as represent their persons. I stood still all the while: then at the lowering of the colours to the ground they received, for them a low courtesy from me and for himself a bow. Then taking coach with very many persons both in coaches and on foot, I went to the Duke's palace, where I was again received by a guard of his Excellency's with the same ceremony of the King's colours as before. Then I was received by the

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Duke's brother and near an hundred persons of quality. I laying my hand upon his Excellency's wrist of his right hand, he putting his cloak thereupon (as the Spanish fashion is), went up the stairs, upon the top of which stood the Duchess and her daughter, who received me with great civility, putting me into every door, and all my children, till we came to sit down in her Excellency's chamber, where she placed me on her right hand upon cushions, as the fashion of this Court is, being very rich and laid upon Persia carpets. At my return the Duchess and her daughter went out before me, and at the door of her Excellency's chamber I met the Duke, who with his brother and the rest of the gentlemen that did accompany our gentlemen during their stay there, went down together before me. When I took my leave of the Duchess, in the same place where her Excellency received me, the Duke led me down to the coach in the same manner as his brother led me up the stairs, and having received the ceremony of the soldiers I returned home to my lodgings, where after I had been an hour, Don Antonio de Pimentel, the Governor of Cadiz (who that day was newly come to town), after having been in visit with my husband came to visit me, with great compliments on the part of his Catholic

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Majesty, and afterwards upon his own score. He sent me a very rich present of perfumes, both skins, gloves and purses embroidered, with other knacks of the same kind.

Sir John Lawson being now ready to depart from Cadiz, we presented him with a pair of flagons (one hundred pounds), and a tun of Luçena wine that cost us forty pounds, and a hundred and forty pieces of eight for his men. We sent Captain Terne two hundred pieces of eight, and to his men forty pieces of eight, he having been very careful of our goods, the most of which he brought. We sent Captain Berkeley a hundred pieces of eight and to his men twenty. He carried part of our horses, as did Captain Utber, to whom we sent the like sum.

On the 19th of March we took our leave of Cadiz, where we gave at our coming away to persons that attended on us in several offices two hundred and eighty pieces of eight. We were accompanied to the water side in the same manner as we were received on shore, with all points of formalities, and having taken our leaves, with many thanks and compliments to the Governor and Don Diego de Ibarra, and his lady, and with all the rest of those persons there, to whom we were so much beholding for their civility, we entered the King's barge, which was

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newly trimmed up for the purpose, by the Duke de Medina Celi at Puerto Santa Maria. No person ever went in it before but the King. The Governor, Don Antonio de Pimentel, went with us in the barge, and many other barges were provided by him for all our train. At our going we had many volleys of shot and afterwards many cannons; and as we went, the guns of all the ships in the harbour. When we were come over the bar, all the forts by St. Mary's port saluted us; and when we came to the shore side we found many thousand soldiers in arms in very great order, with their commanders, and a bridge made on purpose for us, with great curiosity, so far into the river that the end of the bridge touched the side of the barge. At the end of the bridge stood the Duke de Medina Celi and his son, the Duke of Alcala. During the time of our landing we had infinite volleys of shot presented, with drum beating and trumpets sounding, and all the demonstrations of hearty welcome imaginable. The two Dukes embraced my husband with great kindness, welcoming him to the place; and the Duke de Medina Celi led me to my coach—an honour he said that he never had done any but once, when he waited on the Queen to help her in the like occasion. The Duke de Alcala led my eldest daughter and the

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younger son led my second, and the Governor of Cadiz, Don Antonio de Pimentel, led the third. Mrs. Kestian carried Betty in her arms. Thus I entered the Duchess of Alcala's coach, which conveyed me to my lodging, the ceremony of the King's colours being performed as at Cadiz. We passed through the streets, in which were infinite numbers of people, to a house provided for us, the best of all the place, which was caused to be glazed by the Duke on purpose for us. At our lighting out of the coaches, the Duke led me up into my apartment, with infinite number of noblemen and gentlemen of his relations. There they took their leaves of me, conducting my husband to his quarter, with whom they stayed in visit about half an hour, and so returned to his house. After I had been there three hours the Duchess of Alcala sent a gentleman to say her Excellency welcomed me to the place, and that as soon as I was reposed after my long voyage she would wait upon me. In like manner did the Marques of Bayona and his lady, and son with his lady. I must not pass by the description of the entertainment, which was vastly great, tables being plentifully covered every meal, for above three hundred persons. The furniture was all as rich: tapestry, embroideries of gold and silver, with rich Persia carpets on the floor—none could exceed this—

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with very delicate fine linen of all sorts both for table and beds, never washed, but new-cut out of the piece, and all things thereunto belonging. The plate was vastly great and beautiful, nor for ornament were they fewer than the rest of the bravery, there being very fine cabinets, looking-glasses, tables and chairs.

On Thursday the [20th] in the afternoon, the Duchess of Alcala came to visit me, who lay in but three weeks of a daughter. The day before she performed all the ceremonies and civilities which is the custom of this court, to me and mine. On the [22nd] I was visited by the Marquesa of Bayona, and all that noble family. On the 23rd I went to repay to the Duchess of Alcala her Excellency's visit, and to give her thanks for my noble entertainment, a part thereof being provided under the care of her Excellency. I went likewise to pay the visit to the Marquesa de Bayona.

On Monday the 24th we begun our journey from Puerto Santa Maria to Madrid, and taking leave of all the company we gave a hundred pieces of eight to the servants of the family, and fifty pieces of eight to the Duke's coachmen and footmen. The Duke accompanied me to the coach-side in the same manner as he did when he brought me to the coach-side when

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we landed; and afterwards my husband and the Dukes entering the Duke's coach brought us a mile out of town, as did also the Marques of Bayona and his lady, with infinite numbers of persons of the best quality of that place. That night we went to Jerez, being met a league before we came to town by the Corregidor, with many gentlemen and coaches of that place, with many thousands of common people, who conducted us to a house provided for us, as the King had commanded, with much plenty of all sorts of accommodation. My husband made his entry in the town in the Corregidor's coach, as he did in all places up to Madrid. At this town I was visited by my Lord Dongan's lady, who lives there, whose visit I repaid next day. And before I went out of the town, we received letters by a gentleman sent express from the Duke of Medina Celi and the Duke of Alcala, who both wrote to my husband, and his Duchess to me, all of them expressing great civility and kindness. By the bearer of these letters we returned our acknowledgment of their favours in our letters to all their Excellencies, and presented the knight that brought them with a chain of gold that cost thirty pound sterling.

At 9 of the clock we left the pleasant town of

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Jerez, and lodged the next night at Lebrija, and the next night at Utrera, where we saw the ruins of a brave town, nothing remaining extraordinary but the fineness of the situation. We were met there by Don Lopes de Mendoza, who was sent with his troop of horse from Seville by the command of the Assistant of that city, the Conde de Molina. There came out to meet us also the Corregidor of Utrera, with infinite number of persons of all qualities, and met us a league from the town; as did also the English consul of Seville, with many English merchants, who had clothed twelve footmen in new liveries, for to show the more respect to my husband. We were in a priest's house, which was very nobly furnished for our reception, and our treatment was answerable thereunto.

Thursday the 27th of March we entered Seville, being met a league of the city by the Assistant, the Conde de Molina, with many hundred coaches with nobility and gentry in them, and very many thousands of the burgesses and common people of the town. My husband after the usual compliments passed went into the Conde's coach. I following my husband in my own coach, as I ever did in all places, all the pages going next my coach on horseback; and then our coach of state and other coaches and litters behind, many of the

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gentlemen and servants riding on horseback; and many of the gentlemen did ride before the first coach. Thus we entered the great city (that had been) of Seville, though now much decayed. We lay in the King's palace, which was very royally furnished on purpose for our reception and all our treatment during our stay. We were lodged in a silver bedstead, quilt and the curtains and vallances and counterpanes of crimson damask, embroidered richly with flowers of gold; the tables of precious stones and the looking-glasses bordered with the same, the chairs the same; with the bed and the floor covered with rich Persia carpets, and a great *brasero* of silver filled full of delicate flowers, which was replenished every day so long as we stayed. The hangings were of tapestry, full of gold—all which furniture was never lain in but two nights when his Majesty was at Seville. Within my chamber was a dressing-room, and by that a chamber very richly furnished, in which my children lay, and within them all my women. On the other side of the chamber as I came in was my dining-room, in which I did constantly eat, I and my children eating at a table alone all the way without any company, till we came to our journey's end (where we provided for ourselves) at Vallecas, within a

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league of Madrid. In this palace the chief room of my husband's quarter was a gallery, wherein were three pair of Indian cabinets of Japan, the biggest and beautifullest that ever I did see in my life. It was furnished with rich tapestry hangings, rich looking-glasses, tables, Persia carpets and cloth of tissue chairs. This palace hath many princely rooms in it, both above and underneath the ground, with many large gardens, terrace walks, fish-ponds, and statues, many large courts and fountains; all which were as well dressed for our reception as art or money could make them. During our stay in this palace we were every day entertained with variety of recreations—as, shows upon the river, stage plays, singing, dancing, men playing at legerdemain,—which were constantly ushered with very great banquets, and so finished.

On the 30th of this present the Malaga merchants of the English presented my husband with a very fine horse which cost them three hundred pounds; and on the 1st of March the English merchants with their consul of Seville presented us with a great quantity of chocolate and as much of sugar, with twelve fine sarcenet-napkins laced, thereunto belonging, with a very large silver pot to make it in, and twelve very fine cups to drink it in, made of *filigrana*, with covers of

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the same, with two very large salvers to set them upon, of silver.

On Thursday the 3rd of April, 1664, we took our leaves of the Assistant and the rest of that noble company at Seville. The Conde de Molina, who was Assistant at Seville, presented me with a young lion; but I desired his Excellency's pardon that I did not accept of it, saying I was of so cowardly a make I durst not keep company with it. In the same manner as they received us, so they accompanied us a league onward of our way, where upon my husband's lighting out of the Conde's coach, and having with me taken leave of all the company, both he and I got up on horseback. And here we took our leave of my Lord Dongan, who with great kindness brought us so far from Jerez. Some of the Malaga merchants, and those of Seville, accompanied us forward on our journey. That night we lay at Carmona and on the 4th of April at Fuentes, the *honor* of the Marques who is now at Paris, an ambassador from the King of Spain to the court.

On the 5th we lay at Ecija, where we received noble entertainment from the noblemen and gentlemen of that town, with whom we stayed till Tuesday the 8th day of April; and then after paying thanks to these persons that had so well

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ordered that noble entertainment, with great civility to us, we went that night to Cordova, where a league before we came to the town we were met by the Corregidor, with near an hundred coaches; and a foot company of soldiers stood on each side of the way, giving volleys of shot, with display of colours and trumpets, with many thousands of people, who by fireworks and other expressions shewed much joy. Here we parted with Don Lopes, a gentleman sent from the Conde de Molina to this place to accompany us. We were lodged at a very brave house, and as bravely furnished. At night we had a play acted; and during our stay there we saw many nunneries, and the best churches, as we had likewise done at Seville and all other towns through which we had passed in our journey from the seaside. We had there the feast of the bulls, called in the Spanish tongue *juego de toros*. We had likewise another sport called *juego de cañas*, in which appeared very many fine gentlemen, fine horses and very fine trappings. We had abundance of noble entertainment that was imaginable; and yet their civilities and good manners exceeded it all, as likewise the fame of that place, which is so highly renowned in the world for noble and well-bred gentlemen. The Corregidor presented me with twelve great cases of amber and orange

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water, which is reputed the best in the world, with twelve barrels of olives, which have also the like fame. Upon Tuesday the 15th of April we took our leave of Cordova and all those noble persons therein, lodging that night at Carpio, the marquesship of Don Luis de Haro; and on the 16th we lodged at Andujar; and on [Thurs]day the 17th at Linares. [Fri]day the 18th we entered the Sierra Morena, and lodged at San Esteban, the *honor* of a Conde that is at present vice-king at Peru; and on Saturday the 19th we came out of the Sierra Morena, and lodged that night at La Torre de Juan Abad. On Sunday the 20th we lay at Membrilla, and there stayed all day; and Tuesday the 22nd at Villarta. Here rises the River Guadiana, that goes underground seven leagues before. On Wednesday the 23rd we lay at Consuegra. Here Don Juan of Austria was nursed. Thursday the 24th we lay at Mora.

On Friday the 25th we lay at the famous city of Toledo. Two leagues from that town the Marques [who was then] Governor of Toledo, met us, into whose coach my husband went with him towards the town; where within half a league he was met by four persons that represented the city, and all the city of Toledo, with all the noblemen and gentlemen of their town. A little farther the Marques's lady met me, who

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lighting out of her coach (and I to meet her), after some compliments passed, entered her coach with my children, and so pass[ed] through the street; in which there was both water-works and fire-works, and many thousand of people of all sorts, and companies of soldiers giving us volleys of shots. We alighted at the gate, the Marques leading me up into my lodgings. This house, next the King's palace at Seville, was both the largest and the noblest furnished that I did see in all my journey; as likewise all the streets of this city were hung with rich tapestry and other rich things of silver and gold and embroidery, through which we passed. We were there entertained during our stay with comedies and music and *juego de toros*, and with great plenty of provisions of all sort that were necessary to demonstrate a princely entertainment. I ate constantly at a table on purpose provided for me, at which the Marquesa kept me company; as she did likewise whenever I went to visit any remarkable place, of which there be many in Toledo; but none comparable to the great church, which, for the greatness and beauty of it, I have not seen many better, but for the riches therein, never the like. Here my husband received another message from the Duke de Medina de las Torres, desiring to meet him at Valdemoro the Friday following, his

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Catholic Majesty being then at Aranjuez. This message was sent by a gentleman of his own; the other that he sent to welcome us into the country being under-gentleman of the horse to her Majesty. Upon Tuesday, the 29th of April, we took our leaves of the Marques and his lady, giving an hundred and eighty pieces of eight among the servants of that family.

That night we lay at Illescas; and on the 30th we came to Vallecas, where we found a house provided for us. Here the King's entertainment ceased, and we provided for all the accommodations of all our family, the bare house only excepted. We continued at Vallecas till the 8th of June following, during which time there happened nothing extraordinary, the Duke often sending his secretary to my husband about business, and the master of ceremonies, and our constant endeavouring for a house; though at last we were glad to go to a part of a house of the Conde de Irvia, where the Duke of St. Germain had lived before.

Here we did receive many messages of welcome to this court from all the ambassadors and all the grandees, and I from the German ambassador's lady, the Duchess de Medina de las Torres, with great numbers of the greatest persons of quality in Madrid. The men visited my husband, but I

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could not suffer the ladies to visit me though they much desired it; because I was so straitened in lodgings that in no sort were they convenient to receive persons of that quality, in not being capacious enough for our own family; for whose accommodation we took Count Marçin's house close by this.

On Wednesday the 18th of June my husband had his audience of his Catholic Majesty, who sent to conduct him the Marques de Malpica, and brought with him a horse of his Majesty for my husband to ride on, and thirty more for his gentlemen and his Majesty's coach with his guard that he was captain of. No ambassador's coach accompanied my husband but the French, who did it contrary to the King's command, who had before, upon my husband's demanding the custom of ambassadors accompanying all other ambassadors that came into this court, at their audience, replied, that although it had been so, it should never be again; saying it was a custom brought into this court within less than these twenty-five years; and that it caused many disputes; for which he would no more suffer it. To this order all the ambassadors in this court submitted, but the French, whose secretary told my husband at his coming that morning that his master the ambassador said that his Catholic

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Majesty had nothing to do to give his master orders, nor would he obey any of them; and so great was this work of supererogation on the part of the French, that they waited on my husband from the palace home, a compliment till that time never seen before.

[My husband] about eleven of the clock set forth out of his lodgings thus: first went all those gentlemen of the town and palace that came to accompany my husband; then went twenty footmen all in new liveries of the same colour we used to give, which is a dark green cloth, with a frost upon green lace. Then went all my husband's gentlemen, and next before himself his *camarados*, two and two:—

Mr. Wycherly, Mr. Levine.
Mr. Godolphin, Sir Edward Turnor.
Sir Andrew King, Sir Benjamin Wright.
Mr. Newport, Mr. Bertie.

Then my husband in a very rich suit of clothes of a dark *fille-morte* brocade laced with silver and gold lace, nine laces, every one as broad as my hand, and a little silver and gold lace laid between them, both of very curious workmanship. His suit was trimmed with scarlet taffeta ribbon, his stockings of white silk upon long scarlet silk ones, his shoes black, with scarlet

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PHILIP IV OF SPAIN, BY VELASQUEZ
From the painting in the National Gallery

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shoe-strings and garters, his linen very fine laced, with very rich Flanders lace, a black beaver buttoned on the left side, with a jewel of twelve hundred pound, a rich curious wrought gold chain made in the Indies, at which hung the King his master's picture richly set with diamonds, cost three hundred pound, which his Majesty in great grace and favour had been pleased to give him at his coming home from Portugal. On his fingers he wore two very rich rings, his gloves trimmed with the same ribbon as his clothes. All his whole family was very richly clothed according to their several qualities. Upon my husband's left hand rode the Marques of Malpica, captain of the German guard, and the *mayor-domo* to his Majesty being then in waiting. By him went all the German guard, and by them my husband's eight pages clothed all in velvet, the same colour as our liveries. Next them followed his Catholic Majesty's coach, and then my husband's coach of state, with four black horses, the finest that ever came out of England (none going in this court with six but the King himself). The coach was of rich crimson velvet laced with a broad silver and gold lace fringed round with a massy gold and silver fringe, and the falls of the boots so rich that they hung almost down to the ground. The very fringe

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cost almost four hundred pounds. The coach was very richly gilt on the outside, and very richly adorned with brass-work, with rich tassels of gold and silver hanging round the top of the curtains round about the coach. The curtains were of rich damask fringed with silver and gold. The harness for six horses was richly embossed with brass-work, with reins and tassels for the horses of crimson silk, silver and gold. That coach is said to be the finest that ever entered Madrid with any ambassador whatsoever. Next to this followed the French ambassador's coach, then my husband's second coach, which was of green figured velvet with green damask curtains, handsomely gilt and adorned on the outside with harness for six horses suitable to the same. The four horses were fellows to those that drew the rich coach (when we went out of town using always six). After this followed my husband's third coach, with four mules, being a very good one according to the fashion of the country. Then followed many coaches of particular persons of this court.

Thus they rode through the greatest streets of Madrid, as the custom is; and all lighting within the palace, my husband was conducted up by the Marques, all the King's guard attending, through many rooms in which there was infinite numbers

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of people (as there was in the streets to see him pass to the palace), up to a private withdrawing room of his Catholic Majesty, where my husband was received with great grace and favour by his Majesty. My husband being covered delivered his message in English, interpreted afterwards by himself in Spanish. After this my husband gave his Catholic Majesty thanks for his noble entertainment from our landing to this court. To which his Catholic Majesty replied that as well for the great esteem he had ever had of his person, as the greatness of his master whom he served, he would be always glad to be serviceable to him. After my husband's obeisance to the King, and saluting all the grandees there waiting, he was conducted to the Queen, where having stayed in compliments with her Majesty, the Empress and the Prince, [he] took his leave, making his obeisance to all the ladies there waiting. He returned home in his Majesty's coach, with the Marques of Malpica, sitting at the same end on his left hand, accompanied with the same persons that went forth with him, having a banquet ready for them at their return. That day in the evening my husband visited his Excellency the Duke de Medina de las Torres; and then, the next morning, all the council of state, as the custom of this court is.

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Upon the 21st all the ambassadors at this court one after another visited my husband, as did also all the grandees and nobles, his Excellency the Duke de Medina de las Torres beginning.

On the 24th my husband had a private audience with his Catholic Majesty. On the 27th I waited on the Queen and the Empress with my three daughters and all my train. I was received at the Buen Retiro by the guard, and afterwards, when I came upstairs, by the Marquesa of Hinojosa, the Queen's *camarera mayor*, then in waiting. Through infinite number of people I passed to the Queen's presence, where her Majesty was seated at the upper end under a cloth of state upon three cushions, and on her left hand the Empress [upon] three more. The ladies were all standing. After making my last reverence to the Queen, her Majesty and the Empress rising up and making me a little curtsy, sat down again. Then I, by my interpreter Sir Benjamin Wright, said those compliments that were due from me to her Majesty; to which her Majesty made a gracious and kind reply. Then I presented my children, whom her Majesty received with great grace and favour. Then her Majesty speaking to me to sit, I sat down upon a cushion laid for me above all the ladies who sat, but below the *camarera mayor* (no woman taking

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place of her Excellency but princesses). The children sat on the other side, mingled with court ladies that are maids of honour. Thus after having passed half an hour in discourse, I took my leave of her Majesty and the Empress, making reverences to all the ladies in passing. I returned home in the same order as I came.

The next day the *camarera* [*mayor*] sent to see how I did, in compliment from her Majesty.

On the 9th of July my husband sent Don Pedro [Rojas], master of the ceremonies, a gold chain, cost four score pounds, and on the 22nd of July the merchants of Alicante sent us a piece of purple damask of 130 yards for a present.

On Saturday the 16th of August we came to the house of Siete Chimeneas, which his Majesty did give us to dwell in, having been the house where the Venetian ambassador dwelt, and went out for our accommodation by the King's command. We settled now our family in order, and tables. Our own consisted of two courses of eight dishes each, and the steward's of four. We had our money returned from England by Mr. Goddard, an English merchant living in Madrid, a very honest man, and an able merchant.

Tuesday the 26th we dined at the Casa del Campo, a house of his Majesty's, in the garden

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of which stands a very brave statue of Philip [the Third] on horseback. October the 4th we dined at the Pardo, another house of his Majesty's, which is very fine, and hath a very fine park, well stored with deer, belonging to it.

October the 10th we went privately to see Aranjuez, which was most part of it built by Philip the Second, husband to Queen Mary of England. There are the highest trees, and grown the evenest, that ever I saw. Many of them are bored through, with pipes for water to ascend, and to fall from the tops down, one against another; and likewise there are many fountains in the side of this walk, and the longest walks of elms that ever I saw in my life, the park well furnished with English oaks and elms, well stored with deer; and the Tagus makes it an island. The gardens are vastly large, with the most fountains, and the best, that ever I did see in my life. As soon as the Duke heard we were gone thither, he immediately sent orders after us for our entertainment by a post, but we were gone before, going home by Esquivias, where we saw those famous reputed cellars, which are forty-four steps down, where that admirable wine is kept in great *tinajas*, which are pots holding about five hundred gallons each. And to let you know how

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strangely they clear their wine, it is by putting some of the earth of the place in it; which way of refining their wines is done no where but there.

October the 14th the King proclaimed the lowering of the *vellon* money to the half; and the *pistole* that was this morning at eighty-two *reales* was now proclaimed to go but for 48, which was above £800 loss to my husband. October the 21st we went to see the Buen Retiro. The Duke de Medina de las Torres, who hath the keeping of this house of the King's from his Majesty, sent two of his gentlemen to shew us all that belongs thereunto. The place is adorned with much water and fountains, trees and fine gardens, with many hermitages scattered up and down the place, and a very good house for his Majesty. Yet the pictures therein did far exceed the rest, they being many, and all very curious done, by the best hands of the world in their times.

On the 27th of October we went with all our train to see the Escorial. The Duke de Medina de las Torres having procured a letter here from the convent there (which cannot be seen by any woman without his leave), likewise the Duke did send letters to the Prior, commanding him to assist in shewing all the principal parts of that princely fabric, and to lodge us in the lodging

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of the Duke de Montalto, the *mayor-domo* to her Majesty. We were near eighty persons in company, and five coaches. So soon as we were arrived there, the Prior sent two of his chief friars to welcome us to the Escorial. The friar who met us by command, a league before, at a grange house of his Majesty's, and accompanied us to the Escorial, being returned, these friars from the Prior brought us a present of St. Martin's wine, and melons, a calf, a kid, two great turkeys, fine bread, apples, pears, cream, with some other fine things of that place. On the 28th, being St. Simon and Jude's day, we all went early in the morning to see the church, where we were met by the Prior at the door, with all the friars on both sides, who received us with great kindness and respect; and all the choirs singing till we came up to their high altar. Then all of them accompanied us to the Pantheon, which was for that purpose hanged full of lights in the branches. There saw I that most glorious place for the covering of the bones of their Kings of Spain, as is possible to imagine. I will briefly give you this small description. The descent is about thirty steps, all of polished marble, and arched and lined on the sides with jasper polished. Upon the left hand, on the middle of the stairs, is a large vault, in which

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the bodies of their Kings, and Queens that have been mothers of Kings, lie in silver coffins for one year, until the moisture of their bodies be consumed. Over against this is another vault, in which lie buried the bodies of those Queens that had no sons at their death, and all the children of their Kings that did not inherit. At the bottom of the stairs is the Pantheon, built eight square, and as I guess about sixty foot over. The whole lining of it in all places is jasper, very curiously carved both in figures and flowers and imagery; and a branch for forty lights, which is vastly rich, of silver, hangs down from the top in a silver chain within three yards of the bottom, and is made with so great art, as is also this curious knot of jasper on the floor, that the reflection of the branch and lights is perfectly there to be seen. The bodies of their kings lie in jasper stones, supported every coffin with four lions of jasper at the four corners. Three coffins and three broad stones are set in every arch, which arch is curiously wrought in the roof and supported with jasper pillars. There are seven arches, and one in the middle, at the upper end, and over against the coming in, that contains a very curious altar and crucifix of jasper. From thence we saw all the convent, and the Sacristia, in which there was the principal pieces that ever

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Titian made, and the hands of many others of the most famous men that then were in the world.

After seeing the convent and every part thereof, we saw the King's palace with the Apothecary's shop, and the stillitory, and all belonging thereunto. The Escorial stands under the side of a very high mountain. It hath a fair river and a very large park well stored with deer. It is built upon a hill, and you ascend above half a mile through a double row of elm trees to the house, which is abundantly served with most excellent water and wood for their use. The front hath a large platform paved with marble, and railed with a stone baluster round about. The entry of the gate is supported with two marble pillars, each of them of one entire marble, which are near twelve feet high. It is built with seventeen courts, and gardens thereunto. Every court contains a different office. The whole is built of rough marble, with pillars of the same round the cloisters; and the walls thereof are made so smooth, that famous Titian hath painted them with stories all over, (with the story of the battle of Lepanto), and the galleries of the palace also. They have infinite numbers of fountains both within and without house. It contains a very fair palace, a convent, and a

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college and hospital; all which are exactly well kept and royally furnished. But I cannot omit saying that the finest stillitory I ever saw is there, being a very large room shelved round, with glasses sized and sorted upon the shelves, many of crystal gilt, and the rest of Venice glasses, and some of vast sizes. The floor is paved with black and white marble, and in the middle stands a furnace with five hundred stills round it, with glass like a pyramid, with glass heads.

The Apothecary's shop is large, very richly adorned with paint and gilding and marble. There is an inward room in which the medicines are made, as finely furnished and beautified as the shop. All the vessels are silver and gilt, and so are all the instruments for surgery. Nothing is wanting there for that purpose that invention or money can produce.

We were entertained with a banquet at the Prior's lodgings, and afterwards returned, accompanied with the friars, to our own lodgings, where the prior made a visit to my husband, and my husband offered to repay it again, sending to him to know if his *reverendisima señoria* would give him leave to wait on him that night to thank him for his noble entertainment (although both he and I had done it). The Prior excused the visit, and so we rested that night.

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I would not have you that read this book admire that I should not more largely describe this so unparalleled fabric of the world; but I do purposely omit the particulars, because it is in every particular exactly described by the friars and sold in that place, with all the cuts of every particular of the place; and you have it amongst your father's books. The friars of this convent are of the order of St. Lawrence.

On the 29th we returned home to our house at Madrid, where on Saturday after my little child Betty fell sick of the small-pox, as had done my daughter Ann in the month of September. But both of them (God's name be praised) recovered perfectly well without blemish. But as I could not receive (for want of capacity of room) the ladies of this court in my lodgings at the Conde de Irvia's, so I could not receive them here by reason of the small-pox in the family; and they having twice a-piece offered to visit me, I refused it upon that account.

Thursday the 27th of November I went to wait upon the Emperor's ambassador's lady at her house. Upon the 28th I went to wait upon the Duchess de Medina de las Torres; and upon the 29th the Emperor's ambassador's lady came to see me in the afternoon. The same day the Duchess de Medina de las Torres sent to excuse,

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by Don Alonso, one of the Duke's secretaries, that she could not visit me that day by reason her youngest daughter was fallen sick of a fever. Sunday the 30th of November I sent to thank the Emperor's ambassador's lady for her visit the day before, and to see how she did.

Upon the 1st of December 1664, being Monday, we let our *despensero* for seventy-two thousand *reales vellon* a year, which at forty-eight *reales* a *pistole* is one hundred and twenty-five *pistoles* a month. He [the contractor] paid me this sum this day as he is obliged to do on the first day of every month, and likewise to give me for the arrears of the *despensero* (which was near eleven weeks) fourteen thousand *reales* within two months beginning this day.

Upon the 15th of December was seen here at Madrid a very great blazing star, which to our view appeared with a train of twelve or fourteen yards long. It rose at first in the south-south-east, about twelve o'clock at night, but altered its course during the continuance thereof; and within a fortnight of its expiration it appeared at six o'clock at night with the rays reversed. It continued in our view till the 23rd day of January.

[Nov]ember the 22nd, which is the Queen of Spain's birthday, I went to give her Majesty joy

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thereof, and to the Empress and the Prince of Spain, in such forms as the custom of this court is. About this time I had sent me, by a Genoese merchant that was a banker in Madrid, a box of about a yard and a half long, and almost a yard and a half broad, and a quarter and half deep, covered with green taffeta and bound with a silver lace, with lock and key. Within, it was divided into many partitions garnished with gilt papers, and filled all full of the best and choicest sweetmeats all dry. I never saw any so beautiful and good before or since, besides the curiosity.

On the 23rd we were invited to see a show performed by forty-eight of the chiefest of the nobility of this court, who ran two-and-two on horseback as fast as the horses would run, in walks, railed in on purpose on both sides, before the palace gate, over which in a balcony sat the King, Queen, and Empress. Round about in other balconies sat the nobility of the court, and in an *entresuelo* at the King's left hand sat the chief of the ambassadors. My husband and I were with the Duke and Duchess de Medina de las Torres, in their own particular quarter in the palace, which we chose as the best place, and having the best view; whereupon we refused the balcony. The sight was very

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fine, and the noblemen and horses very richly attired.

Upon the 1st of January I received of our *despensero*, as was my due, six thousand *reales* for the month's despense, and six thousand *reales* more in part of the arrears.

Upon the 4th of January I waited on the Queen, Prince and Empress, to give them the *buenas pascuas*, as the custom of this court is.

On the 5th here came, among other diversions of sports we had this Christmas, Juan Arañia, the famous comedian, who here acted above two hours to the admiration of all that beheld him, considering that he was near upon eighty years of age.

About this time the Duke of Alba sent my husband a fat buck. I never ate any better in England. We do take it for granted in England there is nothing good to èat in Spain, but I will assure you the want is money only.

The 11th of December the President of Castile gave a warrant to an officer to execute upon Don Francisco de Ayala, to carry him prisoner, for some offences by him committed. This gentleman lived in a house within the protection of my husband's barriers, very near to his own dwelling-house; for which reason no person can give or execute a warrant for what crime soever without

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the leave of the ambassador. But notwithstanding, the officer who executed this warrant, being backed by the President of Castile, did seize the person of Don Francisco de Ayala in his own house, and carried him to prison. Notice whereof being given to my husband from him, my husband immediately wrote a letter to the President of Castile, demanding the prisoner to be immediately brought home to his house; that he would not suffer the privilege of the King his master to be broke; making farther great complaints of the usage to him. To which the next day, in a letter, the President replied that an ambassador had no power to protect out of his own house and household, with many other ridiculous excuses. But all his allegations being proved against him both by ancient and modern custom, by hundred of examples, and nothing left him to defend himself but his own peevish wilfulness, my husband pursued the business with much vigour, telling the gentleman that brought him the President's letter that his master the President, as to him[self], had once been very civil, but as to the King his master most uncivil, both in the acting and defending so indecent a business; for which reason he would not give an answer by letter to the President, because his to the Ambassador did not deserve one. All which

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my husband desired the gentleman to acquaint the President his master with. Then my husband visited the gentleman in prison,—a thing never before known of an ambassador — telling the prisoner openly before many gentlemen that were there accompanying of him, that he would have him out, or else that he would immediately leave the court. The great number of gentlemen and servants of my husband's family gave apprehensions to the keepers of the prison, when my husband demanded leave to visit the prisoner. The next day being the 16th Don Francisco de Ayala was visited, by my husband's example, by most of the council and nobility of this court. In the evening, in a letter to the Duke of Medina de las Torres, my husband enclosed a memorial to his Catholic Majesty, demanding the prisoner; saying, he was very sorry that at one time a few years ago (in the year 1650), sacrilegiously some Englishmen, whereof Mr. Sparks was one, did kill one [Ascham,] an agent of Oliver's to the Catholic King. When they had thus done all these persons by degrees made their escape but Mr. Sparks, who took sanctuary in one of their churches; notwithstanding the privilege thereof being defended both by the Archbishop of Toledo and the greatest prelates of the kingdom, he was by the King and Council pulled out of the church

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and executed;—so great at that time was the fear that this court then had of Oliver; and now violation of privileges should only have been used to his Majesty the King of England; assuring his Majesty he neither could or would put it up without ample restitution made. Upon the perusal of which memorials his Catholic Majesty did immediately command the President of Castile to send his warrant the next day, and to release Don Francisco de Ayala and to send him home immediately to my husband, which was accordingly done that night, and my husband with all his coaches and family, which were near an hundred persons, carried him and placed him in his own house, before the officers' faces that brought him home from prison. This you will find in your father's transactions in his Spanish embassy. In this action my husband did not receive so much content in the victory, as the Spaniards of all sorts,—on whom it made a very great impression; though the chief minister of state in our country did not value this, nor give the encouragement to such a noble action as was due.

And I will here impartially say what I observed of the Spanish nation, both in their customs and principles and country. I find it a received opinion that Spain affords not food either good or plentiful. Sure it is that strangers that neither

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have skill to choose nor money to buy will find themselves at a loss: but there is not in the Christian world better wines than their midland wines are especially, besides sherry and canary. Their water tastes like milk; their corn white to a miracle; and their wheat makes the sweetest and best bread in the world. Bacon beyond belief good; the Segovia veal much larger, whiter, and fatter than ours. Mutton most excellent; capons much better than ours. They have a small bird that lives and fattens on grapes and corn—so fat that it exceeds the quantity of flesh. They have the best partridges I ever ate, and the best sausages, and salmon, pikes, and sea-breams, which they send up in pickle called *escabeche* to Madrid; and dolphins, which are excellent meat; besides carps, and many other sorts of fish. The cream called *nata* is much sweeter and thicker than ever I saw in England. Their eggs much exceed ours; and so all sorts of salads and roots and fruits. That I most admired is melons, peaches, bergamot pears, and grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, figs, pomegranates. Besides that, I have eat many sorts of biscuits, cakes, cheese, and excellent sweetmeats. I have not here mentioned especially *manger blanc*. And they have olives which are nowhere so good. Their perfumes of amber

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excel all the world in their kind, both for clothes, household stuff, and fumes; and there are no such waters made as in Seville. They have daily curiosities brought from Italy and the Indies to this court, which (though I got my death wound in [it]) without partiality I must say it, is the best established court but our own in the Christian world that ever I saw, and I have had the honour to live in seven. All ambassadors live [in] as great splendour as the most ambitious can desire; and if they are just and good, with as much love as they can deserve.

In this palace none serves the King and Queen but the chiefest of the nobility and ancientest families—no, not in the meanest offices.

The nation is most superstitiously devout in the Roman Catholic religion; true in trust committed to them to a miracle, withstanding all temptations to the contrary; and it hath often been tried, particularly in poor men about Cadiz, and San Lucar, that for eight or ten pieces of eight will undertake stealing [from] the merchants their silver aboard when their shipping comes in, which sometimes by the watch for that purpose are taken; and after their examination and refusal to declare whose the silver is, or who employed them to steal this custom, they are oftentimes racked, which they will suffer with all

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the patience imaginable; and, notwithstanding their officers mingle great promises of rewards if they will confess as they execute their punishments, yet it was never known that ever any confessed. And yet these men are not worth ten pounds in the world. They are civil to all, as their qualities require, with the highest respects; so that I have seen a grandee and a duke stop his horse, when an ordinary woman passeth over a kennel, because he would not spoil her clothes, and put off his hat to the meanest woman that makes reverence, though it be their footmen's wives. They meddle with no neighbour's fortune or person, but their own families. They are punctual in visits, men to men, and women to women. They visit not together, except their greatest ministers of state to wives of public ministers from princes. If they have animosities concerning place, they will by discretion avoid ever meeting in a third place, and yet converse in each other's house all the days of their life with satisfaction on both sides. They are generally pleasant and facetious company, but in this their women exceed; who seldom laugh, and never aloud, but [are] the most witty in repartees and stories and notions in the world. They sing, but not well, their way being between Italian and [Engl]ish. They play of all kinds of instruments

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likewise, and dance with *castañetas* very well. They work little, but that rarely well, especially in monasteries. They all paint white and red, from the Queen to the cobbler's wife, old and young, widows excepted, which never go out of close mourning, nor wear gloves, nor shew their hair after their husband's death, and seldom marry. They are the finest shaped women in the world, not tall; their hair and teeth are most delicate. They seldom have many children. There is none love cleanliness more, in diet, in clothes and houses, than they do. They dress up their little oratories very fine with their own work and flowers. They have a seed which they sow in the latter end of March, like our sweet basil, but it grows up in their pots (which are often of china, large for their windows) so delicately that it is all the summer as round as a ball and as large as the circumference of the pot, of a most pleasant green and very good scent.

They delight much in the feasts of bulls, and in stage plays, and take great pleasure to see their little children act before them in their own houses, which they will do to perfection. But the children of the greatest are kept at great distance from conversing with their relations or friends, never eating with their parents but at their birth[days]. They are carried into an apart-

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ment with a priest, that says daily the office of their church, a governess, nurse and under servants, who have their allowances according to the custom of great men's houses—so many pounds of flesh, fruit, bread, and the like, with such a quantity of drink, and so much a year in money. Until their daughters marry they never stir so much as down stairs—nor marry for no consideration under their quality, which to prevent, if their fortunes will not procure them husbands, they make them nuns. They are very magnificent in houses, furniture, pictures of the best, jewels, plate and clothes, most noble in presents, entertainments, and in their equipage; and when they visit, it is with great state and attendance. When they travel they are the most jolly people in the world, dealing their provisions of all sorts to every person they meet, when they are eating.

One thing I had like to have forgot to tell you. In the palace, there never lies but one person in the King's apartment, which is a nobleman to wait the King's command. The rest are lodged in apartments at farther distance; which makes the King's side most pleasant, because it is so airy and sweet. The King and Queen eat together twice a week in public, with their children; the rest privately and asunder. They

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eat often, but flesh is their breakfast, which is generally to persons of quality, a partridge and bacon, or capon, or some such thing, ever roasted; much *chocolate* and sweetmeats, and new eggs; drinking water either cold, with snow, or *limonada*, or some such thing. Seldom their women drink wine, their maids never. They all love the feasts of bulls, and strive to appear gloriously fine when they see them.

Upon February the 11th the Emperor's ambassador's lady visited me. Upon Thursday the 19th of February went from us to England, Mr. Charles Bertie, Mr. Francis Newport, Sir Andrew King, Sir Edward Turnor, Mr. Francis Godolphin, Mr. Wycherly, Mr. Hatton, Mr. Smythe, with all their servants. This day likewise we received letters of the arrival of Mr. Price from Elvas, a gentleman of my husband's which had been sent by him on the 28th of January last post to the King of Portugal, upon business of state.

Upon the 2nd of March we went to see a country house of the Marquesa de Liche, who presented me with a dog and a bitch, perfect greyhounds, and I could put each of them into my pocket.

On Thursday the 5th I returned the visit of the Emperor's ambassador's lady. March the 8th we

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went to see a house of Don Juan de Gongora at Chamartin. On Wednesday the 18th we went to take the air, and dined at Vicalvaro. Mr. Price came from Lisbon this day to Madrid.

Upon the 20th of March, 1665 (*stilo novo*), upon desire of the Duchess de Medina de las Torres (who was then sick and had long kept her bed), I visited her Excellency, taking all my children with me. After I had been there a little while, passing those compliments, her Excellency told me that her Catholic Majesty had commanded her to assure me that her Majesty had a very high esteem for me, not only as I was the wife of a great King's ambassador, for whom her Majesty had much respect, but for my person, and the delight that her Majesty took in my conversation, assuring me from her Majesty that upon all occasions I should find her most cheerfully willing to do me all possible kindness in her court; and for a token thereof her Majesty had sent me a jewel of diamonds that cost the Queen eight thousand five hundred and fifty ducats plate, which is about two thousand pounds sterling, which then her Excellency did deliver me; saying she thought herself much honoured, and much contented, that her Majesty had employed her in a business in which she took so great a delight. I desired her Excellency to lay me at the feet of her Majesty,

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and to tell her Majesty I esteemed the honour according as I ought; of whose bounty and graces I and mine had abundantly received ever since our coming into the kingdom; that the ribbon wherewith the jewel was tied, coming from her Majesty, was a favour of which I should have bragged all the days of my life, though I could never have deserved it; much more I did esteem so rich a jewel her Majesty was pleased to send me; but above all, her Majesty's gracious acceptance of my service, and her Majesty's promise of her grace and favour to me, in which I desired I might live; giving her Excellency many thanks for the kindness on her part therein, believing that her Excellency had upon all occasions made my best actions seem double, and winked at my imperfections; but that which I did certainly know and desired her Excellency to believe was that I was her Excellency's most humble servant.

On Tuesday the 24th of March the Marquesa de Liche visited me, who had not made a visit before in seven years. On Thursday, the 26th, I returned the visit to her Excellency the Marquesa, who entertained me with a very fine banquet, and gave to my youngest girl Betty a little basket of silver plate very richly wrought.

On [Wednes]day the 8th of April, being his

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Catholic Majesty's birthday, I went to give the Empress and her Catholic Majesty the *parabien* thereof, and likewise my thanks to her Majesty for the many honours she had done me, and particularly for that of the jewel.

Upon the 5th of April here appeared a new blazing star, rising in the east about two o'clock in the morning, rising every day a quarter of an hour later than the former; so that it appeared to our view but about three weeks, because the daylight obscured it.

Thursday the 23rd of April we dined at a pleasure house of the King's, three leagues from Madrid, called the Torre del Pardo.

Monday the 2[7]th of April we went to see a garden house of the Marques de Liche, which had been the Marques de Fuentes'. The house is very finely adorned with curious pictures painted on the wall, with a very fine and large garden thereunto belonging, in which on May day following we dined.

On Sunday the 3rd of May we heard by letters from my father the sad news of the death of my good brother-in-law, my Lord Fanshawe, and at the same time of his son's being happily married to one of the daughters and heirs of Sir John Evelyn of Wiltshire, and widow to Sir John Wray of Lincolnshire.

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May the 28th, 1665, we went to see the feast of bulls, in a balcony made at the end of a street, that looked in even with the rows of houses, on the King's right hand, just below the Council's, which is over against all other ambassadors; because there sat the Pope's *Nuncio*, and the rest of the ambassadors below him; but we not owning the Pope's priority, your father was placed by himself.

June the 20th came to this court by an express the news of the total rout of the King of Spain's army, under the command of the Marques of Caraçena, by the Portuguese.

Upon the 6th of July we went to the feast of bulls again.

Upon the 7th came to my husband the happy news of our victory against the Dutch, fought upon the 13th of June, *stilo novo*.

August the 6th at eleven o'clock in the morning was born my son Sir Richard Fanshawe (God be praised), and christened at four of the clock that afternoon by our Chaplain, Mr. Bagshawe; his godfathers my cousin Fanshawe, chief secretary, and Mr. Cooper, gentleman of the horse; his godmother, Mrs. Kestian, one of my gentlewomen. The same day the Duke of Medina and his Duchess sent to give us the joy. Upon the 7th the Duke came in person to give us joy with all

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VISCOUNT FANSHAWE, K.B., OB. 1665

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his best jewels on, as the custom of Spain is to show respect.

Upon Thursday the 20th of July the Queen sent one of her Majesty's *mayor-domo's*, the Marques of Aitona, to visit me from her Majesty, and give me joy. The next day her Majesty's *camarera mayor* and the Princess Alba gave me joy; as did likewise most of the others of the greatest ladies at court.

O ever living God, through Jesus Christ, receive the humble thanks of thy servant for th[y] great mercy to us in our son; which I humbly desire [thee], O Jesus, to protect; and to make him an instrument of thy glory. Give him thy Holy Spirit, O God, to be with him all the days of his life. Direct him through the narrow path of righteousness, in faith, patience, charity, temperance, chastity, and a love and liking of thy blessed will in all the various accidents of this life. This with what outward blessings thou, O Heavenly Father, knowest needful for him, I beg of thee, not remembering his sins, nor the sins of us his parents, nor of our forefathers, but thy tender mercy which thou hast promised shall be over all thy works; and for the blessed merits of our only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom with thee and the blessed Spirit be all honour and glory, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be. Amen.

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On Thursday the 17th of September died Philip the Fourth of Spain, having been sick but four days of a flux and a fever. The day before his death, he made his will, and left the government of the King and Kingdom in the hands of his Queen, Doña Anna of Austria; and to assist her Majesty he did recommend for her council therein the President of Castile, Conde de Castrillo, the Cardinal of Toledo, the Inquisitor General, the Marques of Aitona, the Vice-Chancellor of Aragon, and the Conde de Peñaranda. He did declare for his successor, Charles the Second, that now reigns; then, in case he should die without issue, the Emperor, if he marries the Infanta, now called the Empress, to whom he is affianced; but if not, the Infanta before himself; after the Emperor, the Duke of Savoy; the Queen of France to inherit next to the Infanta, in case she be a widow, and all her children successively by another husband; but neither she can inherit [unless she be a widow] nor any child of France.

The body of Philip the Fourth lay exposed from Friday morning the 18th of September, till Saturday night the 19th, in a great room in his palace at Madrid, where he died; in which room they used to act plays. The room was hung with fourteen pieces of the King's best hangings, and

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over them rich pictures round about, all of one size, placed close together. At the upper end of the room was raised a throne of three steps, upon which there was placed a bedstead, boarded at the bottom and raised at the head. The throne was covered with a rich Persia carpet; the bottom of the bedstead with a counterpoint of cloth of gold. The bedstead was of silver; the vallance and head-cloth (for there were no curtains) was cloth of gold wrought in flowers with crimson silk. Over the bedstead was placed a cloth of state of the same, with the vallance and head-cloths of the bedstead, upon which stood a silver-gilt coffin, raised about a foot or more higher at the head than at the feet, in which was laid a pillow; and in the coffin lay Philip the Fourth, with his head on the pillow; upon it a white beaver hat; his hair combed, his beard trimmed, his face and hands painted. He was clothed in a musk-coloured silk suit, embroidered with gold, a *golilla* [ruff] about his neck; cuffs on his hands, which were clasped on his breast, holding a globe and a cross on it therein. His cloak was of the same, with his sword on his side; stockings and garters and shoestrings of the same, and a pair of white shoes on his feet. In the room were erected seven altars for the time, upon the which stood

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six candlesticks with six wax candles lighted; and in the middle of each altar a crucifix. The fore part of each altar was covered with black velvet embroidered with silver. Before the throne a rail went across from one side of the room to the other. At the two lower corners of the throne, at each side, stood a nobleman, the one holding an imperial crown, the other the sceptre; and on each side of the throne six high candlesticks with six tapers in them. The doors of that room were kept by the *mayor-domo* of the King and Queen, then in waiting, and the outward by the Italian guard.

On the Saturday night he was carried upon a bier hung betwixt two mules, upon which the coffin, with the King's body, was laid, covered with a covering of cloth of gold; and at every corner of the bier was placed a high crystal lantern, with lighted tapers in them. He was attended by some grandees who rode next after him, and other noblemen in coaches, with between two and three hundred on horseback, of which a great part carried tapers lighted in their hands. This was the company, besides footmen.

When the King's body came to the Convent of the Escorial the friars of that convent stood at the gates, and there, according to the institu-

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tion of the place, performed the ceremonies as followeth.

The priors asked the grandees, who carried the King on their shoulders (for none other must touch him), "Who is in that coffin?" and "what they do there demand." Upon which the *sumiller de corps* (which is the Duke de Medina de las Torres) answered, "It is the body of Philip the Fourth of Spain, whom we here bring for you to lay in his own tomb." Upon which the Duke delivered the Queen's letter as Regent of the kingdom, to testify that it was her Majesty's command that the King's body should be there buried. Then the Prior read the letter, and accompanied the body before the high altar, where it was for some time placed, till they had performed the usual ceremonies for that time appointed. After which the grandees took up the corpse again, and carried it down to the Pantheon; into which as soon as they were entered the Prior demanded of the Duke the covering of the King's coffin as his fee; then demanded he the keys; upon which the Duke delivered him his as *sumiller de corps*, and then the Prior's own, sent him by the Queen; and the *mayor-domo* then in waiting delivered him his. The Prior having received these three keys demanded *franca* of the Duke

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and *mayor-domo* that in that coffin was the body of Philip the Fourth; which when they had done they there left the body with the Prior, who after some time of the body's lying in the place where the Infants are buried, placed it in his own tomb. My husband, with all his family and coaches, were put into mourning for Philip the Fourth of Spain.

October the 4th following I waited upon the Queen to give her Majesty *pesame* of the King's death, who received me with great grace and favour, as likewise did the King and the Empress, who were both present.

On the 8th of October, 1665, my husband and I with all our family and son (being the first time he went out of doors) went to the Plaza Mayor to hear and see the King Charles the Second of Spain proclaimed by the Duke de Medina de las Torres, who was very richly apparelled in a silk suit embroidered with silver and gold set with diamond buttons. He was accompanied with most of the nobles in the town on horseback, as he himself was. In his right hand he carried the King's royal standard; and by his left side rode the mayor of the town. The heralds that rode before went first upon the scaffold, which was there made for that purpose before the King's balcony, where he was wont to see *juego de toros*.

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The scaffold was covered with carpets. On the Duke's both sides stood the heralds, and on his left hand the mayor, and by the heralds two notaries.

The King was proclaimed in five places; at this Square above named; at the Descalzas Reales; at the House of the Town; at the gate of Guadalajara; and the Palace.

November the 9th I went to give the Queen the *parabien* of the King's birthday, who the sixth of this month completed six years of age. Her Majesty received me with great grace and favour, causing the King to come in and receive of me the *parabien* of his *años* likewise.

The 14th of this month I went to wait on the *camarera mayor*, and the Marquesa de las Velez the King's *aya*, from both whom I received great kindness.

December the 17th, 1665, my husband, upon the part of the King his master, and the Duke de Medina de las Torres on the part of his Catholic Majesty, did conclude and signed together the peace between England and Spain, and the articles for the adjustment between Spain and Portugal; which articles were cavilled at by Lord Chancellor Clarendon and his party, that they might have an opportunity to send the Earl of Sandwich out of the way from the Parlia-

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ment, which then sat, and who as he and his friends feared, would be severely punished for his cowardice in the Dutch fight. He neither understood the customs of the court, nor the language, nor indeed anything but a vicious life; and thus was he shuffled into your father's employment to reap the benefit of his five years' negotiation of the peace of England, Spain and Portugal, and after above thirty years studying estate affairs, and many of them in the Spanish court. So much are ambassadors slaves to the public ministers at home, who often through ignorance or envy ruin them.

December the 23rd I went to give the Queen the *parabien* of her *años*, whereof she had then completed thirty-one. I likewise gave joy to the Empress and the King who were both then present.

The 6th of January, 1666, Twelfthday (*stilo novo*), my husband sent Mr. John Price, one of his secretaries, to Lisbon, to advertise the King by the Conde de Castel Melhor of his intended journey the week following.

On the 14th of this present January, the Duke of Medina de las Torres wrote a letter to my husband by the command of her Catholic Majesty, which said that for his great kindness and pains he had and did take for the accommodating a

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peace between England and Spain, and procuring a truce of thirty years between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, on the day of the ratification thereof her Majesty did give him an hundred thousand pieces of eight, and likewise, for a further expression of her Majesty's kindness, to me fifty thousand pieces of eight.

These gratifications were never paid, because Lord Sandwich was sent, to receive what advantage he could make. But the body of the peace being concluded before, by my husband, he received very small advantage thereby. But had my husband lived, he had, through their justice and kindness to him for his great wisdom and indefatigable pains in procuring a triple peace between the three crowns of England, Spain and Portugal, received this sum.

The 16th of January, 1666, being Twelfthday (English account), my husband begun his journey from Madrid to Portugal.

The day before he went, her Catholic Majesty sent the Marques Aitona to offer a set of her Majesty's *machos* to carry his litter, and another set for his coach; but my husband refused both, with many humble thanks to her Majesty for so great grace and honour done him, which he refused upon no other score, but the consideration of the length of the journey, and illness of the way,

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which the time of the year caused, which would expose the beasts to that hazard as he could not satisfy himself to put them in; and although my husband was next day pressed again to receive this favour, yet he refused it, with much respect to her Majesty, upon the fore-named reasons.

Likewise the Duke de Medina de las Torres sent two sets of very brave *machos* to convey my husband to Portugal, which he refused, with many thanks to his Excellency, upon the same account he had done those formerly to her Majesty. My husband carried none of his own horses or mules, but hired all he used, himself and retinue. He went in his own litter, and carried one of his own coaches with him, [and] five sumpters covered with his own sumpter clothes.

His retinue were :—

Mr. Fanshawe, Chief Secretary
Mr. Price, gone before to Lisbon
Mr. Cooper, gentleman of the horse
Mr. Bagshawe, chaplain
Mr. Ashburnham
Mr. Parry
Mr. Creighton
Mr. Ayres, Steward
Mr. Weedon, } Pages
Mr. Jemmett, } Pages
Mr. Broomstead, } Pages
Mr. Hellowes, butler
William, cook

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Francis, a groom
Mrs. Francis, a laundress
Four Spanish footmen

To every five mules went a *moso*, and a *sobrestante* over all. Her Majesty sent an *Alguacil* of the Court with my husband through Spain, to provide him lodgings, and to assist him in all other occasions belonging to his journey. I accompanied my husband a league out of town in our coach of state. Then he entered his litter, and so began his journey.

Within an hour after I was returned to my house, the Duke and Duchess of Medina de las Torres sent each of them a gentleman, with very kind messages to me on the part of their Excellencies.

The 17th came the Master of the Ceremonies to see me, and offered me the service of this court, with high compliments and much kindness. The 18th came the Duke of Aveiro to see me, and afterwards the Marques of Trucifal. The 19th came to see me the Baron of L'Isola's lady.

The 20th of January I received a letter from my husband from Toledo. The 26th the Marquesa de Liche came to visit me. The [2]8th the Duchess de Aveiro sent a gentleman to me to excuse her not coming to see me, by reason of

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her being with child, and not having stirred out of her chamber from the time she had conceived with child.

The 29th I received a letter from my husband from Frexinal.

The 2nd of February the Duke de Medina de las Torres sent to me Don Nicholas Navas, with letters from her Catholic Majesty and himself, to my husband; and put up the packet here before me, enclosing my letters therein, I giving it a covert, and sealing it with my seal; and a passport to the post that carried it to come and go; all which was required of me by his Excellency, who was pleased to continue this form every post that he sent during my husband's stay in Portugal.

The 12th of February the Duchess of Albuquerque sent a gentleman to excuse her not visiting me, her Excellency being sick of a fever. This night likewise the Duke sent second post to my husband as before. The 13th Father Patricio came to visit me from the Duke. The 17th died the Queen-Mother of Portugal. The 20th the Duke despatched a third post to my husband. The 23rd the Duke and his Duchess came to visit me in very great state, having six coaches and two sedans to wait on them, and above an hundred gentlemen and attendants.

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The 27th of February one of the three posts returned from my husband. Another on the 2nd of March. The third on the 5th.

On the 8th of March, 1666 (*s. n.*), returned my husband from Lisbon to this court, with all his family in very good health, God be praised. I went with my children two leagues out of town, to [Alar]con, to meet him. He brought in his company Sir Robert Southwell, an *enviado* from our King to Portugal and Spain, if need so required. My husband entertained him at his house three weeks and odd days. Upon the 26th of March came a letter from Groyne [Coruña], advertising this court of the Earl of Sandwich's arrival, extraordinary-ambassador from our King to his Catholic Majesty.

Sunday the 1[1]th of April I took my leave of the Queen of Spain, and Empress, and the King, and the next day of the *camarera mayor*, and of the King's *aya*.

The 13th of April returned from hence to the Groyne a gentleman named Mr. Werden, who came hither on the 6th of the same month, bringing letters to this court and my husband, from his lord the Earl of Sandwich, and likewise a list of the extraordinary ambassador's family, which were as followeth :—

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Mr. Sidney Montagu, his son
Sir Charles [Harbord]
Mr. Stewart
Mr. Godolphin, Secry. to the Embassy
Mr. Werden
Mr. Beadles
Mr. Cotterill
The Steward
Captain Ferrer, Gent. of horse
Mr. William Ferrer
Mr. Gately, Chirurgeon
Mr. Gibbs
Mr. Boreman, clerk of the kitchen
Mr. Lund
Mr. Kirk
Mr. Churchill
Mr. Jeffreys
Mr. Crown
Mr. Nich. Neto
Mr. Righton
Edward Hooton
Mr. Veleam
Mr. Mallard
William Killegrew
Thomas Rice
William Rich
Francis Warrington
John Ashton
Mr. Place
John Beverly
Briggs

Mr. Bridges
Mr. Clerk
Mr. Melham
Mr. Stuard
Mr. Lynch
Mr. Boddie, Interpreter
Mr. Parker
Mr. Sheres
Mr. Moore, Chaplain
Mr. Richard Gerald,
Mr. Joseph Chalmers, Under Secretaries
Francis Paston, confectioner
Henry Pyman, butler
Mr. Cook
Balfour, Attenchip } two cooks
Albion Thompson, Trumpeter
Richard Russell
Andrew Daniell
Peacock, Dennis } footmen
Thomas Gibson
Thomas Williams
Josias Brown
Jasper, El Negro
Nathaniel Bennett
Richard Cooper
The nurse
Her husband
Two maids
Nicholas Bennett
Henry Mitchell
Jo. Goodes

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On the 14th I took my leave of the Duchess de Medina de las Torres and the Marquesa de Trucifal and the Condessa de Torres Vedras. On the 15th I took my leave of the Duchess de Aveiro, who gave my daughter Katherine a jewel of twenty-seven emeralds, and to my daughter Margaret a crystal box set in gold, and a large silver box of amber pastilles to burn, and to my daughter Ann a crystal bottle with a gold neck, full of amber water, and a silver box of *filigrana*; and to my daughter Betty a little trunk of silver wire made in the Indies.

This day I likewise visited the Marquesa de Liche, and the daughter-in-law of the Almirante of Castile, the Baron de L'Isola's lady, and Don Diego Tinojo's lady, who had all visited me. On the 16th I took my leave of the Duchess of Albuquerque, and her Excellency Doña Maria de la Cueva. The Duchess showed me a large room full of gilt and silver plate, which they said did cost an hundred thousand pistoles, though to my eye it did not seem of half the worth. It was made for the Duke's journey into Germany, being the principal person intrusted to dispose of her Imperial Majesty's family and money, for his voyage to that court, and afterwards he and his lady are to return to Sicily, and there to remain Viceroy. The same

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day I took my leave of the German Ambassador's lady.

Easterday, being the 25th of April, 1666, the Infanta Doña Maria was married to the Emperor by proxy, viz. the Duke de Medina de las Torres; the ceremony thus: first went a great high coach of the Duke's, drawn by four black Flanders mares. In it were the Duchess's two sons, with other persons of quality. In Madrid none can go with six horses but the King and Queen, as I said before. Then went the coach of the Duke's, a most exceeding rich one, drawn by four grey Flanders mares, in the upper end whereof the Duke himself sat, with the German ambassador on his right hand, and the Duke of Alba on his left; in the other end, the Conde de Peñaranda, between the Duke of Pastrana and his son. After the coach followed immediately the Duke of Medina's gentleman of the horse upon a very fine white one. Then went a very rich new coach empty, of the German ambassador, made on purpose for that day, and drawn by four horses. Then followed another of the Duke's coaches, with some of his gentlemen in it. Then the German ambassador's second coach, with some of his gentlemen in it. Then one of the Duke's coaches, in which was the Baron de L'Isola, Envoy-Extraordinary

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THE EMPRESS MARGARITA TERESA BY VELASQUEZ
From the painting of Las Meninas, Madrid

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from the Emperor, and one person with him. Then another of the Duke's coaches, with more of his gentlemen. Then another of the German ambassador's coaches, with more of his family in it. The Duke's pages walked by his coach, and had gold chains across their shoulders. The Baron de L'Isola's gentlemen went in some of the before-named coaches.

On Monday the 26th Don Juan of Austria came to court to give the Empress joy, but that ceremony performed, returned immediately the same day to a retiring place his Highness hath at Oçana, near Aranjuez, which famous seat of royal recreation, for a farewell, the Empress lay at that night, being to take in her way to Denia, where she was to embark. Don Juan, from Oçana aforesaid, accompanied her Imperial Majesty two or three days' journey.

On Tuesday the 27th my husband, (invited there by the Master of the Ceremonies, and then to come in short mourning with something of jewels), gave to the Empress the joy in his master's name, also to the Queen jointly present, and then giving her daughter the hand. Sir Robert Southwell was admitted to accompany him in like manner, and perform the same function.

On Wednesday the $\frac{18}{28}$ of April, 1666, her Imperial Majesty went from the palace to the Des-

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calzas Reales, and from thence to the Atocha, from whence she began her journey for Vienna. Her passing through this town was in this manner: First passed several persons of quality in their coaches, intermixed with others. Then the two lieutenants of her Catholic Majesty's guards, on horseback. Then the two captains of the said guards, the Marques de Salinas and the Marques de Malpica, also on horseback. Then a coach of respect, lined with cloth of gold mixed with green. Then a litter of respect lined with the same stuff. Then four trumpeters on horseback. Then the Duke of Albuquerque in a plain coach. Then a hundred and twenty-four men upon horses and mules, with *portmanteaux* before them. Then two trumpeters more. Then the Empress and her *camarera mayor*, the Condessa de Benevente, in a plain, large coach. Then eight men without cloaks, on horseback, who, I presume, were pages to her Catholic Majesty. Then the Empress's nurse, and four or five pretty children of hers in a coach. Then four young ladies with caps and white feathers, with black specks in them, in another coach. Then *dueñas*, or ancient ladies. Then more young ladies, with caps and black hats, pinned up with rich jewels. Then another coach with young ladies. Then followed many other coaches irregularly. The

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Duke de Medina de las Torres, as also the German ambassador, and many of the nobility of Spain, went out of town, and stayed about a league off, for the Empress coming that way. All the meaner sort of her Imperial Majesty's train, and her carriages, as also the Duke of Albuquerque's, went before.

On Monday the 26th, I wrote to the *camarera mayor* and the Empress's *aya*, giving both their Majesties the joy of this marriage.

May the 5th we dined at Salva Tierra, two leagues from Madrid, and returned again at night.

On Friday the $\frac{18}{28}$ of May, 1666, came to Madrid the Earl of Sandwich, ambassador-extraordinary from our King to the Queen Regent of this Kingdom. My husband went with all his train two leagues to welcome him and conduct him to this court. This day twenty-two years we were married.

The 29th my Lord of Sandwich delivered my husband the King's letters of revocation, and therewith a private letter from his Majesty of great grace and favour. This afternoon my Lord Sandwich, with most part of his train, came to visit me.

June 9th (*s. n.*), being our King's birthday, my husband made an entertainment for my Lord

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of Sandwich, with all his retinue, and the rest of the English at Madrid. The next Sunday,[1] being Whit Sunday, my husband went with the Earl of Sandwich to a private audience, where my husband introduced him to the King of Spain. Monday the 14th my husband went with the Earl of Sandwich to the Duke de Medina de las Torres.

On the $\frac{5}{15}$th being Tuesday, my husband was taken sick like an ague, but turned to a malignant inward fever, of which he lay until the 26th of the same month, being [Satur]day, until 11 of the clock at night, and then departed this life, fifteen days before his intended journey for England.

" Lollio, thou art a man hast skill
To fathom things; that being tried
In either fortune, couldst abide
In both upright; and Lollio still.
Of covetous fraud a scourge severe;
On whom the all-attracting gold
Could with his tenters ne'er take hold.
Nor consul of one year. Whene'er
A virtuous magistrate and true
Shall call good gain, bid bribes avaunt,
Upon opposers' bellies plant
His conquering flags:—Lollio, that's you.
He is not happy that hath much,
But whoso can his mind dispose
To use aright what Heaven bestows,
He justly is accounted such;

[1] Note added by Lady Fanshawe. "This was the last time my husband received the communion."

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If he know how hard want to bear,
And fears a crime more than his end,
If, for his country or his friend,
To stake his life he do not fear."[1]

O all powerful Lord God, look down from heaven upon me the most distressed wretch upon earth. See me with my soul divided, my glory and my guide taken from me, and in him all my comfort in this life. See me staggering in my path; which made me expect a temporal blessing for a reward of the great integrity, innocence, and uprightness of his whole life, and his patience in suffering the insolences of wicked men, which he had to converse with, upon the public employment which thou thoughtest fit in thy wisdom to exercise him in. Have pity on me, O Lord, and speak peace to my disquieted soul now sinking under this great weight; which without thy support cannot sustain itself. See me, O Lord, with five children, a distressed family, the temptation of the change of my religion, the want of all my friends, without counsel, out of my country, without any means to return with my sad family to our own country (now in war with most part of Christendom). But above all, my sins, O Lord, I do lament with shame and confusion,

[1] These lines are from Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of the Ninth Ode of the Fourth Book of Horace.

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believing it is them for which I receive this great punishment. Thou hast shewed me many judgments and mercies, which did not reclaim me nor turn me to the holy conversation which the example of our Blessed Saviour taught. Pardon me, O God, forgive whatsoever is amiss in me; break not a bruised reed. I humbly submit to thy justice. I confess my wretchedness, and know I have deserved not only this, but everlasting punishment. But, O my God, look upon me through the merits of my Saviour, and for His sake save me. Do with me and for me what thou pleasest; for I do wholly rely upon thy mercy, beseeching thee to remember thy promises to the fatherless and widow, and enable me to fulfil thy will cheerfully in this world; humbly beseeching thee, that when this mortal life is ended, I may be joined with the soul of my dear husband, and all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear, in everlasting praises of thy Holy Name. Amen.

The next day my husband was embalmed. The 28th I begun to receive messages from the Queen and the court of Spain.

July the 4th (*s. n.*), 1666, my husband was buried by his own chaplain, with the ceremonies of the Church of England, and a sermon preached by him. In the evening I sent the body of my

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Sir Richard Fanshawe
by Sir Peter Lely
From the picture in the possession of Captain Stirling of Keir

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dear husband to Bilbao, intending suddenly to follow him. He went out of town privately, being accompanied only with a part of his retinue :—

Mr. Cooper, gentleman of his horse
Mr. Jemmett, who waited on him in his bedchamber
Mr. Rookes
Mr. Weedon
Mr. Carew
Richard Batha
Francis

His body arrived safe at Bilbao on the 14th of July, 1666, and was laid in the King's house.

The 5th of Ju[ly], 1666 (*st. n.*), the Queen-Mother sent the Master of the Ceremonies of Spain to invite me to stay with all my children in her court, promising me a pension of thirty thousand ducats a year, and to provide for my children, if I and they would turn our religion and become Roman Catholics. I answered, I humbly thanked her Majesty for her great grace and favour, the which I would ever esteem and pay with my services, as far as I was able, all the days of my life; for the latter, I desired her Majesty to believe that I could not quit the faith in which I had been born and bred, and which God had pleased to try me for many years in the greatest troubles our nation hath ever seen, and

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that I do believe and hope, in the profession of my own religion, God would hear my prayers and reward her Majesty, and all the princes of that royal family for this so great favour which her Majesty was pleased to offer me in my greatest affliction.

The 6th and 7th day of this month I was visited by the German ambassador's lady and several other ladies; also by the ambassador, and the Duke de Medina de las Torres, de Aveiro, Marques de Trucifal, Conde de Monterey, with several others of that court.

The Queen sent me for a present two thousand pistoles, which her Majesty sent me word was to buy my husband a jewel, if he had lived to the week following. I gave the Secretary of State a gold watch and chain worth about thirty pounds. I gave the Master of Ceremonies at my coming away a clock cost me forty pounds. I sold all my coaches and horses and lumber of the house to the Earl of Sandwich for thirteen hundred and eighty pistoles. I likewise sold there one thousand pounds' worth of plate to several persons, all the money I could make being little enough for my most sad journey to England.

The 8th of July, 1666, at night, I took my leave of Madrid, and of the Siete Chimeneas, the house so beloved of my husband and me

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formerly. I carried with me all my jewels, and the best of my plate, and other precious rarities, all the rest being gone to Bilbao with part of my family. All the women went in litters and the men on horseback.

Myself, my son, and my four daughters
One gentlewoman
One chambermaid
Mr. Fanshawe, my husband's secretary
Mr. Price, Under Secretary
The Chaplain, Mr. Bagshawe
Mr. Creighton
Mr. White
Mr. Hellowes
John Burton
William the cook, besides other Spanish attendants

My Lord Sandwich came in the afternoon to accompany me out of town, which offer, though earnestly pressed by my lord, as well as by other persons of quality, I refused, desiring to go out of that place as privately as I could possibly; and I may truly say, never any ambassador's family came into Spain so glorious or went out so sad.

July the 21st, after a tedious journey we arrived at Bilbao, to which place my dear husband's body came the 14th of this month, and was lodged in the King's house, with some of his servants to attend him. But I hired a house in

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the town during my stay there, in which time I received several letters, from Madrid, from England, and from Paris. The Queen-Mother was graciously pleased to procure me passes from the King of France, which I received the 21st of September (*s. n.*), accompanied with a letter from my Lady Guildford, and several others of her Majesty's court. Likewise I did receive a pass from the Duke of Beaufort, then at Lixa.

October the 1st I sent answers of letters into England to my Lord Arlington, brother Warwick, my father, and to several other persons. Here I heard the sad news of the burning of London.

October the 3rd being Sunday, 1666, I begun my journey from Bilbao, with the body of my dear husband, all my children, and all my family but three, whom I left to come with my goods by sea. The 7th of October we came to Bayonne in France, having had a dangerous passage between Spain and France. October the 9th we begun our journey from Bayonne towards Paris, where we arrived the 30th of October, being Saturday.

November the 2nd the Queen-Mother sent my Lady Guildford to condole my loss and welcome me to Paris. Many of her Majesty's family of

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their own accord did the same. On the 6th her Majesty sent Mr. Church in one of his coaches to convey me to Chaillot, a nunnery, where the Queen then was, who received me with great grace and favour, and promised me much kindness when her Majesty returned for England. Her Majesty sent by me letters to the King, Queen, Duke and Duchess of York, with a box of writings to her Majesty's secretary, Sir John Winter.

November the 11th we began our journey towards Calais, and upon the 11th of November (old style) we embarked at Calais in a little French man-of-war, which carried me to Tower wharf, where I landed the next day at night, being Tuesday, at 12 of the clock. I made a little stay with my children, at my father's house on Tower Hill. The next day, being the 13th, we went all to my own house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on the north side, where the widow Countess of Middlesex had lived before; and the same day likewise was brought the body of my dear husband.

On Saturday following, being the 1[7]th of November, 1666, I sent the body of my dear husband to be laid in my father's vault in All-Hallows Church in Hertford. None accompanied the hearse but seven of his own gentlemen,

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which had taken care of his body all the way from Madrid to London; being Mr. Fanshawe and Mr. Bagshawe, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Pr[ice], Mr. Creighton, Mr. Jemmett, and Mr. Rookes.

On the 18th my Lord Arlington visited me, proffering me his friendship, to be shown in the procuring the arrears of my husband's pay, which was two thousand pounds, and to reimburse me five thousand eight hundred and fifteen pounds my husband had lain out in his Majesty's service. Likewise I was visited to welcome me into England, and to condole my loss, by very many of the nobility and gentry, and also by all my relations in these parts.

November the 23rd I waited on the King and delivered his Majesty my whole accounts. He was pleased to receive me very graciously, and promised me they should be paid, and likewise that his Majesty would take care for me and mine. Then I delivered his Majesty the letter I brought from the Queen-Mother. Then I did my duty to the Queen, who with great sense condoled my loss; after which I delivered the Queen-Mother's letter sent to her Majesty by me. After staying two hours longer in her Majesty's bedchamber, I waited on his Royal Highness, who having condoled with me my loss of my dear husband, and promised me a ship to

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send for my goods and servants to Bilbao; then I waited on the Duchess, who with great grace and favour received me, and having been with her Highness about an hour, and delivered a letter from the Queen-Mother, I took my leave. I presented the King, Queen, Duke of York and Duke of Cambridge with two dozens of amber skins and six dozens of gloves. I likewise presented my Lord Arlington with amber skins, gloves, *chocolate*, and a great picture, a copy of Titian's, to the value of an hundred pounds; and I made presents to Sir William Coventry and several other persons then in office. In February the Duke ordered me the *Victory*, frigate, to bring the remainder of my goods and people from Bilbao, in Spain; which safely arrived in the latter end of March, 1667.

I spent my time much in petitioning and soliciting my Lord Treasurer Southampton for the present dispatch of my accounts, which did pass the Secretary, then Lord Arlington; and within two months I got a privy seal for my money, without either fee or present, which I would never fasten on my lord. Now I thought myself happy, and feared nothing less than further trouble. God, that only knows what is to come, so disposed my fortune, that losing that excellent good man and friend, my Lord South-

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ampton, my money, (which was five thousand six hundred pounds) was not paid me until December, 1669, notwithstanding I had tallies for my money above two years before. This was above two thousand pounds loss to me; besides these commissioners, by the instigation of one of their fellow-commissioners, my Lord Shaftesbury, the worst of men, [were] persuaded that I might pay for the embassy plate, which I did, two thousand pounds; and so maliciously did he oppress me as if he hoped in me to destroy the whole stock of honesty and innocence, which he mortally hates. I have been told that he did this to have a bribe. Only I wish I had given one, though I had poured it down his throat, for the good of mankind.

In this great distress I had no remedy but patience. How far this was from a reward, judge ye, for near thirty years suffering by land and sea, and the hazard of our lives over and over; with the many services of your father, and the expense of all the monies we could procure, and seven years' imprisonment, with the death and beggary of many eminent persons of our family, that, when they first entered the King's service, had great and clear estates. Add to this the careful management of the King's honour in the Spanish court after my husband's death, which I

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thought myself bound to maintain, although I had not, God is my witness, above twenty-five doubloons by me at my husband's death, to bring home a family of three-score servants, but was forced to sell one thousand pounds' worth of our own plate, and to spend the Queen's present of two thousand doubloons in my journey into England; not owing or leaving a shilling debt in Spain, I thank God; nor did my husband leave any debt at home (which every ambassador cannot say). Neither did these circumstances following prevail to mend my condition; much less found I that compassion I expected upon the view of myself, that had lost at once my husband and fortune in him, with my son of but twelve months old in my arms, four daughters, the eldest but thirteen years of age, with the body of my dear husband daily in my sight for near six months together, and a distressed family, all to be by me in honour and honesty provided for; and to add to my afflictions, neither person sent to conduct me, neither pass or ship or money, to carry me a thousand miles, but some few letters of compliment from the chief ministers, bidding "God help me," as they do to beggars—and they might have added "They had nothing for me," with great truth. But God did hear and see and help me, and brought my soul out of trouble;

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and by his blessed providence I and you live, move, and have our being; and I humbly pray God that that blessed providence may ever supply our wants. Amen.

Seeing what I had to trust to, I begun to shape my life as well as I could with my fortune, in order whereto I dismissed all my family but some few persons about me. I did at my arrival give them all mourning, and five pounds the piece, and put most of them into a good way of living, I thank God. Then in 1667 I took a house in Holborn Row, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, for twenty-one years, of Mr. Cole. (This year I christened a daughter of Lord Fanshawe with Lady Lev[enthorpe] and Sir P[hilip] W[arwick.]) Here, in this year I only spent my time in laments and dear remembrances of my past happiness and fortune, and though I had great graces and favours from the King and Queen and whole court, yet I found it impossible to find my bread in a stone, and therefore I had a thousand contrivances in my head to increase my fortune for the advantage of my children; but none did succeed to my wish.

I often reflected how many miscarriages and errors the fall from that happy estate I had been in, would throw me; and as it is hard for the rider to quit his horse in a full career, so I found

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myself at a loss that hindered me settling myself in a narrow compass suddenly, though my small fortune required it. But I resolved to hold me fast by God, until I could digest in some measure my afflictions. Sometimes I thought to quit the world, as a sacrifice to your father's memory, and to shut myself up in a house for ever from all people; but upon the consideration of my children, who were all young and unprovided for, being wholly left to my care and dispose, I resolved to suffer, as long as it pleased God, the storms and blows of fortune.

As soon as I had got my tallies placed again by the commissioners, I sold them for five hundred pounds less than my assignments, to Alderman Backwell, who gave me ready money, and I put it out upon a mortgage of Sir William Ayloffe's estate in Essex at Braxstead. In 1668 I hired a house and grounds of sixty pounds a year at Hertingfordbury in Hertfordshire, to be near my father, being but two miles from Balls, both because I would have my father's company, and because the air was very good for my children. But when God took my father, I let my time in it, and never saw it more.

About this time Sir Philip Warwick retired himself from public business to his house at Frogpool, in Kent. He had his son and

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daughter-in-law lived with him some time, until this year 1669 they went into France. She was the daughter and co-heir of the Lord Frecheville. In my brother Warwick's house at London, in 1666, died my sister Bedell, and was carried down into Huntingdonshire, to Hamerton, and was there buried by her husband in the chancel. She was a most worthy woman, and eminently good, wise, and handsome. She never much enjoyed herself since the death of her eldest daughter, who married Sir Francis Compton, and in her right he had Hamerton in Huntingdonshire. She died five years before my sister, a most dutiful daughter and a very fine-bred lady, and excellent company, and very virtuous. In this year I christened a daughter of my sister Turnor's with Sir Edward and Lady Kilmorey.

About this time died my brother Lord Fanshawe's widow. She was a very good, wise, and tender mother, but else nothing extraordinary. She was buried in the vault of her husband's family in Ware Church. Within a year after this her son, the Lord Fanshawe, sold Ware Park for twenty-six thousand pounds, to Sir Thomas Byde, a brewer of London.

Thus in the fourth generation of the chief of our family since they came into the south, they, for their sufferings for the crown, sold the flower

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MONUMENT OF SIR RICHARD FANSHAWE, WARE CHURCH

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of their estate, and near two thousand pounds a-year more; there remains but the Remembrancer's place of the Exchequer office. And very pathetical is the motto of our arms for us :—

THE VICTORY IS IN THE CROSS

I had about this time some trouble with keeping the lordships of Tring and Hitchin, which your father held of the Queen-Mother, but I, not being able to make a considerable advantage of them, gave them up again. And then I sold a lease of the manor of Burstalgarth for thirty-one years to your father from the King. Dean Hi[tch] bought it, it being convenient for him, lying upon Humber. There was a widow, one Mrs. Hillyard, hired this manor, and had so done long. She was very earnest to buy it at a very under rate. When she saw it sold, she (as was suspected) fired the house, which was burnt down to the ground within two months after I had sold it. In this year my brother Harrison married the eldest daughter of the Lord Viscount Grandison. I let in this year a lease for eleven years of Frinton Hall in Essex, to Jonathan Weir, which I hold of the Bishopric of London. This lease we bought the first year the King came home, of Doctor Sheldon, then Bishop of

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London, who was exceeding kind to us, and sold it for half the worth, which I will ever acknowledge with thankfulness.

My dear father departed this life upon the 28th of September, 16[69], being above eighty years of age, in perfect understanding, God be praised. He left me five hundred pounds to every one of my four daughters, and gave me three thousand pounds for a part of the manor of Scale's How, near Lynn, in Norfolk but the year before he died, to make my sister Harrison a jointure.

The death of my father made so great an impression on me, that with the grief I was sick half a year almost to death; but through God's mercy, and the care of Doctor Jasper Needham, a most worthy and learned physician, I recovered; and so soon as I was able to think of business I bought ground in St. Mary's Chapel in Ware Church, of the Bishop of London, and there made a vault for my husband's body, which I had there laid in by the most of the same persons that had laid him before in my father's vault in Hertford Church, deposited until I could make this vault and monument, which cost me two hundred pounds; and here, if God pleases, I intend to lie myself.

When I set up this monument there was omitted this, *And Burgess for the University of*

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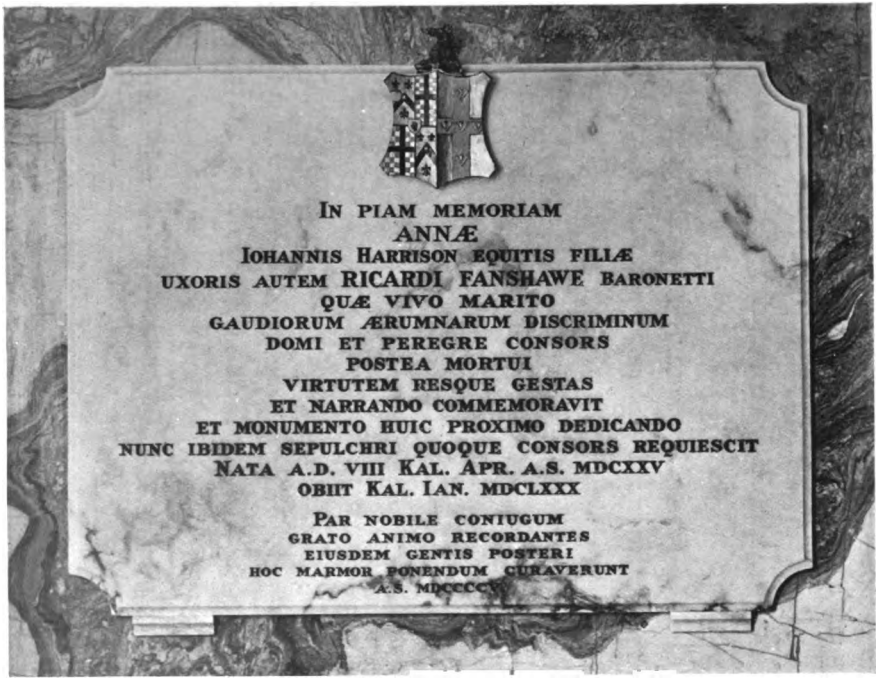

MEMORIAL OF LADY FANSHAWE, WARE CHURCH

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Cambridge; which fault I do mean to repair, by adding this inscription at the bottom of the tombstone, if God permit; the omission of it being really a trouble to me, because they chose him of their unanimous desire, without my husband's knowledge, until the Vice-Chancellor sent him a letter by an officer of theirs to his house in Portugal Row in Lincoln's Inn Fields, to acquaint him with it.

He had the fortune to be the first chosen and the first returned member of the Commons House of Parliament in England, after the King came home; and this cost him no more than a letter of thanks, and two braces of bucks, and twenty broad pieces of gold to buy them wine.

In 1671 I christened the eldest son of my brother Harrison with my Lord Grandison and Sir Edmund Turnor.

Upon St. Stephen's Day, 1671, the King shut up the [Exchequer]—

[*Note.*—The memoirs end abruptly at this point, some pages having been removed from them. They were no doubt continued down to 1676, the year in which they were transcribed.]

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APPENDIX A

THE form of a prayer used by my lord's chaplains in the daily service in his Excellency's chapel in Portugal and Spain :—

Blessed God, we beseech thee to be propitious in a singular manner to my good lord his Excellency his Majesty's ambassador in this kingdom. Preserve him unto us in health and strength; and grant that he may so manage those weighty affairs he is employed in, that the issue of his negotiation may be thy glory, the satisfaction of our sovereign, and the mutual good and benefit of all his subjects and allies. Bless his most virtuous lady; endue her with the blessings of this life, and that to come; make his children thy children, his servants thy servants, that his family may be a Bethel, an house of God; that we all, serving thee with one accord here on earth, may for ever glorify thee in heaven. Amen.

A prayer used in the daily service in the chapel after the death of his Excellency my lord Ambassador :—

Blessed God, which suppliest the wants, and relievest the troubles of thy servants, be particularly gracious to this family; and here in a most special manner bless my most virtuous lady; give her patience under thy hand, submission to thy will, and contentedness under every change. And we beseech thee so continually to

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assist her in the course of her life that she may experimentally find thee a God all-sufficient, though the helps of this world fail. Make her children thy children; bestow upon them thy choicest blessing, who have promised to be a father to the children's children of those that trust in thee. Make her servants thy servants; that this family may be a Bethel, an house of God; that we all, serving thee with one accord here on earth, may for ever hereafter glorify thee in heaven. Amen.

Sir Richard Fanshawe's chaplains were :—

Doctor Heaver, Prebendary and Vicar of Windsor, and Fellow of Eton College.

Mr. Marsden, who was left preacher to the English merchants at Lisbon by his Excellency Sir Richard Fanshawe.

Doctor Bagshawe, now Chaplain to the Lord Treasurer Danby, and Parson of the Parish of Bishopsgate in London.

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APPENDIX B

The Issue of

SIR RICHARD FANSHAWE and ANN HIS WIFE

1. Harrison Fanshawe was born at Oxford in Trinity College, on Sunday the 23rd day of February, 1645, at 9 o'clock at night. He was baptized the next day by Doctor Potter, Master of that college; my Lord Fanshawe, my husband's eldest brother, and Sir John Harrison, my father, were his godfathers, and my husband's youngest sister my Lady Boteler his godmother. He lived for fifteen days, and lies buried in the parish church of St. John's, in Oxford.

2. Ann Fanshawe was born in the Isle of Jersey, at Madame De Pomme's house, on Sunday at 8 o'clock at night, on the 7th day of June, 1646. She was baptized on the 14th day of the same month by Doctor Earle, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. My Lord Chancellor Clarendon was her godfather, the Countess of Brentford and my Lady Carteret her godmothers. She died at Tankersley Park in Yorkshire on the 22nd of July, 1654, and lies buried in the Parish Church of Tankersley in the same county.

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3. HENRY FANSHAWE was born in Lincoln's Inn Fields at Mr. Hope's house in Portugal Row, on Friday at 12 o'clock at noon, on the 30th day of May, 1647. He was baptized by Dr. Morley, now Bishop of Winchester. My Lord Fanshawe and my brother-in-law Sir Philip Warwick were his godfathers, and my sister Elizabeth Fanshawe his godmother. He died at nurse, 1649, and lies buried in my father's vault in All Hallow's Church in Hertford.

4. RICHARD FANSHAWE was born at my sister-in-law's, the Lady Bedell's house at Hamerton, in the County of Huntingdon, on the 8th day of June, 1648, and baptized by Mr. Human, the parson of that parish, Mr. Bedell and Doctor Thescross were his godfathers, and my sister Bedell his godmother. He died in the Faubourg de St. Germain in Paris on the 23rd day of October, 1659, and lies buried between the last Lord Bristol and Dean Steward in the Protestant churchyard. Doctor Cosins, afterwards Bishop of Durham, said his funeral service.

5. In November following I miscarried of a son.

6. ELIZABETH FANSHAWE was born at Madrid in the street of Santa Barbara on the 13th of June in the evening, 1650. She was baptized by Doctor Beale, Master of Jesus College in Cambridge. Mr. Avery her godfather, and my sister the Lady Turnor and my eldest daughter were godmothers. She died the 26th day of the same month, and lies buried in the chapel of the French Hospital. Doctor Beale performed the ceremonies of burial in our own lodgings.

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7. ELIZABETH FANSHAWE was born in Great Queen Street in London on the 24th of June, 1651. She was baptized by Doctor Barrow, since Bishop of St. Asaph; her godfather Sir Oliver Boteler, my Lord Fanshawe's lady and my cousin Young were godmothers. She died in 1655 at my brother Warwick's house in Kent, and lies buried in the parish church of Foot's Cray.

8. KATHERINE FANSHAWE was born in Chancery Lane, London, at my cousin Young's, on Thursday morning early, the 30th of July, 1652. She was baptized by Doctor Barrow, Sir Humphrey Bennet her godfather, the Lady Rockingham and my cousin Ayloffe her godmothers.

9. MARGARET FANSHAWE was born in Tankersley Park in Yorkshire, on Saturday at 2 o'clock afternoon, on the 9th day of October, 1653. She was baptized by Mr. Graves, parson of that parish. Mr. Edmonds her godfather, the Lady Rookeby and my cousin Boswell her godmothers.

10. In February following I miscarried of a son.

11. ANN FANSHAWE was born at my brother Warwick's in Kent on Saturday the 22nd of February, 1655, Sir William Boteler of Bedfordshire, her godfather; my sister Boteler and my sister Newce, godmothers. She was baptized by Dr. Drake.

12. MARY FANSHAWE was born in Chancery Lane in 1656, and was baptized by Doctor Drake; her godfather Sir Thomas Fanshawe; my niece

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Compton and Mrs. Heath, afterwards Sir Thomas Fanshawe's lady, her godmothers. She died in 1660 and lies buried in my father's vault in All Hallow's Church, Hertford.

13. I miscarried between this daughter and HENRY FANSHAWE, who

14. was born at Bengeo in the county of Hertford in November, 165[7]. He was baptized by Mr. Carey, the parson of that parish. Mr. Carey and Mr. Jones his godfathers, Mrs. Carey his godmother. He died the 2nd of December following, and lies buried in Bengeo Church.

Besides those whose names are recorded in the above list, which was left incomplete by her, Lady Fanshawe had the following children :—

15. ELIZABETH, born 22nd February, 1662, and like her sisters, Katherine, Margaret, and Ann (8, 9, and 11), living at the date of their mother's death in January, 1680.

16. RICHARD, born in Lisbon, 26th June, 1663—lived only a few hours.

17. RICHARD, born at Madrid, 6th August, 1665, succeeded his father as second baronet, and died, unmarried, July, 1694.

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APPENDIX C

List of Household and Belongings taken into Spain

Mr. [Lyonel] Fanshawe, Chief Secretary
Mr. Wycherly
Mr. Levine
Mr. Hatton
Mr. Jeffreys
Mr. Smyth
Mr. Price, Undersecretary
Mr. Creighton
Mr. Cooper, gentleman of the horse
Mr. Carey, under-gent. of the horse
Mr. Weedon
Mr. Jemmett
Mr. Broomstead } Pages
Mr. Le Blanc
Mr. Hellowes, chief butler
Mr. Broom, chief cook
Two undercooks
Two coachmen
Two grooms
Two footmen
Mrs. Kestian, governess to the children
Mrs. Elizabeth Kestian, house-keeper
Mrs. Le Blanc, waiting gentlewoman
Mrs. Ursula Fawcet, servant to the young gentlewomen

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Mrs. Francis, chambermaid
Ann Pigott, washmaid
A coach of state of crimson velvet, laced and fringed with silver and gold, and richly gilt, cost a thousand pounds.
A green velvet coach, cost £200.
Liveries of green velvet richly laced, for eight pages.
Twelve liveries of the same colour cloth laced, for four footmen, three coachmen, three postillions, and two grooms.
Two close wagons, with our coat of arms above them, with trunks and clothes.
Ten coach horses, the worst cost above £30, all bred in Hertfordshire
Two saddle geldings for my husband and myself.

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APPENDIX I

THE MSS. OF THE "MEMOIRS," EXTRACTS FROM THEM, AND PREVIOUS EDITIONS

THE appearance in 1795–7 of Seward's *Anecdotes*, which contained a number of extracts from Lady Fanshawe's *Memoirs*, amounting in all to some twenty pages of the present edition, probably led in the first instance to the publication of the *Memoirs in extenso* in 1829–30. They were mentioned five years previously by Horace Walpole, writing to the Countess of Ossory on 17 July, 1792, who said of them: "They were shown to me a few years ago. I had been told they were very curious, which was a little more than I found them, though not unentertaining. They chiefly dwelt on private domestic distresses and what the aristocrats of that time were apprehending from their enemies" (a very incorrect summary of the general character of the *Memoirs*), "who however were not such tigers and hyænas as the French of this day. Still so few private letters of the Civil War of 1640–1660 have been preserved, from the fears of both writers probably and receivers, that one likes to read any details." Five years earlier, again, a letter addressed to the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in December, 1787, had spoken of the *Memoirs* as "of too private and interesting a nature ever to be given to the public." They are not referred to in Sir Henry Chauncey's *History of Hertfordshire*, which appeared in 1699–1700; but some extracts[1] from them, amounting similarly to five and a half pages, were printed in Clutterbuck's *History of Hertfordshire* in 1827. These and the extracts in Seward are not quite in the *ipsissimis verbis* of the 1829–30 edition of the *Memoirs*, or of the present edition, but a certain number of the alterations were clearly editorial improvements.

[1] *These were taken from a copy of the MSS. purchased from the books of the Marquis of Townsend of Balls Park, which is not now forthcoming. In* 1817 *the brother of the historian, writing to a member of the family, stated that this copy had been made for Lord Leicester from one taken in* 1796 *by Miss Catherine Fanshawe, the poetess, from the copy by Miss Coleman, great-granddaughter of Lady Ann Fanshawe.* (*See below.*)

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Finally, the complete *Memoirs* from a somewhat incorrect copy of the original MSS. were given to the world in 1829 and in 1830. The sole credit of editing these was claimed by Sir Harris Nicolas, but as both editions are full of bad blunders there was not much merit to claim. They were dedicated to the Duchess of Clarence, afterwards Queen Adelaide, by the Reverend Charles Robert Fanshawe (grandfather of the present head of the family, Mr. H. E. Fanshawe of Dengey, and of the present editor), who had been made chaplain to the Duke in 1819, and was at the time rector of Fawley, near Henley-on-Thames. A copy of the *Memoirs* with the signature "Adelaide" on it has recently come into the possession of the family by the merest chance.

The original MSS., from which the present edition of the *Memoirs* is published, belongs to Mr. Evelyn John Fanshawe of Parsloes, the present head of the Parsloes branch. Perhaps it was given by Lady Fanshawe to Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins, the intimate friend of Sir Richard, and passed from that branch to the Parsloes branch of the family, or it may have been directly given to John Fanshawe of Parsloes (d. 1688). There is no record of any presentation in the volume, which is still enclosed in its original red leather binding, with the impaled arms of Fanshawe and Harrison stamped on it; but it bears the endorsement "Transcribed this present May, 1676, Ann Fanshawe" (see illustration at p. 2). The MSS. consist of 216 pages written on both sides of the sheet; some pages, as noted below at page 590, are missing, and the events recorded come down only to 1672, though various facts as late as 1674 are mentioned in the *Memoirs*. The pages are 14½ in. × 8½ in. in size and of pale buff colour. The watermarks on them are a bugle with its cord on a shield under a crown, and a heart and a cross between two pillars, or perhaps a Roman two—II. Besides her signature on the first page there are a few additions to the written text in the handwriting of Lady Fanshawe, which are designated in the notes in each instance. Most of the additions have been recopied on blue slips in a handwriting of a much later date than 1676.

Various copies of the MSS. exist in the family all derived from this, or, possibly, from other originals contemporary with this. In one of these copies, owned at present by Mrs. Jebb, granddaughter of General Jenkinson, to whom Frances Fanshawe, daughter of Simon Fanshawe (the head of the family in his day, who died in 1777), was married, are notes which trace the MSS. from the original through a copy in 1766 by Lady Fanshawe's great-granddaughter Charlotte Coleman and Mrs. Bell Chauncey. The former left the copy to Mr. E. S. Bowdler,[1] and from it Miss Althea Fanshawe (daughter of Simon Fanshawe and sister of Frances Jenkinson) transcribed a copy in 1786. This copy is, however, made on paper with the watermark of 1796, and is therefore clearly one from that of Miss Althea Fanshawe. As she left all her property to her nephew, the Reverend Charles Robert Fanshawe, the

[1] *The sisters of Mr. Bowdler were close friends of Miss Althea Fanshawe and of Madame d'Arblay* (*Fanny Burney*).

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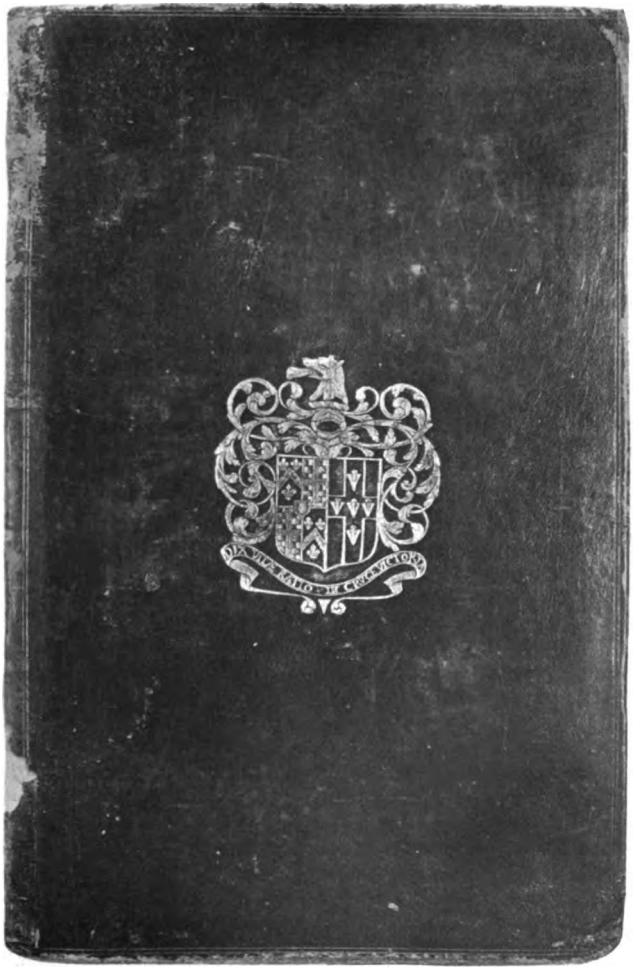

FACSIMILE OF COVER OF THE MSS. OF THE MEMOIRS

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dedicator of the first printed editions of the *Memoirs*, it would seem almost certain that her copy was the text used for these. A second copy of her transcript, owned by the late Admiral Sir Edward Fanshawe, G.C.B., contains the endorsement, "Transcribed in the year 1766 by her great-grand-daughter Charlotte Coleman.

"This Lady died in 1768 and left this manuscript, copied by her own hand and that of her friend Mrs. Bell Chauncey, to E. S. Bowdler.

"Transcribed in the year 1786 from the MSS. lent me by Mrs. Bowdler.

"ALTHEA FANSHAWE."

Neither the copy of Miss A. Fanshawe nor the original copy of the MSS. made by Miss Charlotte Coleman is now forthcoming; the latter was perhaps among the papers given by this lady to the grandfather of Colonel Walrond with the picture of Lady Fanshawe and her daughter Mary (p. 92). As Miss Coleman lived in Frith Street, Soho, it would seem probable that she was a member of the well-known family of actors and playwriters which resided in Soho Square, but it has not been possible to find any trace of her birth or death.

The *Memoirs* did not meet with any general appreciation upon their appearance. They were not noticed by the *Quarterly Review*, and the *Edinburgh Review* spoke of the book as not containing much "either of individual character or public story; it is indeed but a small affair anyway, but yet pleasing and not altogether without interest or instruction." The reviewer considered that "in point both of interest and instruction, in traits of character, warmth of colouring or exaltation of feeling there is no comparison between these gossiping and affectionate, yet relatively cold and feeble memoranda, and the earnest, eloquent, and graphic representations of the puritan heroine" (Mistress Lucy Hutchinson). Nevertheless he was pleased to express the opinion that "independent of the genealogies and obituaries, which are not altogether without interest, there is enough both of heart and sense and observation in these *Memoirs* to repay gentle and intelligent readers for the trouble of perusing them, and to stamp a character of amiableness and respectability on the memory of their author"! *The Gentleman's Magazine* in the previous month (Sept., 1829) had spoken in somewhat kindlier terms of the authoress of the *Memoirs* in observing "the beauty of her character consists in her devotedness to her husband and family, and heroic sacrifices which she made for him and her children; and the moral importance of this work is that it is an excellent lesson for wives." It may be safely asserted, however, that since then the *Memoirs* have come to be fully appreciated, and that they are now regarded by many persons with special affection: and Professor Mackail has bestowed the high commendation of "incomparable" on them, speaking of them as "the most charming and individual of any English memoirs of the period, Mrs. Hutchinson's not excepted," and of the authoress as "pure souled and free hearted as only the best women are" . . . "like one of Shakespeare's creations."

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APPENDIX II

PORTRAITS OF SIR RICHARD AND LADY FANSHAWE

THE earliest portrait of Sir Richard Fanshawe now known to exist is one of him by Dobson among the Parsloes pictures.[1] There seems to be no doubt about this attribution (see p. 335), and if so, the picture must date from 1644 or early in 1645. It represents a man of about thirty-five to forty, and Sir Richard was then thirty-six years of age. In the background is the figure of an old man with an urn, probably representing the river Alpheus, and under the seat is a comic masque, both referring no doubt to the recent translation of the "Pastor Fido," though still unpublished, by the original of the portrait. A black-and-white greyhound pushes itself up to claim the attention of his somewhat abstracted master. A replica of this formerly existed at East Horsley.

The only other oil-painting still existing in possession of the family is that among the Dengey pictures representing Sir Richard and his son of the same name, who died in Paris at the age of eleven and a half years in November, 1658. The boy in the picture, which is reproduced on page 4, would seem to be only eight to nine years old, which would refer its date to about 1655 or 1656, when the family were residing in or near London.

A third portrait of Sir Richard is that owned by Captain Stirling of Keir, Dunblane. This is a fine likeness attributed to Lely. It is reproduced by Captain Stirling's kind permission on page 196. The dress of the subject would seem to be ante-Restoration; and if the age of the subject may as well be fifty as be fifty-five, the corresponding portrait of Lady Fanshawe depicts her much older than either thirty-three (which would give the year 1658) or thirty-eight (corresponding to 1663). Perhaps, however, hers was painted after 1666 to be a companion to his. She mentions in her will "my husband's picture drawne by Lilly."

[1] *Mr. Evelyn Fanshawe of Parsloes has not been able to consent to reproduction in the present volume of any of the Parsloes family portraits, as they are not at present in his possession.*

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Fairthorne's engraving of Sir Richard, which was published with Mr. Bagshaw's sermon in 1667 (p. 565), represents him as even an older and sterner-looking man than Captain Stirling's picture does. It is a striking engraving, and one would be glad to think that it was a good likeness. It was republished in the volume of Sir Richard Fanshawe's "Letters" issued in 1702.

Another engraving of Sir Richard, published in 1793 by E. Harding, jun., and said to be after a picture of Sir P. Lely, bears no resemblance to the authentic likenesses of the poet and statesman; and it would seem probable that it is either altogether wrongly attributed or that it has been taken from a likeness of the second baronet, the only surviving son of Sir Richard Fanshawe and his wife, who died in 1694.

Of Lady Fanshawe also a number of portraits exist. That from which the poor engraving by Meyer, published with the *Memoirs* of 1829–30, was taken is a picture of the Parsloes collection, of which an excellent copy, and perhaps a replica, was owned by Admiral Sir Edward Fanshawe, G.C.B., by whose permission it appears on page 120. It had been previously engraved in a far superior style by Fiesinger in 1795, and had also been etched by Miss Katherine Fanshawe of Shabden. This would seem to represent Lady Fanshawe at about the age of thirty, and if so, would belong to about 1655–6. A very hard portrait of her among the Dengey pictures is apparently a work of some years afterwards, but having regard to the facts of her life can hardly be later perhaps than 1663.

The picture believed to be by Teniers (see description on page 442) must date from the spring of 1660, and would thus fall between the above two. It would seem to represent Lady Fanshawe before she had recovered from the grief and sickness which followed on the death of her son in October, 1659. The Keir picture of her, which corresponds with that of her husband, has been noticed above. She would certainly seem to be at least forty-five or fifty years of age in this, an age which would refer the picture to the year 1670 or 1675, when she was engaged upon the preparation of her *Memoirs*.

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APPENDIX III

THE POEMS OF SIR R. FANSHAWE[1]

THE first published poetical works of Sir Richard Fanshawe were the translations of the "Pastor Fido" and two sets of verses addressed to the Prince of Wales in 1645 and 1646, which were printed by R. Raworth[2] in quarto size in 1647, with a dedication to the Prince. In the following year these were reprinted with a second dedication, and with the addition of some earlier poems, for Humphrey Moseley at the Prince's Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard.

Among the earlier poems is "An Ode upon the King's proclamation in the year 1630, commanding the Gentry to reside upon their estates in the country," which, it may be supposed, was written before the author set out on his travels in the end of 1631 or the beginning of 1632. The text of the stanza—

> "Onely the island which wee sowe
> (A world without the world) so faire
> From present wounds, it cannot show
> An ancient skarre"—

[1] *Sir Richard's poetical tastes may have been inherited to some extent, as a well-turned sonnet, with a Shakespearean smack, by Henry Fanshawe appears in Rosse's Tears upon the death of Sir William Sackville, son of Lord Buckhurst, who died in* 1592.

[2] *According to Professor Arber, Robert Raworth was suspended in* 1608 *for printing a pirated edition of "Venus and Adonis"; but he was printing again in* 1633-40, *and, as we know from these poems, in* 1647, *when he must apparently have been an old man. Perhaps he was dead at this time, though the business was carried on under his name, as the entry in the Stationers' Hall is: "June* 8, 1647. *Widd. Raworth. Entered for her copies under the hands of Sir Nathaniel Brent and Mr. Whitaker Wardens, a booke called Il Pastor Fido written originally in Italian and now newly translated into English," etc. The entry for the next year is: "Feb. 6th* 1648. *Mr. Moseley. Assigned over to him by virtue of a note under the hand and seale of Ruth Raworth and subscribed by Mr. Latham, Warden, a book called Il Pastor Fido or the Faithful Shepherd, translated into English by Mr. Fran. (sic) Fanshaw with divers other poems annexed thereunto by the same author."*

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was unhappily destined to be blotted out by civil blood before Richard Fanshawe had done with poetry; but no doubt fair Ann Harrison agreed with the thought contained in the verses—

"Believe me Ladies you will finde
In that sweet life more solid joyes,
More true contentment to the minde,
Than all Town-toyes."

The poem on the Escorial, which the maker also translated into Latin, and the English version of Gongora's[1] sonnets may be referred to his stay in Spain during 1636–8, and that on "His Majesties Great Shippe lying almost finisht in Woolwich Docke Anno Dom. 1637, and afterwards called The Soveraigne of the Seas" must have been inspired during one of his journeys back to England. The translation of the sonnet called "The Fall" ending with the line "Much doctrine lyes under this little Stone" is a very fine one.

A Latin poem to Thomas May on his translation of "Lucan" (published 1627), and two Latin translations of poems of Thomas Carew (which do not appear in any edition of the works of that poet published in the seventeenth century), follow the "Sovereign of the Seas," and are succeeded by the verses entitled "A Canto on the Progress of Learning," all of which come before the sonnets. The last, and the translation of the Fourth Book of Virgil and the "Happy Life" from Martial, come before the verses on the trial of the Earl of Strafford, and were probably therefore written between 1638 and 1641.

Professor Mackail (*Macmillan's Magazine*, December, 1888) speaks of the translation of the fourth "Æneid" as a noble version. It is made in the Spenserian stanza, as is the poem on the "Progress of Learning."

The verses on that trial presumably belong to the year 1641. It is pleasant to find that Sir Richard, whose eldest brother was among the threatened minority who voted against the Bill of Attainder, dared to write of his former chief—

"To stand or fall, none stood so nor so fell
This far fam'd Trial hath no parallel,"

and—

"For mixt of Peace and War
He was a soldier and an orator."

It must have been bold for a royalist who had compounded to allow such lines of his to be published in 1648; but Denham's lines on the great Lord-Lieutenant were even bolder—

"Crushed by imaginary treason's weight
Which too much merit did accumulate.
. . . . . .
His wisdom such at once he did appear
Three kingdoms wonder and three kingdoms fear:
. . . . . .

[1] *I am indebted to my friend Mr. W. E. Purser, Bengal Civil Service, retired, for the identification of the original of these sonnets.*

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Such was his force of eloquence to make
The hearers more concerned than he that spake;
Each seemed to act that part he came to see,
And none was more a looker on than he."

The translations of the twenty-fourth Ode of the third book of Horace and of the sixteenth Epode[1] were presented to the Prince of Wales with a prose summary discourse of the civil wars of Rome; and as such a presentation was not likely to be prior to his entering the Prince's service, they may be referred to 1644. At the end of the discourse is a translation of the famous lines of the Sixth Æneid, from which the following may be quoted:—

"Briton remember thou to govern men,
(Be this thy trade) and to establish peace
To spare the humble and the proud suppress."

The verses, with a gift of Cæsar's Commentaries to the Prince upon going to the wars in 1645, fit gift to a Prince from his Secretary for War, bear their own date; those addressed to him in the West in 1646 were perhaps presented on New Year's Day of that year, and must have been presented before the end of February.

The original dedication of the "Pastor Fido," published in 1647, shows that the translation was put forth with this after the summer of 1646, when Sir Richard had left the service of the Prince of Wales for a time, and the author therefore calls it a "tribute of his hours of vacancy." In the preface he reads a political meaning into the play; and alleging that it originally referred to the marriage of the Duke of Savoy and the Infanta of Spain (see p. 536), and might now be considered "a Lantskip (landscape) of these kingdoms," suggests a happy marriage for the Prince as "an end of our woe." Denham's lines "to the Author of this Translation," which were published with it, are said to have been written at Oxford; and Denham, in speaking of them to the King in 1647 at Caversham House, told him they had been written two or three years since. The translation must therefore have been in currency as early as 1644, and Denham speaks of it as if it were widely known.

The edition of 1647 bears no mention of the name of the translator either on title-page or at end of dedication; that of 1648, however, has the name in both places. Neither dedication gives any exact indication of the time or place of writing. It may be noted that the portrait of Guarini and the picture of the river god Alpheus which appear in the translation are taken bodily from an edition of the original published in Venice by Gio. Battista Ciotti.[2]

Among the books of Mr. E. J. Fanshawe of Parsloes, is one with an advertisement of a copy of the "Pastor Fido" presented by Sir Richard Fan-

[1] *These translations are reprinted word for word in the editions of Horace put forth in* 1652, *but under a more modernized spelling.*

[2] *Professor Mackail is pleased to commend the translation as beautiful.*

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shawe to King Charles I, perhaps when he visited the King at Hampton Court in 1647, with the endorsement, "Dum Spiro Spero, C. R."

This collection of poems was republished by Moseley in octavo in 1664. Three years later Herringman purchased the copyright from him (the entry in the Stationers' Hall is: "Augt 19, 1667, Mr Henry Herringman, entered a booke or copie intituled ye Pastor Fido, Translated by Sir Richard Fanshawe with other poems annexed"), and in 1676, ten years after the death of the author, the latter brought out a third edition, "to be sold at the Anchor in the lower walk of the New Exchange."

In the next year (1677) was published a shameless piracy of Sir Richard's translation of the "Pastor Fido" by Elkanah Settle, who, "though a stranger to the Italian," slightly adapted the play for representation at the Duke's Theatre. This precious production was dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Delaval, wife of Robert Delaval, Esq., whom the pseudo-author compliments upon the loyalty and services of her father the Earl of Newburgh and her mother, formerly Lady Aubigny (p. 356).

In 1692 all the poems were republished for the fourth time for Richard Bentley, Jacob Tonson, Francis Sanders, and Thos. Bennet.

In 1726 there was published for Richard Montague, John Torback, and Charles Corbett a volume with the Italian on one side and on the other Fanshawe's translation of the "Pastor Fido," said to be revised and improved, but really almost identical with Sir Richard's work.

The next published poems of Sir Richard were "Selected Parts of Horace Prince of Lyricks, and of all Latin poets the fullest fraughte with excellent morality; concluding with a piece out of Ausonius and another out of Virgil, now newly put into English," which appeared in octavo in 1652. They were "printed for MM. Gabriel Bedell and T. Collins," and advertised "to be sold at their shop in the Middle Temple Gate." The entry in the Stationers' Hall on 4 February, 1652(3), is for Mercy Meighen, Gabriell Beadle and Thomas Collins. Sir Richard's name does not appear on the title-page, but a rather clumsy anagram of it (which undoubtedly includes a final E) is given under the motto "Dux vitæ ratio" (p. 584), as below. This anagram was reproduced with the "Fida Pastora."

The Latin is printed on one side of the little octavo volume of 190 pages and the translation on the other. It comprises only fourteen out of the thirty-eight of the First Book of the Odes, eleven out of the twenty of the Second Book, twelve out of the thirty of the Third Book, and seven out of the fifteen of the Fourth. Of the seventeen Epodes five only appear in the

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translation; of the Satires, No. 6 of Book I, and Nos. 1 and 6 of Book II; and of the Epistles, Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 10 of Book I.

Of the translation of the Odes Professor Mackail has written: "A gentleman's scholarship, if so antique a phrase be yet allowable in an age when the thing it expresses is fast ceasing to exist, is shown in these translations to perfection. His odes are full of turns of phrase that render some subtlety of the Latin with incomparable skill. What could be happier than this rendering of *partem de solido demere de die*—

> "There is that neither scorns to taste
> Old Massic, nor half days to waste
> Under a shady poplar spread
> Or at a babling fountains head."

Or of the *rura quæ Liris*—

> "Nor fields which quiet Liris laves,
> And eats into with silent waves."

The translation must have been a work of many years; as noted above, one ode and an epode were in their final form before 1645. A MS. copy of the translations in the British Museum and another in the possession of Professor Firth give readings which differ widely from the published version of 1652. That has never been reprinted. Lady Fanshawe added, in her own hand, to the MSS. of the *Memoirs* (p. 194) the fine lines taken from the ninth Ode of the Fourth Book.

The next poem to appear, in 1655, was the translation of the "Lusiads" of Camoëns, which Lady Fanshawe notes was made at Tankersley in 1653–4. It seems hardly possible, however, that the work should have been actually commenced there, though Sir Richard says in the dedication to the Earl of Strafford, "From the hour I begun it to the end thereof I slept not once out of these walls," as it consists of 1102 stanzas of eight lines each, or 8816 lines in all. The preface is dated 1 May, 1655,[1] or nine months after Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe had left Tankersley Park (*Memoirs*, p. 84). The title-page bears the name of Richard Fanshawe, Esq. This work also was printed in extra size by Humphrey Moseley at the Prince's Arms. The entry of it in the Stationers' Hall is: "16 Augt 1655. Mr. Moseley. Entered for his copie or book entitled the Lusiad—Englished by Richard Fanshawe Esq." No second edition of it was ever published. There are three quaint representations of Prince Henry of Portugal, Camoëns, and Vasco de Gama in it, the last signed by T. Cross.

The "Lusiads" and Sir Richard's translation are in the eight-lined stanza of which the first, third, and fifth lines, the second, fourth, and sixth lines, and the last two lines rhyme. As a specimen of the original and translation, stanza 57 of Canto III may be quoted—

[1] *The inscription of a copy of the "Lusiads" to Sir Thomas Leventhorpe (page 320) is dated July 23, 1655.*

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E tu nobre Lisboa, que no mundo
Facilmente das outras es princesa,
Que edificada foste do facundo,
Por cujo engano fai Dardania accesa:
Tu a quem obedece o mar profundo,
Obedeceste á força Portuguesa,
Ajudada tamben da forte armada,
Que das Boreaes partes foi mandada.

"And thou fair Lisbon, worthy to be crowned
Of all the cities of the world the Queen,
Which that great Prince of eloquence did found
Who by his wit Troy Town had ruined seen;
Thou, whom obeys the ocean sea profound,
By the brave Portingalls wert taken in,
Helped by a potent fleet which at that time
Happen'd to come out of the northern clime."

It is curious that Sir Richard's translation of Camoëns' invocation to the nymphs of Tagus—

"Inspire me now with high and thundering lays,
Give me them clear and flowing like his stream"

should have come so near the famous simile in Sir John Denham's poem—

"Oh could I flow like thee and make thy stream
My great example, as it is my theme!
Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull;
Strong without rage; without o'erflowing full."

These lines were not in the original edition of Cooper's Hill, but were added afterwards in the edition of 1655.

The last of Sir Richard Fanshawe's poetical works published during his lifetime was the "Fida Pastora,"[1] a Latin translation of Fletcher's play of the "Faithful Shepherdess," produced about 1609 and successfully revived in 1633–4, which was dedicated to Sir Walter Aston, K.B., among other patrons. It was printed for G. Bedell and T. Collins in 1658, and has never been republished. With the Latin translation of the play were reproduced the Latin poems which appeared in the "Pastor Fido" volume of 1648, and also the dedication of the following work to the Queen of Sweden. The frontispiece, which represents Clorinda mourning at the tomb of her lost lover, is signed Rob. Vaughan. The little book is decidedly rare.

After the poet's death were published in 1671, in quarto, two more translations of his—"Querer por solo querer" ("To Love only for Love Sake")

[1] *The entry in the Stationers' Hall is:* "16 *March* 1658. *Mr. Gab. Bedell and Mr. Thomas Collins. Entered for their copie La Fida Pastora by Rich. F. Esq.*" *Professor Mackail considers the translation to be a curious and clever piece of work, and that the beautiful short couplets of Fletcher are converted by the translator into hendecasyllabics which imitate with wonderful skill the silver speed of the English metre.*

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and the "Fiestas de Aranjuez" ("Festivals of Aranjuez"), both written in 1623 by Don Antonio de Mendoza. The first translation was dedicated to Queen Christina of Sweden, the date of the dedication being 22 July, 1654, which by some extraordinary coincidence was the very date of the death of Ann Fanshawe at Tankersley. It is signed Anglo-Britannicus, and was accompanied by the following set of Latin verses:—

"Ille ego qui (dubiis quondam jactatus in undis)
Qui (dum nunc Aulœ, nunc mihi castra strepunt),
Leni importunas mulcebam carmine curas
In quo Pastoris flamma Fidelis erat.
At nunc et castris aulisque ejectus et undis
(Nam mihi naufragium portus, et ira quies)
Altius insurgens, Regum haud intactus amores,
Et Reginarum fervidus arma cano.
Quæ (vinclis Hymenæe tuis, spretisque Coronis)
Nec juga ferre virum, nec dare jura velint.
Dulce procellosas audire ex litore fluctus,
Èque truci terram dulce videre mari."

In the dedication itself Sir Richard speaks of himself as "ultima Britannia nato, nunc insuper in reductis ejusdem partibus non una nube circumvoluto." It is headed: "Comœdiam . . . post quam Autor horum in sermonem Anglicum traduxisset, eandem (sed ab ipso hactenus suppressam) Gustavissimæ Reginæ Suecioe *sequente* epistola dedicavit," which would seem perhaps to show that the work it presented was not really published, or sent to Queen Christina in 1654.

The entry of the book in the Stationers' Hall is: "July 20th 1670. Mr. William Godbid. Entered for his copie. A book or copie intituled Querer etc. Englished by Sir R. F. in the yeare 1652."

Various critics have expressed various opinions upon the merits of the translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe, of which he himself wrote they were at the best the mock rainbow in the clouds faintly imitating the true one. Denham's verses upon the "Pastor Fido" will perhaps be generally considered to embody too favourable an estimate; for if the design of the translator was as his brother poet puts it, and puts it fairly, the execution of the work in point of smoothness and finish was by no means equal, though the inequalities are certainly less than in the later translations. The following are the best of Denham's lines:—

"That servile path thou nobly dost decline
Of tracing word by word and line by line—
A new and nobler way thou dost pursue
To make translations and translators too.
They but preserve the ashes, thou the flame,
True to his sense but truer to his fame.
Fording his current, where thou findest it low,
Lettest in thine own to make it rise and flow.

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Wisely restoring whatsoever grace
It lost by change of times or tongues or place,
Not fettered to his numbers and his times
Betrayest his music to unhappy rhymes,
Nor are the nerves of his compacted strength
Stretched and dissolved into unsinewed length:
Yet after all (lest we should think it thine)
Thy spirit to his circle dost confine."

Hallam makes no mention at all of Fanshawe's works. Thomas Campbell, however, refers to him as an accomplished traveller who gave our language some of its earliest and most important translations from modern literature." Mickle speaks of the translation of the "Lusiads" as "harsh and unpoetical," and writes of the translator that "uncountenanced by his original he teems with many a dead-born jest, nor has he the least idea of the dignity of the Epic style or of the true spirit of poetic translation." Southey, writing in the *Quarterly Review* in 1822, recorded a much more favourable opinion. "But though the Lusiad was thus published without that correction which it might otherwise have received, its main fault is not one which he was likely to have corrected; he would probably have sometimes improved the harmony of his verses, and sometimes changed a word or expression for the better; the character however of the version would have remained the same. It is pitched in a wrong key. Fanshawe was fond of the Italian poets and had caught something of their manner, which he applied injudiciously to the Lusiads, failing to perceive that Camoëns felt his subject too deeply ever to jest with it. . . . These are the faults of Fanshawe's version; and yet in criticising it justice requires that he should, as he makes his author pray to do, come off with a good tang in the end. Some things which appear low and bombastic now were not so in that age. . . . Others belong to the taste of the age for quaint expressions. . . . There is a general animation in his manner and sometimes a felicity of language which even in more celebrated authors might be deservedly admired. . . . It has also the merit of great fidelity, rendering the original stanza by stanza. The English reader who desires to see the plan of the Lusiad must still have recourse to Fanshawe." Sir Richard Burton, who reminds us that Fanshawe was born ten years before the death of Shakespeare and Cervantes, and published the translation of the "Lusiad" ten years before "Paradise Lost" was completed, writes even more kindly of his predecessor in this realm of translation: "His work is that of a gentleman, a scholar and a soldier. His English, like that of Harrington, is nervous and idiomatic. The sprightly gallant style, the gay and lively lilt, the spring and swing of the verse show he enjoyed his task . . . often comic, inverted, savage, tortured as Isaac Walton, he can be as sweet as Camoëns himself; and when he is at his best he is stirring and spirited, dignified and dramatic. A modern *littérateur* might spend his time worse than in remodelling passages which grate upon our present fastidious taste." Professor Mackail's judgment upon the various poems has been recorded above under each.

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APPENDIX IV

THE SPANISH TREATY, PROPOSED BY SIR RICHARD FANSHAWE, DECEMBER, 1665

THERE has been some controversy over the actual circumstances in which the provisional treaty signed by Sir Richard Fanshawe and the Duke of Medina de las Torres on 16–17 December, 1665, was disallowed in England, and Lord Sandwich was sent to Spain as Ambassador Extraordinary. This has never been quite cleared up, and it is desirable (1) to arrive at as correct a conclusion on it as the facts available will admit of; and (2) to form a dispassionate judgment upon the responsibility of Sir Richard for the failure of his proposals to command the approval of his superiors.

In the first place, it is necessary to be as precise as possible in the matter of dates. Now a certificate exists among the Heathcote Papers, signed by Lyonel Fanshawe, secretary to Sir Richard, after the death of the latter, stating that the rough draft of the treaty was sent to England by Major Fairborne on 1 November, 1665, and was acknowledged by Lord Arlington on 14–24 of that month; and this acknowledgment is proved independently by letters of the Secretary of State of that date, and of the 19–29 November, printed at pp. 101 and 102 of Vol. II of Lord Arlington's Letters (1701). (Sir Richard's letter forwarding the draft and its three enclosures is not forthcoming, but it may be assumed that, as he asserted, the treaty of 16–17 December was strictly in accordance with the terms of the draft.) The first of these referred to the Secretary's letter of 4 November, and informed Sir Richard that as a new body of articles was under preparation in England with the Conde de Molina, the Spanish Ambassador, his papers would be of use in preparing these. Meanwhile, he was to attend the arrival of the articles, and to prepare the Spanish Court for the speedy acceptance of them. This letter never reached[1]

[1] *The correspondence of the day is full of notices of the failure of letters from Spain to reach Whitehall and dispatches from Whitehall to reach Madrid; and there can be no doubt that official dispatches were intercepted both in Spain and in France for the benefit of the Spanish and French policies of the day. As will be seen, this state of things operated very unfavourably for Sir Richard Fanshawe in the matter of this treaty. It continued equally while Lord*

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Sir Richard: he states this specifically both on 7–17 December and the 10–20 idem directly after signing the treaty, and again on 4–14 April, 1666, when letters of 25 November from Lord Arlington and the Earl of Clarendon at last came into his hands. It was sent through the Marques of Castel Rodrigo in Flanders "as a first tryal that way," and was no doubt deliberately intercepted, so that the Duke of Medina de las Torres might induce Sir Richard to execute the treaty agreed upon in Madrid before further demands by way of concessions for trade were made from London. It is printed at page 95 of Vol. II of the Letters of Lord Arlington, and explains to the English Ambassador that the Conde de Molina had agreed verbally that (1) Spain should put herself entirely in the hands of the King of England in the matter of a peace with Portugal, provided that should be made with all decency to the Crown of Spain, and the King should declare that unless Portugal agreed to this and such other circumstances of convenience as might be proposed, he would abandon them; (2) Spain should, for the present at least, cease from importuning England for the return of Tangier and Jamaica; and (3) Spain and England should enter on an offensive and defensive treaty. The King on his side was to seek to detach Sweden from France and attach her to the Emperor. Meanwhile, certain Commissioners selected from the Privy Council to consider the whole business (and who were the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of York, and the Lord Treasurer (the Earl of Southampton) in addition to Lord Arlington) were preparing terms of trade and commerce to offer Spain, which it was said would probably be the same as those of the old printed articles (of 1630) and the new ones offered by Sir Richard in 1665. It was obviously of great importance that Sir Richard should have received this letter as soon as possible, and no doubt it was very embarrassing both to the Home Authorities and to him that he should have proceeded to the treaty of 16–17 December in ignorance of the instructions in them. Apparently Lord Arlington did not understand that the draft proposals went so far as they were intended to, as in a subsequent letter he speaks of the acceptance of them as only verbal and not of much use, though the Ambassador "had gotten some ground in the Treaty of Commerce." Whether either of the letters of the 14 or 19 November ever reached Sir Richard seems doubtful, but it is extraordinary that in them the Secretary should have relied so much on his letter of 4 November, and should not have again given express instructions in these that the Ambassador was now to hold his hand. The projected terms regarding commerce with Spain progressed slowly, of course, and had not been given to the Conde de Molina up to 10 December. In a letter of that date (Vol. II, p. 104) Lord Arlington wrote that it was understood that Sir Richard was expecting a more than verbal acceptance of what he had proposed, but that it was unlikely the

Sandwich was at Madrid, and Lord Arlington wrote to him on 3 January, 1667, that all his letters since 1–11 November had been lost, and again on 27 June in that year that many of his letters had miscarried, including two with the treaty of 12–23 May!

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Spanish ministers in Madrid would give a final answer until they knew what was proposed from London.

"And His Majesty considering to what degree it imports him to put a speedy and effectual conclusion to his treaty with Spain hath resolved the sending thither with all possible expedition, my Lord Sandwich to assist you there in the quality of his Extraordinary Ambassador, hoping that the satisfaction they will receive from that compliment will oblige them to a more than ordinary despatch. I have acquainted the Conde de Molina with it, and he assures us we shall find very good effects of it. My Lord Sandwich will carry with him the Project of a Treaty of Commerce, that you may together finish it there, as likewise other instructions towards a stricter union."

In the letter of 17 December (the day after that of the execution of the treaty in Madrid), which acknowledged one from Sir Richard reporting the Duke of Medina de las Torres had accepted two of his three papers, the Secretary of State said, "We cannot so much value ourselves upon these because not finding them so exact in all points relating to the great trade of that kingdom as were to be wished." The new project for the treaty of commerce framed by the Lords of the Council had been made over to the Earl of Sandwich instead of to the Spanish Ambassador, and Sir Richard was directed to hold his hand in these transactions, declaring the cause of it until the arrival of Lord Sandwich, assuring the Spanish Court that "the Extraordinary Ambassador would carry with him a full and entire satisfaction of all their wishes," an assurance for which there was no real foundation.

In addition to the above correspondence, a very important letter from the Lord Chancellor to Sir Richard Fanshawe, dated 25 November, 1665, from St. John's College, Oxford, failed to reach the English Ambassador at the time, and it was not till 2–12 April, 1666, that he received it from the hands of Don Patricio Omuledy. This letter did not send any instructions to Sir Richard, nor did it discuss the question of the treaty with Spain, but it dealt at length and very ably with the question of peace between Spain and Portugal. Lord Clarendon pointed out in the first place that the Portuguese could not be drawn from their alliance with France unless they had a firm peace with Spain, "and with all those formalities of title and other circumstances as are usual between Kings, which upon the matter will amount to no less than that Spain renounce the title of Portugal; and how hard digestion this is to the humour and nature of the Spaniard we all know." A truce during the minority of the King of Spain would not be considered a sufficiently good security by Portugal, and even then the title of King would have to be conceded. The third alternative of a truce or treaty in the name of the King of England was not likely to be accepted by Portugal, though Sir Robert Southwell was to press this on the Portuguese if the King could not secure either direct treaty or truce.

"I do confess to you," added the Chancellor, "I do even despair of bringing them (the Portuguese) to that condescension for they are exceedingly elated, and you are sure the French use all their arts by promises and threats

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and barefaced suggestions without shadow of truth to prevent either peace or truce: and therefore if Spain will not help us by making reasonable condescensions, they will regret it when it is too late."

None of these letters having reached Sir Richard, and the despatches from England throughout the summer having urged him to press on his business with the Spanish Court, he and the Duke of Medina de las Torres signed the treaty of 16–17 December, 1665. Of that he wrote to Lord Arlington on 17 December (Harleian MSS. 7010, in British Museum) that he had ever since the 6th instant been in daily expectation that the Duke would call upon him for a further conference, "which if he happened to do before I received further light from your Lordship by it or some other despatch I should then hold a wolf by the ears.

"But being summoned to a conference with him on Thursday last (30 Nov.–10 Dec.) and not having to this hour received that my long letter (of 4th Nov.) before mentioned nor any answer to my despatch by Major Fairborne, I have now at last together with the Duke signed a paper conformable to that despatch and shall speedily remit it to your lordship. I have been so very cautious in all the contents thereof that I do well hope the King our master will find nothing to dislike therein. However I wish I had had that light before me at the time, and that yet the same or a duplicate thereof would come with the soonest to serve me for a guide in greater matter than any I have hitherto entered upon."

In a postscript dated 10–20 December, Sir Richard added:

"Your lordship's long (letter) to me the 5th[1] of November is not yet arrived which makes me give it utterly for lost and to wish a duplicate of it, hoping from thence great light for what is next to be treated either here or in England whereby to know at what rate either to hold my hand or to advance. Neither have I yet received any letter from your lordship that takes notice of my despatch by Major Fairborne the which contained the full effect of what I concluded with the Duke the 17th instant above mentioned, from which I infer there was nothing therein that startled the King our master, for that in such case . . . I should before this time have had an Express here if not two from His Majesty to command me stop." The "summe" of all was, the Ambassador continued, as follows:

"A peace between England and Spain renewed, and commerce adjusted upon much better and clearer terms than ever formerly.

"A long and honourable truce with Portugal, if the King of Portugal so thinks and closes thereupon.

"In order thereunto it is judged convenient that I pass in person to that Kingdom about a fortnight hence."

Sir Richard then went on to say that the Duke was pressing him to propose in writing an offensive and defensive treaty between England and Spain, and to express the opinion that this had better be treated of in the north.

Writing to Lord Clarendon also regarding the treaty, on 11–21 December,

[1] *The correct date was 4 November.*

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Sir Richard said: "I doubt nothing of your lordship's favourable interpretation of all on my behalf, being conscious of my own integrity and care to the utmost of my capacity."

In acknowledging this letter and two subsequent ones of the 9–19 and 10–20 December, Lord Arlington wrote on 7 January, 1666: "I am heartily glad of the good period you have put to the first part of your negotiation, and hope you will finish the same as successfully. It may possibly fall out that something we have done with relation to the trade may need amendment, which I hope you have left room for"—which shows that at first sight the Secretary of State approved of the treaty as a whole, which, as will be seen below, closely followed for the most part the treaty of 1630 and the proposals of 1665 on which the councillors at Whitehall were themselves proposing to proceed.

In forwarding the treaty of thirty-four articles to England, Sir Richard wrote to the King himself on 4 January, 1666 (Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 109), that he did so "well hoping your Majesty will find no cause to suspend the Ratification on your part in respect to the matter and hoping also your Majesty will not like it the worse in respect of the time, when so many various Rumours and Intelligences run of new intended wars and combinations in the world . . . being pleased even in that regard to send it back ratified with the more celerity to the end it may yield to both crowns, and the subjects and allies of both the earlier fruits thereof and contentment therein." Sir Richard referred to the proposed truce for thirty years between Spain and Portugal, and to the question of a closer alliance between Spain and England, and pointed out that the former must precede the latter if that was to be of any real benefit to England. As regards facilities for commerce, he observed that though he had not specifically provided for free trade in the West Indies, yet he had secured other benefits and advantages to trade, and especially by the concession to introduce East India commodities into Spain; and it may be remarked that neither did Lord Sandwich's treaty in 1667 specially deal with the case of trade in the West Indies, which was not provided for till Sir William Godolphin's treaty of later date.

The next letter in this connexion, and the last which need be quoted here, is that of Sir Richard to Lord Arlington from Madrid on 12 March, 1666, after a long interval of silence in Portugal, in which he wrote:

"One very good fortune I had as to my particular, namely that (the letter) of the 7th Jan. arrived in the neck of that of 17th December (O.S), being 10 days after I signed the articles with the Duke, the latter written putting me out of no small fit of melancholy into which the former had cast me.

"I do assure your Lordship (and so I perceive it interpreted in my favour) I acted all for the best according to the clearest lights I then had, your Lordship's in cypher of 5th Novr. being never like to come to my view, and my Lord Chancellor's by Don Patricio Muledy not yet received, he continuing his cuuarentena to this day at Membrills. Besides it will be since found I did make it my special care to leave such rooms as your lordship wishes in that of the

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7th for what might be needful of amendment in reference to the trade, as also that (even without such express caution) the basket is no more pinned now in that respect by the new treaty I have signed than it was at my coming into Spain by the treaty of 1630 according to the construction and constant asseveration of this Court, not enduring of me for a long time to pretend to any more, and challenging us for Peacebreakers in reference thereunto upon the accompt of his Majesty's assisting Portugal, all which I did constantly advertise into England as your Lordship cannot but remember perfectly."

From these papers it is clear (1) that Fanshawe's *draft proposals* for his treaty were originally disapproved by a commission of the Privy Council specially appointed by the King to consider the terms of a treaty with Spain, which they had intended to offer to the Spanish Ambassador in London, the Conde de Molina, to send to his crown; (2) that instructions to Fanshawe informing him of the proposed negotiations in London, and letters commenting upon the alleged defects of his proposals, sent home on 1 November, did not reach him until long after he had signed the treaty of 16–17 December, and had followed this up by proceeding to Portugal in order to complete an agreement between that country and Spain; and (3) that originally it was not intended to recall him, but to send the Earl of Sandwich as an Ambassador Extraordinary to complete with the Ambassador in Ordinary the work in which he had proceeded so far.

In any case the actual treaty had neither been signed nor dispatched by 10 December, when the appointment of Lord Sandwich was announced, and, as a matter of fact, that must have been made in the first days of the month, as it is recorded by Pepys on 6 December. But it seems probable that advantage was taken of the disapproval of the draft proposals received in London by the middle of November, and the increasing importance of coming to an understanding with Spain before England was at war with France, to send Lord Sandwich (whose unsuccessful attack on the Dutch vessels at Bergen early in August, and indiscreet conduct regarding the Dutch East India ships captured by him early in September, had made him, for the time, very unpopular with the Parliament) to Madrid as Ambassador Extraordinary. This would seem to have been an eminently wise step from a political point of view, and it is only to be regretted that Sir Richard was not treated more openly and honourably with regard to it. As will be seen below, it can hardly be thought that the objections taken to the treaty were serious, and indeed we have the express statement of Lord Arlington to the contrary. But it is quite likely that ever since October or early in November it had been desired to soften his removal from command of the Fleet to the Earl of Sandwich, and to get him, if possible, out of the way; and it is undeniable that during sixteen months' residence at Madrid Sir Richard Fanshawe had for various reasons made little or no real progress in his negotiations of a treaty with Spain, and that this want of success had been rather severely noticed on various occasions; and it appears that in consequence the authorities at home (unless they were wilfully lying to him) did not anticipate that his draft pro-

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posals of November would, in the then circumstances, result in anything when they proposed to appoint the Earl of Sandwich Ambassador Extraordinary early in December. Sir Richard had become embroiled with the Spanish Court over his privileges as Ambassador, and being the friend of the Duke of Medina de las Torres, was no *persona grata* to the members of the Queen's Council, who were the Duke's rivals and enemies; and whatever his authority had been previously with the Court, it, and with it the Duke's authority and weight in the matter of the treaty, and especially the understanding with Portugal, was necessarily destroyed by the refusal of the King of England, whether rightly or wrongly, to confirm the treaty of 16–17 December. In these circumstances it would seem to have been absolutely necessary to send a more authoritative representative to Madrid if any progress was to be made towards the treaty and alliance in view at a Court at once so proud and so utterly unreasonable as that of Spain in the seventeenth century. That being so, it could hardly have been possible to select a better representative than the Earl of Sandwich; and if there had not been personal reasons also for wishing him to be out of England at that juncture, some one else would assuredly have been sent. At the same time, it is also undeniable that Sir Richard Fanshawe was extremely unlucky in the way circumstances turned out for him. He was constantly and for long intervals left without any instructions and even acknowledgments of his letters;—the difficulties which he encountered at the Spanish Court were largely not of his making, but were due to the dying condition of Philip IV, the inability of the Council to pluck up courage to do anything during the minority of Charles II, and the constant threats of the King of France, which were very real to Spain, while the Spanish hopes of any effectual aid from England cannot have been very strong, and, finally, the decision of the Council at home, and the failure of the means of correspondence with him, brought him into a position which might otherwise have been avoided, for, as will be seen, the condemnation of the provisions of the treaty of 17 December, 1665, was not justifiable by the actual facts of them. And admitting as above the necessity of another and more authoritative representative of England at Madrid, things again turned out very unluckily for Sir Richard early in 1666. For the failure to induce Portugal to accept the truce offered on behalf of Spain, and the demands of that country for a treaty of peace, gave the enemies of the Duke of Medina de las Torres a great opportunity over him, and probably compelled him to join them in ascribing to the English Ambassador the refusal of the King of England to ratify the treaty; while Lord Sandwich, at least, knew very well that if Sir Richard had, according to his orders, told the Spanish Court that he had come to give them full and entire satisfaction, he was in no position to do so. And this being the case, it seems certain that it could only have caused additional embarrassment in future proceedings if Sir Richard Fanshawe had remained in Madrid to assist Lord Sandwich, and that the latter was right from the public point of view in delivering to him the King's letters of recall. That the personal feelings between the two Ambassadors were quite friendly is shown at page 519.

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It only remains to refer here to the account of the deputation of the Earl of Sandwich and the recall of Sir Richard Fanshawe, given in Clarendon's *Life*, Vol. II, page 476, which has been severely attacked by Mr. Lister in his *Life of Clarendon*, Vol. II, page 359 *et seq.*, and defended in the *Quarterly Review* of June–October, 1838, in both cases with a somewhat incomplete knowledge of the full facts of the case. As will be seen from the passages reproduced below this was incorrect in various details, such as (1) the condemnation of the actual treaty before the Earl of Sandwich was appointed, and at least a month before the King of Spain died (17 September, 1665); (2) Sir Richard's journey to Portugal having taken place before the latter date; and (3) Sir Richard having failed in wisdom and duty in not informing the King of all that had passed before signing the treaty; but on the whole it appears, as the *Quarterly Review* conjectured, to reflect the essential features of what took place.

"There was at that time an opportunity in view that might give the Earl of Sandwich an employment very worthy of him, and which no man could imagine would be assigned to any man who was in disgrace. Sir Richard Fanshaw, who was a gentleman very well known and very well beloved, had been first ambassador in Portugal, and had behaved himself so well there, that when he returned from thence he was recommended, and upon the matter desired, by that crown to be sent to Spain, as the fittest person to mediate in the king's name between Spain and Portugal; and the king had before designed to send him ambassador into Spain, as well to settle a treaty between England and Spain, (for there was none yet) as to do all the offices between those other crowns which were requisite to the end aforesaid. No man knew that court better, or was so well versed in the language, having lived many years before"—(this was in 1635–8)—"in that court in much better times. He had remained now about two years, with such frequent mortifications as ministers use to meet with in courts irresolute and perplexed in their own affairs, as the counsels of Madrid were in the last years of the king, as his indisposition increased, or by relaxing administered some hope. He had made a journey to Lisbon upon the earnest desire of Spain, and returned without effect. The peace was equally desired and equally necessary to both nations: but the Portugal was unmovable in the conditions of it, preferring the worst that could fall out, rather than to be without the sovereignty of it; and the Spaniard as positive not to part with their title, though they had no hope of their subjection. Nor did Spain appear solicitious to conclude any treaty with England except either Portugal might be comprehended in it or abandoned by it.

"On a sudden, when the recovery of the king grew more desperate (which is never a thing notoriously known[1] in that court) a project for a treaty was sent

[1] *In this instance his increasing illness was well known, as Sir Richard reported. The reason which brought matters to a head was really the fear of renewed hostilities with France, which did ensue sixteen months later.*

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to the ambassador, containing more advantages in trade to the nation, (which are the most important matters in all these treaties) and insisting upon fewer inconvenient conditions, than ever had been in any former treaties; without any mention of Tangier or Jamaica, which had hitherto in the entrance into any treaty since the king's return made progress impossible: only it was urged 'that it might be presently accepted, and signed by the ambassador, with a covenant that it should be confirmed by the king within so many days after it should be presented to him, or else that there should be no more mention or discourse of it.'

"The ambassador surprised with this overture, compared what was offered with what he was to demand by his instructions; and what was defective in these particulars he added to the articles presented to him, with such additions as, upon his own observation and conference with the merchants, occurred to him, or which seemed probable to be granted from somewhat themselves had offered more than had been demanded by him. These alterations and amendments were approved and consented to, and quickly returned engrossed and signed by the king, on condition to be presently signed by him, with the undertaking which is formerly mentioned. It had been wisely done by the ambassador and no more than his duty, if he had first acquainted his master or the ministers with all that had passed, and expected a particular order before he had signed it. But that being expressly refused without concealing the reason or the king's weakness 'which,' they declared, 'might make such an alteration in counsels, that if it were not done in his lifetime, they knew not what might happen after': this was thought as good an argument by him for the despatch, as it was to them; and that if he should not make use of this conjuncture, there would never be the like advantageous treaty offered again. Hereupon he presently signed the treaty with some secret article, which was not to the advantage of Portugal, otherwise than that he concluded, by what had been said to him at Lisbon, it would have been acceptable to them.

"This treaty was no sooner brought to the king by the Spanish ambassador (who had received it by an express) and perused at the council table, but many gross faults were found to be in it. Besides the gentleman's absence, who would with greater abilities have defended himself than any of those who had reproached him, it was no advantage to him that he was known to be much in the chancellor's confidence; and therefore the more pain was taken to persuade the king that he was a weak man (which the king himself knew him not to be); and they put such a gloss upon many of his articles, and rejected others as unprofitable, which were thought to contain matters of great moment, (as) that they would not consent that a trade to the West Indies[1] could be of any benefit to England and the like. In the end the king concluded that he would not sign the treaty; for which he had some access of reason within a month after by the death of the king of Spain.

[1] *There was no reference in the treaty to the trade of the West Indies.*

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"When all these reproaches were cast upon the ambassador, and notice given that the king did disavow the treaty and refused to sign it, it was reasonably resolved that he ought not to remain there longer as ambassador, but be recalled. But the plague driving the king from London and dispersing the council, the pursuing this resolution was no more assured, till the business of the earl of Sandwich made it thought on as a good expedient; and the chancellor was directed in his discourse with the earl to mention it, as a proper expedient in his condition to be laid hold on and embraced" . . .

"He (the earl) did acknowledge it great bounty in the king, since he thought him unfit and unworthy to continue in the command he had, that he would yet assign him so honourable an employment which tho' it could not wipe off the reproach of being dismissed from the other charge, was yet a sufficient evidence that he was not out of his majesty's good opinion and confidence; and therefore he did with all cheerfulness submit to his majesty's pleasure, and would be ready for his going into Spain as soon as his despatch should be prepared. . . .

"Hereupon the king declared his resolution in council to send the earl of Sandwich his extraordinary ambassador, as well to correct and amend the mistakes and errors in the last treaty as further to mediate the peace with Portugal, which upon the death of the king was in some respects more practicable. And to that purpose he sent Sir Robert Southwell, one of the clerks of the council, envoy into Portugal, that the earl might the better know the inclinations of that people; and all instructions necessary were presently to be prepared to both these ends."

We are not, however, dependent upon Clarendon's account alone, as Lord Arlington refers in detail to the incident in his correspondence with Sir William Temple. On 11 January, 1666, he wrote to the latter that Lord Sandwich had been detained "a little longer in expectation of seeing what Sir Richard Fanshawe hath done in Spain. Which, how well so ever as to the knitting of the knot between us, will, I am persuaded, need some particular amendments as to trade (in which my Lord Sandwich must be particularly instructed) and to making the union more complete than Sir Richard Fanshawe could possibly do it after so great a variation of affairs abroad since the composing of his instructions."

Writing again on 18 January, he noted, "There is much paper sent us by Sir Richard Fanshawe and that which should require much reflection. The effect of it is good; I would I could say as much for the circumstances." Writing yet again on 9 February (*Letters*, Vol. II, p. 88), before the failure of Sir Richard's mission to Portugal was known, he gave the following account of the decision arrived at in England, which, being recorded at the time, may be accepted as substantially correct:—

"After much debate upon the papers Sir Richard Fanshawe sent hither to be ratified by his majesty, as much as we desire a conclusion with them we cannot think it proper to do it. The one were additional articles of commerce, which besides some exceptions we made to them, *tho' not of great*

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moment, were signed by him in Spanish and so improper for his majesty's ratification (!) Besides they were a part of what the other contained of a truce with Portugal for 30 years, which *tho' we like* yet we know not if Portugal will: and till we do so cannot answer for their acceptance of them. In the last place four months time is given for the ratification, before the expiration of which we hope to hear from Sir Richard Fanshawe, who is gone to Portugal.

"In the meantime my Lord Sandwich is despatching away with all expedition that is possible, with power to conclude upon terms acceptable to them all points betwixt us; and will carry with him such discourses as cannot but have the same effect upon that court as if we had ratified twenty papers."

This might be so (though it proved to be very much otherwise) with reference to the matter of the treaty, but it clearly had a very different bearing as regards Sir Richard Fanshawe and his credit at the Court. Lord Sandwich did not, as a matter of fact, arrive at Madrid till five months had expired from the date of the signing of the treaty; but the Spanish ministers were willing to make allowance for this, and still believed or pretended to believe that he would ratify the treaty on his arrival.

We now come to the sufficiency or otherwise of Sir Richard Fanshawe's treaty, which may be judged from three points of view—

(1) Its fulfilment of the instructions given to him for its negotiation.

(2) Its alleged shortcomings in the eyes of the members of the Privy Council who considered it (apparently it was never made public); and

(3) Its comparison with the treaty negotiated by the Earl of Sandwich in 1667, which was approved by the Council, and, according to Pepys, gave universal satisfaction to the merchants of England, and which Lord Arlington commended so warmly.

(1) The instructions given to Sir Richard on his leaving England, and subsequently in official correspondence, were very general in their nature, and the considerations which arise under head (1) can therefore be more suitably weighed under head (2), where specific defects due to failure to carry out instructions or the spirit of them are noticed. Speaking generally, it is not easy to see how it could in fairness be alleged that he had failed to substantially comply with the instructions given to him in 1664.

2. Under this head we fortunately have light, as among the Carte collection of Papers of Lord Sandwich's correspondence in the Bodleian (Folio 75,486), there is the following "Draft of my Lord Fanshawe's excuses upon ye omissions in his treaty":—

"(1) To y^e^ making it in Spanish:

Resp. it was done for hast and privacy, y^t^ y^e^ French might not notice gett opportunity to hinder, but said it had beene better in Latine, he Thought.

(2) Touching y^e^ Confirminge y^e^ Treaty of 1630, and his treaty beinge but additionall to it: (Article xxxii.).

Resp. 1. a passage of my Lord Chancellor's letter, viz: Let Them proceed in Theire owne method, and if They desire not a stricter league, proceed upon

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y^e former articles, with explanations sufficient, relating to what hath happened. —And said y^t he did offer Them a new project, but They insisted y^t y^e Treaty of 1630 should be Confirmed. (The "new project" was no doubt that of November, 1664, which Sir Richard duly sent home.)

(3) Touching his Carrieng y^e Truce to Portugal for acceptance (without y^e Title of King) not hauing heard afresh from Portugal or England:

Resp. 1. As to England, his Instructions [Para. 10] was from Thence, viz., for they Cannot imagine y^t wee will euer perswade y^e Catholique King to depart from his reputed right to Portugall (which reputed right he vnderstood to be y^e Title of Kingshipp).

2. That my Lord Chancellor's letter saies [Para 10] that he should presse y^e Crown of Spain to an accommodation, and if Portugal shall deny Things reasonable, y^t he shall declare to Them y^t y^e King of England will withdraw his forces from Portugal, whence he Concluded Portugal would be judged vnreasonable if They should refuse his Truce, which wanted noe substantiall Thinge more Then y^e Title of Kinge (which beinge y^e reputed right of Spain, by his instructions he was not to insist upon), and saies y^t y^e letters from my Lord Chancellor of (25 Nov., 1665) and of my Lord (Arlington), (?4 Nov.) y^e former sent by P^o. Omuledi, y^e latter in a pacquett from y^e Conde de Molina, were detained from him vntill after his return from Portugal. And therefore he went to Portugal supposinge y^e Treaty of 30 years would haue beene very welcome in Portugal (who when he was There would haue been Glad of a Truce for 5 years), and gratefull to England, being accordinge to his instructions. Moreouer he had Reason to beleiue it would haue pleased Portugal, because They neuer signified any alteration of Theire minds scince and yet knew what he was about, and Produced a letter of y^e King of Portugal of March 8, 1665, desiring a peace or a long Truce, and about y^t tyme y^e Conde de Melhor wrote to him for a Truce (which is most proper without y^e Title of Kinge), and soe he had reason to Thinke They would not insist upon it.

(4) Touchinge clearinge y^e Kinge of England from breach of y^e 4 and 5 articles of 1630, etc. in assistinge enimies and rebells:

Resp. That by y^e 23 article of his Commerce he had Cleared y^e Kinge for all y^t was past Contrary to 1630 by this expression in fiue article, viz. "That all y^t may be vnderstood and is to be vnderstood in respect of Those vassalls which from henceforth after y^e date hereof shall depart from y^e obedience and Command of either Crowne (which God forbid), and noe otherwise"; and This he tooke [to] be y^e necessary explanation sufficient to satisfy y^e direction of my Lord Chancellor's letter.

(5) Touchinge y^e exception y^t wee had Not soe large priuiledges granted on y^e Dutch:

Resp. y^t he had fully done it (as he Thought) by y^e 21th Article relatinge to y^e Commerce.

[*Article xxi.* "That the people and subjects of either party do hold and enjoy in the dominions provinces and territories of both as ample privileges

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securities and liberties as are granted or permitted to either of the said parties to the people and subjects of the most Christian King (of France) the States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, the Islands Towns or any other Foreign Kingdom or State in the same manner as if they were part of this present treaty and set down in it in express words." This wording is almost precisely that of Article xxi. of the Treaty of 1666.]

(6) Touchinge Counterbands Goods and y^t he vndertooke to define what should Be such:

Resp. he had proceeded according to y^e example of y^e Dutch marine Treaty.

(7) To y^t of enimies' Goods in freinds' shipps to be free (Article xxx.), he said he did it for our advantage on his owne vnderstanding That Trade would be perpetuall, and y^e warr of short Continuance, and y^t Then it would be beneficiall, and vrged Sir Jo. Lawson's opinion, and y^e opinions of divers knowing merchants to be concurrent with his Therein.

(8) Touching his not providinge an exeption for our act of navigation in y^e 33 article wherin all Contrary lawes and Customes are renounced ("to the end this obligation may be valid, they renounce all laws and customs, and what soever else to the contrary").

Resp. That He avoided to mention that of ours least he should giue Them occasion to exept diuers of Theires which are numerous, and beinge exepted would be very prejudiciall to our Commerce.

[*Endorsement*] October 1^st, 1666, a Collection of Those reasons wherewith Sir Rich. Fanshaw supported himselfe in y^e Concluding his Treaty, which more amplified were sent by mee to my Lord Chancellor."

It must be obvious to every one that no one of these defects is very serious, or such as could reasonably be held to materially affect the value of the treaty, which in various respects was a considerable advance on that of 1630, and it would seem that the treaty might very well have been accepted in spite of them. Probably the disappointment felt over the failure of the attempt to patch up a peace or truce between Spain and Portugal was one of the principal reasons for displeasure against Sir Richard, but this could not have arisen till March, 1666, when the Crown of Spain refused to make any concession on that question, i.e. till long after the treaty of 17 December had been disallowed and it had been determined to send Lord Sandwich to Madrid. As a matter of fact, no provision was made in the Treaty of 1667 regarding the fourth objection—the idea of the consciences of Charles II and Lord Clarendon being uneasy for want of a formal indemnity strikes one as comical—while contraband was defined in it practically as in 1665, and the clause to which the seventh objection was raised was embodied in that treaty and for the very good reasons, no doubt, given by Sir Richard Fanshawe.

3. As a matter of fact, so little was there in Sir Richard Fanshawe's treaty to which exception could be fairly taken, that Lord Arlington wrote to Sir William Temple on 30 November, 1666, that "my Lord of Sandwich writes me word he had made the last tryal upon them by offering to sign Sir Richard Fanshawe's Treaty with some amendments which he thinks they ought to

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admit of," and the treaty which Lord Sandwich signed on 13–23 May, 1667, was to all practical intents identical with it. Of the additional articles it contained, No. xvi. provided for the case of men-of-war entering ports and harbours, No. xx. dealt specially with trade from England to Brabant, Flanders, etc., and cancelled the prohibition of the import of English cloths and woollen manufactures into these countries, No. xxviii. provided for liberty of conscience that gave "no public scandal or offence," No. xxiii. provided for the protection of the estates of deceased persons for their heirs and creditors, and No. xxxvi. stipulated that in the case of war between the two countries the merchants of either side should have six months' grace allowed them in which to settle their affairs.

Every one of these provisions had been included among those presented by Sir Richard Fanshawe to the Duke of Medina de las Torres in November, 1664; and it was not therefore from any oversight that they were omitted from the treaty of December, 1665. Two other developments from the treaty of 1665, viz. that customs officers should not board vessels until the captain had declared his intention to land cargo, and that merchants should not be compelled to show their account books, were also taken from the proposals of 1664.[1] All these clauses might reasonably have been added to that treaty under Article xxxi. of it for the future correction of inconveniences, a provision which also appears in Article xxxix. of the treaty of 1667. All of the additions were undoubtedly useful, but none were of such moment as to justify the rejection of the treaty because of their omission from it. The only entirely new clause in 1667 which appears neither in 1664 nor 1665 is No. xii., which provides that since in England a refund of custom duty is allowed on all imported goods re-exported within a year, English goods exported out of Spain shall be exempt from paying export duty. And yet this was the sum of the difference between the two treaties. Sir Richard Fanshawe's was absolutely put aside, though commended in general terms in the first instance, and Lord Sandwich's was read in the Council with "universal applause and approbation," when it was at last received in November, 1667, and the Secretary of State gave the more fortunate maker of it the *nora buena* with all his heart.

In conclusion, it is necessary to refer to Sir Richard's failure to bring Spain and Portugal to an agreement, which perhaps more than anything else prejudiced him with the authorities in England, but which also may be fairly held to be excused by the subsequent course of events. He was well aware before he started for Portugal in January, 1666, how unlikely it was that the offer of a truce for thirty years would be accepted, and neither the Lord Chancellor

[1] *Lord Arlington, writing to Sir Richard on 30 October, 1665 (Arlington's "Letters," Vol. II, p. 92), had stated that the Lords Commissioners would take for their "ground work the old printed articles together with what was transacted betwixt the Duke of Medina de las Torres and yourself the last year at Madrid."*

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nor Lord Arlington was under any delusion as to this, as may be seen from the letter of the former dated 25 November, 1665. The minimum terms which he and Sir Robert Southwell were able to get the advisers of the King of Portugal to accept, even under threat of withdrawal of all countenance and support of England, were (1) that the title of King being allowed to Portugal, the agreement should be for "a good, perpetual, just, firm, faithful, and inviolable *peace*"; (2) that the possession of countries, cities, lands, etc., was to be maintained *in statu quo* at the date of the execution of the treaty; (3) that the subjects of either country should live in amity and might pass freely from one country to the other; (4) that these subjects should enjoy privileges as granted by the treaty of 1630 to subjects of England and Spain; (5) that the peace should begin in foreign parts after a year, so that all might have due notice of it; (6) that all prisoners of war should be set free without ransom; (7) that both Powers should put down privateering and piracy; (8) that all confiscations on account of the war should be annulled; (9) that disturbances raised by private persons should be redressed in the same place; (10) that Portugal might enter into any league which England and Spain might thereafter make; (11) that the Kings of Castile and Portugal should not do nor allow anything to be done against the peace, which (12) should be published by both sides, and (13) be ratified and allowed by the King of England "as mediatour and surety of y^e^ same." In forwarding these conditions to the Count of Castel Melhor, Sir Richard Fanshawe recalled that the matter was in a manner the same as what her Catholic Majesty had offered in contemplation of a truce of thirty years, and that therefore he and Sir Robert Southwell did not make much question of the consent of Spain thereunto. In assenting generally to the proposed articles the King of Portugal proposed to except six principal delinquents under Article viii., and urged that a mutual restitution of conquests should be made.

What happened upon the arrival of the two English commissioners in Madrid is told in a letter of Sir Robert Southwell to the Duke of Ormonde, written on 10–20 June, 1667, of which the following is the French transcript in Mignet's volume of the negotiations relating to the Spanish Succession under Louis XIV:—

"Peu de jours après son arrivée à Lisbonne M. Fanshaw exposa aux ministres Portugais ses negotiations pénibles à Madrid pour parvenir à la conclusion d'un traité fait pour une trêve de trente ans seulement, avec le titre de présent gouvernement de Portugal, au lieu du titre du roi, alléguant que c'était là tout ce qu'il pu gagner sur l'esprit des Espagnols.

"Les Portugais en parurent très-surpris et très-vivement piqués. Après avoir donné plusieurs marques d'indignation, ils déclarèrent positivement qu'à moins du titre de roi, d'une paix et non d'une trêve et de quelques autres articles dans la substance du traité, ils ne seraient jamais satisfaits. Sur quoi M. Fanshaw forma un plan de leurs prétentions, que lui et moi signâmes, pour les engager à le signer aussi; afin que par ce moyen les matières fussent fixées et qu'ils ne pussent plus se retracter, en cas que l'Espagne trouvât bon

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d'y souscrire. Nous jugeâmes ces precautions d'autant plus nécessaires, qu'il venait d'arriver *deux agents de France* dans cette cour, dont nous savions que les intentions étaient de la détourner de toute voie d'accommodement. Ils avaient déjà *commencé d'inspirer au Portugais des prétentions exorbitantes*, en leur offrant de les soutenir de toutes manières, et le leur fournir des troupes; car ces agents craignaient que les Portugais ne mollissent au point de se résoudre à modérer leurs prétentions, et qu'ainsi ils ne donnassent lieu au succès de notre négociation, sitôt qu'ils s'apercevraient que les armes de la France ne seraient pas tournés contre leurs ennemis les Espagnols, mais contre les Anglais leurs alliés.

"Avec ce plan signé réciproquement, nous partîmes et nous nous pressâmes d'arriver à Madrid, M. Fanshaw et moi, pour y exposer les offres des Portugais. Mais avant notre arrivée, les nouvelles étaient déjà répandues que *la France déclarait la guerre à l'Angleterre;* nouvelles qui causèrent dans cette ville une joie si grande, en les délivrant des justes craintes qu'ils avaient conçues, que non-seulement ils méprisèrent les propositions que nous leur apportions de la part des Portugais, mais même qu'ils parurent éloignés de toute disposition à traiter avec eux.

"Ils soutenaient, en premier lieu, qu'il était du devoir et de l'honneur de sa majesté le roi d'Angleterre, de ratifier le traité de M. Fanshaw, protestant qu'ils ne voulaient rien résoudre dans cette affaire, jusqu'à ce que sa majesté eût déclaré son jugement, qu'ils espéraient devoir être entièrement en leur faveur, et contraire aux Portugais. Cependant M. Fanshaw et d'autres leur répondirent que le roi d'Angleterre n'était pas arbitre de ce différend, et que par conséquent il ne pouvait conclure définitivement; mais que sa majesté pouvait seulement ratifier, en qualité de médiateur, les articles dont chaque partie demeurerait d'accord. Ils insistaient si fort sur l'étendue de quelques expressions du traité en question, et sur quelques promesses de sa majesté dans une réponse à un des mémoires remis en Angleterre par le comte de Molina, qu'ils en concluaient que sa majesté était obligée d'abandonner absolument les intérêts du Portugal. Il est vrai que sa majesté britannique promettait de rejeter les prétentions qui seraient exorbitantes; mais elle se réservait toujours le droit de juger en quoi elles seraient telles. Cependant, ils entreprirent d'établir que les Portugais étaient eux-mêmes dans le cas d'avoir rejeté les propositions comme exorbitantes, en refusant de les accepter, quoique les ambassadeurs de sa majesté les eussent jugées raisonnables, et qu'ainsi toutes prétentions de leur part qui excederaient ces propositions devaient être réputées exorbitantes."

Naturally enough the Spanish ministers refused to move further in the matter of an understanding with Portugal until they learnt whether the Ambassador Extraordinary was empowered to confirm the Treaty of Commerce—all the more so because by the outbreak of war between England and France on 10 February, 1666, they were temporarily relieved from their fears of an attack by the latter; and therefore Sir Richard had nothing more to say upon it before his death. His attitude regarding the question was abun-

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dantly justified by the Lord Chancellor's letter of 25 November, 1665, and more than abundantly by the agreement made between England and Spain on 13–23 May, 1667, the same date as that of the Treaty of Commerce between these two countries. The alterations in this from the agreement proposed to Spain in February–March, 1666, which is said to have been much the same in *matter* as that taken by Sir Richard from Madrid to Portugal, are only that it was framed as between England and Spain, and was to provide for a truce of forty-five instead of thirty years, the King of Portugal being referred to as the Crown of Portugal. Of the seventeen articles of which it is comprised, twelve agree almost identically with those brought back to Spain in March, 1666, as the irreducible minimum of Portugal, one merely recites that Lusitania is an accessory only to the treaty through the mediation of England; two articles of minor importance provide (1) that the English Ambassador shall do his best to induce Portugal to accept these terms, and if he should fail shall report to the King of England how much Spain had condescended in the matter; and (2) that couriers may be sent to Lisbon from Madrid, and the Ambassador himself may proceed there; and one important article provides that if hereafter, and when the King of Spain is older, the Crown of Lusitania desires to add to or explain these articles, or to commence a new treaty under another form, the Catholic King shall give heed to this. This tentative agreement shows that fifteen months after Sir Richard Fanshawe's failure the matter of the mediation of England between Spain and Portugal stood much as it had stood then, and that Lord Sandwich was practically content to try his predecessor's proposals in matter once more, and presumably he did so as regards form in accordance with the instructions of Lord Arlington, dated 23 August, 1666, that he must be entirely guided by what Sir Robert Southwell might finally report would be accepted by Portugal, and offer that to the Court of Spain, "letting them know His Majesty cannot incline them to accept less, and that it is not in his power (if it were in his wish) to make them more reasonable." But matters with Portugal had already advanced much further than they were in 1666, and a league for ten years had been concluded in March, 1667, between that country and France, and Portugal had refused to include in it an article that she was at liberty to make peace with Spain whenever the mediation of the King of England could procure it. Upon this Lord Arlington ordered Sir Robert Southwell on 5 June (*Letters*, Vol. II, p. 169) to return home, after making a last effort to recover the remainder of Her Majesty's portion (which if ever made, failed, as Sir Richard's effort had failed) and visiting Tangier *en route* so that he might submit a full report on that place. In commending Sir Robert's conduct in his negotiations, the Secretary of State added: "We saw how plainly that the conclusion would be to agree with France, and that it was not in our power to prevail with Spain to give them such conditions as could divert them from it," which may be held to justify the failure of Sir Richard also on the plea that in the circumstances success was an impossibility. Sir Robert, however, remained on at Lisbon, and on 1 August informed Lord

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Arlington (*Letters*, Vol. II, p. 182) of his offer to Portugal of the treaty made by my Lord Sandwich in their favour, together with their total and angry rejection of it. In the same month peace was signed between England and France, and war had broken out between France and Spain, and the successes of the former in Flanders had utterly paralysed the latter. It became necessary, therefore, for her to get rid of, at any cost, the arrow in her side, which the war with Portugal had been for over twenty-five years, and at last she consented to treat with that country as between King and King.

This occasion had been fortunately improved by the late deposition of Affonso VI, and the succession of his brother, Pedro II, who must have felt that he needed peace to consolidate his power and secure popularity; and in consequence the labours and patience of Sir Richard Fanshawe, Sir Robert Southwell, and the Earl of Sandwich were at last crowned on 13 February, 1668, when articles were agreed upon in Lisbon between the two Kings as such, providing for peace between Spain and Portugal with mutual restitution of places captured, restoration of all prisoners without ransom, and of all properties confiscated, Portugal receiving all trading facilities as settled between England and Spain, and the right to enter into any league made by England with her confederates. The only article that was entirely new in this treaty was the extension of its provisions from Europe to the West Indies.

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APPENDIX V

TANGIER AFFAIRS

AMONG the questions with which Sir Richard Fanshawe had to deal in his embassies to Portugal and Spain were two which ultimately became of paramount Imperial interest to his country; though this could be discerned but dimly at the time—her Indian Empire and her naval command of the Mediterranean. Naturally enough, neither of these receives any special notice in the *Memoirs*. With the former the Ambassador was concerned only so far that he was charged to bring pressure on the Portuguese Government to induce it to deliver possession of the island of Bombay (Bombain), which formed one part of the dowry of the Queen of Charles II, and to obtain satisfaction for the conduct of the Portuguese Governor in refusing to make over the place to the Earl of Marlborough in 1661 (see p. 465). This pressure was not followed up, and was probably never very strongly applied, as the King hardly expected[1] to obtain any pecuniary advantage from the settlement, while he ran the risk of being called upon to assist Portugal against Holland should the latter attack the former in India. In consequence Bombay was not actually ceded by the Portuguese till 1665, and three years after that date it was leased to the East India Company for a merely nominal sum.

The advantages, however, which Tangier, another part of the dowry, offered to the naval power of England, were clearly and definitely recognized by English statesmen in 1660-70, as will be seen by reference to the extracts quoted on page 499. The cession of the place was a good stroke of business on the part of Portugal, which was no longer able to maintain itself there against the attacks of the local tribesmen, who were persistently en-

[1] *The general idea of Bombay at this time was no doubt that recorded by Mr. Pepys, who refers to the "inconsiderableness of Bombain . . . . it being if we had it but a poor place and not nearly so as was described to our King in the draft of it, but a poor little island; whereas they made the King and Lord Chancellor and other learned men about the King believe that that and other islands near it were all one piece; and so the draft was drawn and presented to the King and believed by the King and expected to prove so when our men came thither; but it is quite otherwise.*—"*Pepys's Diary*," *September* 5, 1663.

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couraged by the Spanish Government; and, indeed, but for the circumstance that the Portuguese Governor allowed the landing of men from Sir John Lawson's fleet (which had been sent to the port to check these intrigues), before the place was actually transferred to Lord Peterborough on 30 January, 1662, the transfer would in all probability have never taken place as between these parties. Tangier had been originally occupied by the Portuguese in 1471, and had passed, with the other possessions of the Lusitanian Crown, to Philip II. Two years after the successful revolt of John IV it was taken from the Spaniards by the Crown of Portugal, and so deeply did this affront rankle with Spain, that she was willing to see the place in the hands of the Moors rather than it should be retained by her hated rival. At this time Tangier was not a town of any special note in North Africa.[1] The local chieftain (alcaide), whom the Spaniards assisted against the Infidel Masters of the place, was Sidi Ahmad el Khizr Ibn Ali Ghailan (usually called Gailand, or Guylan, in the correspondence of the day), who resided at Arzila, thirty miles south-west of Tangier, on the Atlantic coast, a place lately brought to the notice of Europe by its capture by the local robber chief Raisuli. His rival and father-in-law, who held Sallé (Rubát), lying seventy miles further south on the coast, and Fez in the interior, was Sidi Abdullah Ibn el Hájj Ibn Abu Bakar, usually called Ben Bukar (or Bowcar), and also the Saint.[2]

Upon the occupation of Tangier attempts were made by the English to effect an agreement with Ghailan, but without success, as, owing probably to Spanish promises and instigations, the terms demanded by the Moorish chieftain, viz. that he should receive fifty barrels of gunpowder, and should be permitted to make use of any English ships he liked, and that no trade relations should be held by Tangier with Tetuan, were considered to be exorbitant. In June, 1663, however, Lord Rutherford, who had been Governor of Dunkirk, and who at this time was made Earl of Teviot, took over the command of the garrison, and shortly afterwards succeeded in making a truce of six months' duration. In an account of Tangier in this year Ghailan is described as follows:—"His person looks handsomer than his position; his look is fat and plain—his nature close and reserved. He is plump yet melancholy" (thereby refuting Cæsar's opinion of fat men), "valiant yet sly, boisterous yet of few words, careful and intemperate . . . a contradiction in nature," that is in Western nature, for the man was clearly of the bold, energetic, self-indulgent, Oriental nature which Englishmen have so often encountered since. Probably he was glad enough of the truce, so that he might devote himself to settling matters with his rival at Sallé, from whom he took that place before November

[1] *The confusion of internal affairs of Morocco in 1660–72 was scarcely less than it is now in 1906–7. Nor, to complete the parallel, was the jealous opposition of one European Power to another in Morocco lacking two hundred and thirty years ago, when Northern Europe first came into closer contact with North-West Africa.*

[2] *For the correct Arabic form of these names I am indebted to Mr. T. W. Arnold, Professor of Arabic, King's College, London.*

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in the same year; and no doubt the horsemen of whom his forces consisted, though described as "able, dexterous, sober, valiant, and incomparably well armed, clothed, and horsed," were not very well fitted to attack English musketeers behind earthworks, however insufficient these might be, and however incompletely armed with artillery. The Spanish intrigues with him continued, however; and the Governor of Andalusia, the Duke of Medina Celi, who received the English Ambassador with such courtesy at Port St. Mary (*Memoirs*, p. 133), forbade the export of supplies and materials from the Spanish ports to Tangier, and had imprisoned some Englishmen who had taken lime there for construction of the mould[1] (as the mole is generally called in the correspondence of the day), and still had them in prison when Sir Richard reached Cadiz on 6 March, 1664. Before leaving London on 23 December, 1663, the Ambassador had proposed for the consideration of the King's Council that "since the design of the Spaniard with Ghailan for Tangier is certain, and the preventing thereof as yet in some possible uncertainty," he should receive instructions that in case on his arrival in Spain the town had fallen in consequence, he should retire to Portugal and there stay until the King's honour was satisfied, or even that the English fleet should join the Portuguese against Spain; or in case this were not so, he should at least make it clear to the Spaniards that their complot[2] was known to the King, but that for the sake of inducing Spain to enter into a permanent peace he was prepared to let the matter pass. Accordingly the instructions issued to Sir Richard Fanshawe on 14 January, 1664, approved of his adopting the last line with the Duke of Medina de las Torres. Before meeting the Prime Minister, however, the Ambassador was obliged to take this line with the Duke of Medina Celi at Port St. Mary, being tempted, he reported, to add that if the English prisoners at Cadiz were hung for carrying lime from Spain to Tangier, the Spaniards might find "the *reputed* Portuguese in" (that place) "might happen to sit closer on the skirts of Andalusia, than the true ones in Portugal."

In a letter dated 21 March, 1664, while the Ambassador was still at Port St. Mary, Lord Teviot reported to him that when the six months' truce had expired in the January preceding, Ghailan had refused to renew it, on the ground that it was against their law to suffer any Christian to fortify in Barbary, and had occupied a position six hundred yards in front of the

[1] *The Governor of Tangier was allowed to be a joint contractor for the mole with Sir Hugh Chomley, the builder of the pier at Whitby and several others. It was needed to secure the port against external attack, and to protect English vessels from the Sallé rovers and the Dutch men-of-war; and it is as much needed for the good of the town in* 1907 *as it was in* 1662–6.

[2] *It appears that in* 1663 *a Low Country man, Martin Bechtman, who had been engaged in devising the defences of Tangier, went to the Duke of Medina Celi as a secret spy of the Earl of Teviot, and being taken into the confidence of the former was able to obtain information of the details of the Spanish-Moorish "complot."*

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English lines. Upon his advancing his colours still nearer, the English horse had sallied out and captured the colours ("the first which hath been taken from the Moors for a long time," and which the governor sent to England), and killed the general of the horse. Subsequent to this there was continual skirmishing between the garrison and the Moors, of whom Sir Richard reported on 7 May that the Earl had "still the better, without loss of any ground, or doubt of keeping his own to the end," remarking at the same time that if Sir John Lawson's fleet should go to Tangier at this juncture it might arrive very opportunely "to help to fright the Moor." A letter written to the Ambassador from Tangier the very next day reported, however, a very different state of things, for Sir Tobias Bridge had to relate the notable success of Ghailan in completely ambuscading the governor and a large body of his troops (see p. 498). The opportune arrival of the British fleet under Sir John Lawson prevented the Moors from taking any advantage of this success, which was dearly purchased by them. In July, Ghailan was reported to be building a new town four miles south-west of Tangier, and in the same month Sir Richard wrote: "My humble but constant opinion is that that growing garrison in despite of disasters is the present envy of all the world, that when perfected with the mole it shall be grown above their envy, it will be their fear (as already it is in prophecy), but never their love otherwise than we may gain it by managing with justice and moderation that access of power we may by means of that post attain unto in the Present, but much more in future ages."

In August, English Commissioners were sent to Ghailan at Arzila with proposals for peace, but nothing came of these then, probably owing to further Spanish encouragement. The news of the disaster of May exhausted the patience of the English Court in this connexion, and on 25 August Sir H. Bennet sent the King's orders to Sir Richard Fanshawe that unless he had speedy and notorious satisfaction in the matter of the proceedings of Spanish officials in Andalusia with reference to Tangier, he should announce his intention to leave Madrid. In consequence, on 19 October the Ambassador was able to report that the Spanish Court had conceded free trade between Tangier and Spain, had released all English prisoners in Cadiz and Seville, and had granted permission for English men-of-war to be accommodated with all necessaries in all Spanish ports.

Again, in a letter of 6 October to Sir Richard, the Secretary of State wrote: "His Majesty will not suffer they (the Spaniards) should live otherwise with it (Tangier) than they do with Plymouth." This spirited line, of course, had its due effect, as is always the case, and Spanish intrigues against Tangier gradually came to an end. In December, 1664, by which time the garrison had nearly a year's supplies stored in it, Lord Belasyse was made Governor of Tangier, and before he arrived in the April following Sir Richard was able to report to the Secretary of State (letter of 11 February, 1665), that Captain Allin had proved by experiment "that our King's frigates can ride at anchor even in winter season within the very gut of the

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'streights' with a correspondence of signs between them and that garrison, whereby to be able to command (if strong enough) all comers in and goers out of the Mediterranean; and if too weak to retire within our 'moule' of Tangier when built!"

In a Letter of 10–26 August, 1665, Sir Richard again wrote: "All I will presume to advise or say upon the matter of myself is that past all human doubt Tangier, whether positively or privately considered, is of vast importance and consequence, every day more impossible, every day more visibly so in the eyes of the world both Christian and Infidel"; and once more he wrote on 5 December: "Your Lordship cannot think too much of Tangier, and Sir Hugh Cholmley (now with you) can speak very pertinently to all that concern, which I think is vast at long running and most ponderable by changing the bridles and supposing it in the hands of an enemy."

Two months before the death of Sir Richard, Lord Belasyse succeeded in making peace with the chief of Arzila, who, in accepting an alliance against other Christian Powers, consented to the completion of the fortifications of Tangier, to the garrison sowing corn within certain limits outside these, and to the stone for the mole being taken from Moorish territory. In return Ghailan was furnished with ammunition and arms against the Great Tafiletta, as he is commonly called in the correspondence of the day; and this, as has so often been the case with other Oriental potentates assisted by a European Power, proved to be his ruin. For the Emperor of Morocco, the Filali Sharif Sultan, Er Rashid, determined to crush the rising chief before he became too powerful, and in May, 1666, moved on Alcazar, lying thirty miles south of Arzila, where Ghailan had then established his head-quarters, and there utterly defeated him early in July. News from Tangier,[1] dated 8 July (*London Gazette*), stated that the Emperor had with him a force of 40,000 men, with which he had fallen suddenly on Ghailan, and had driven him to take refuge in Arzila, whence he had written to the Governor of Tangier for the services of a surgeon, as he was wounded in the face, and for a vessel to carry him away if he should not be able to hold out in Arzila. Pepys mentions the defeat on 22 July, immediately after his record of the death of Sir Richard Fanshawe. The next month Sallé revolted from Ghailan, and the Emperor made an attack on Arzila, but was met with a "lusty salley" and drew off. He then turned his attention to the chief of Fez, Ibn Abu Bakar, whom he made captive in the following summer. During the early months of that year Tangier received constant rumours that Ghailan's followers were deserting him, and that those who remained could no longer be trusted; but the gallant chief managed to maintain himself

[1] *Camoëns refers to all these three places in Canto IV, Stanza* 55 *of the Lusiads, thus translated by Sir Richard Fanshawe—*

> *"Of victories he at the siege did get*
> *Of pop'lous Tanger, strong Alcasars Towers,*
> *And tough Arzila o'er the Barb'rous Powers.*

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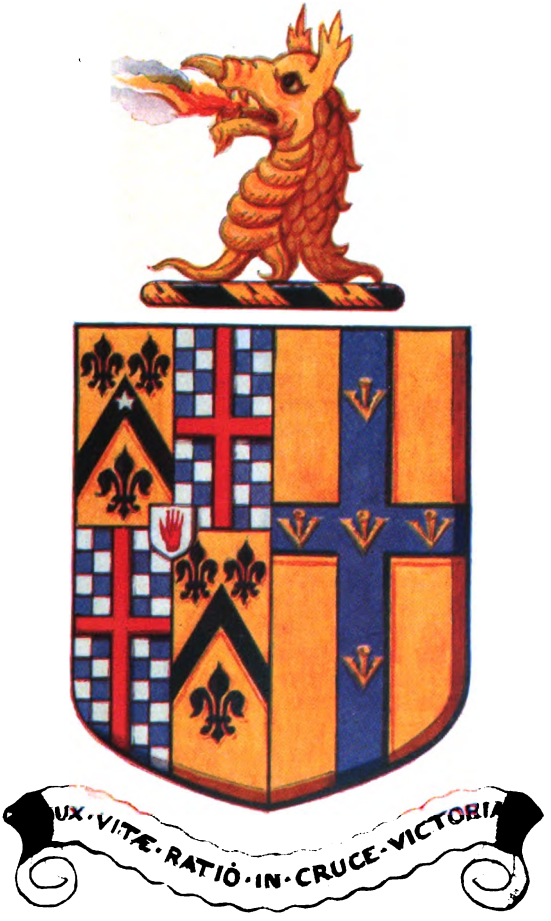

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for a year longer, and the end did not come till July, 1668. In that month, according to news from Tangier in the *London Gazette* of 17–20 August, Ghailan, finding he could hold out no longer, decided to leave Arzila by ship (apparently furnished from Tangier), and offered to take away with him all who did not wish to submit to the Emperor. This led to a mutiny which he suppressed by his own hand, and he then sailed for Algiers in a man-of-war, three smaller vessels with his followers putting in at Tangier. He was at Algiers when Sir Thomas Allin visited that port in the same year, and accused the English of having robbed him. When the Emperor Muli Ismail, called Es Samin, the Strong, succeeded his brother in 1672, he induced Ghailan to surrender to him, and promptly put him to death at Mequinez. The chief of Arzila was apparently throughout a bold and gallant opponent of the English and true to his plighted word, though the Earl of Teviot did have to complain of his want of consideration in constantly attacking the garrison at the hour of his lordship's midday meal!

The subsequent history of Tangier lies outside the period of Sir Richard Fanshawe's work in Spain, and may be briefly summarized. The Emperor Muli Ismail made a determined attack on the place in 1672, but was repulsed. Lord Middleton was governor from 1668 to 1675, when Lord Inchiquin, son of Lady Fanshawe's old acquaintance, succeeded him. Five years later the Alcaide of Alcazar, under the orders of the Emperor, launched a furious assault on the garrison and actually captured some of the outer forts; but aid came again for the third time from an English fleet under Admiral Herbert, and peace was afterwards made with the Emperor at Fez. The garrison at this time was costing nearly £75,000 per annum, and it had become obvious that if the place was to be made impregnable against the Moors, a much larger sum must still be spent upon it; and as the House of Commons refused to provide means for this on the very valid plea that the garrison was being used to train soldiers to further Papish ends, it was decided to abandon Tangier after Lord Dartmouth had reported on it to the King with the help of Mr. Samuel Pepys; and this was carried out in March, 1684, after twenty-two years' tenure by the English Crown. In vain did an indignant opponent of the decision taken write, "Where is the honour and reputation of the nation? That alone a man should think were sufficient argument for its preservation." The mole was then found to be so strongly made that it was almost impossible to destroy it. It was at that time nearly five hundred yards long and thirty-seven yards wide, a most notable engineering feat for the age. A view of it and of the city and the castle in 1669 is contained in Mr. Corbett's *England in the Mediterranean*, Vol. II; the city is shown in the view as subdivided by a number of internal defensive walls.

[NOTE.—A paper by Miss E. Routh on the occupation of Tangier by the English, is published in the Historical Society's Journal, Vol. XIX, new series. Some of the facts given here are taken from that, and some from Mr. Corbett's work, but they have been derived principally from the public correspondence of the times and the *London Gazette*.]

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NOTES

Page 3. *Paragraph* 3.

The portrait of Sir Richard Fanshawe here reproduced is taken from the picture belonging to Mr. H. E. Fanshawe of Dengey, the present head of the Fanshawe family, residing at Abberley House, Great Shelford, Cambridge. This and other family pictures passed apparently to the Dengey Branch (see p. 316) upon the death of the last Viscount Fanshawe in 1716. The boy represented with his father is the fourth child and third son of Sir Richard and Lady Ann Fanshawe, authoress of the memoirs, and the first son named Richard. He was born in 1648 and died 1659 (*Memoirs*, pp. 47 and 91). The picture would seem, therefore, to have been painted after the family left Tankersley Park in 1654 and before they went to France in 1659. It bears out the description of her husband recorded by Lady Fanshawe as nearly as could be expected.

Page 7. *Paragraph* 1.

REMEMBRANCER OF THE EXCHEQUER.

The office of Queen or King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer (Rememorator Reginae or Regis, in Scaccario), with which the fortunes of the Fanshawe family were so closely bound up, nine[1] members having held it from 1566 to 1716, was one of two high posts connected first with the Court of the Exchequer, and later with the Treasury, of which the holders were responsible for remembering and reminding various persons, the principal of whom were the farmers of customs in the case of custom duties, and the sheriffs of counties for subsidies, of their liabilities to pay certain sums into the Exchequer, and for taking the necessary steps to clear their accounts and recover all sums overdue from them. A Remembrancer was appointed first in the time of Henry III, and from that of Edward II there were always two, of whom the second came to bear the title of the Treasurer's Remembrancer (Rememorator Thesaurarii). Special duties of the King's Remembrancer, at the time when

[1] *These nine were: Henry* (*d.* 1568), *Thomas* (*d.* 1601), *Sir Henry* (*d.* 1615), *Sir Thomas, first Viscount Fanshawe* (*d.* 1665), *Sir Richard Fanshawe* (*d.* 1666), *Sir Thomas, second Viscount* (*d.* 1674), *Henry* (*d.* 1685), *Charles, fourth Viscount* (*d.* 1710), *and Simon, fifth Viscount* (*d.* 1716).

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the office was held by the Fanshawes, were to see to all debts due to the Crown, to deal with the income derived from all royal grants and properties, to provide for the safe custody of the memoranda or record rolls for which he was responsible, to realise the fines imposed by the Star Chamber and other courts, and to take before the Barons of the Exchequer all classes of bonds and recognisances, from those for the great farms of the customs and for leases of the King's lands and woods down to those for appearance merely. These details are according to a list of the duties dated A.D. 1608 in the Remembrancer's office. The King's Remembrancer alone could issue the great prerogative writ of the court to remove complaints to before the Barons of the Exchequer; and it was his special duty to be present at the trials of the Pyx, and to take the Lord Treasurer's orders in cases of attainder for treason. He presented the sheriffs to the Barons for appointment, and accordingly the muster rolls of levies raised by the sheriffs were sent to his office by the Privy Council. (Acts of that Council, 1598–9.) The Treasurer's Remembrancer, on the other hand, had special control over the subsidy collections of the sheriffs, of the working of the court of wards, and the collection of ordinary debts due to the Sovereign.

The following quaint extracts from a small work composed by Thomas Fanshawe, the second Remembrancer, on *The Practice of the Exchequer Court*, will be found interesting. It was dedicated by him to Lord Buckhurst, who became Lord Treasurer of England on 15 May, 1599, and must therefore have been completed, or finally revised, between that date and February, 1601, when the author died. It was printed in 1658, perhaps by the successor of Sir Thomas Fanshawe, K.B., during the Interregnum, and was then wrongly ascribed to "S^{r} T. F.," a mistake often repeated since:—

"He (the Queen's Remembrancer) calleth to account in open court by his book yearly made, and commonly called the Statutus magnorum computantium, all the great accountants as the Cofferer, the Master of the Wardrobe, the Master of the Revels, the Clark of the Hamper, the Butler of England, the Treasurer of the Mint, the Lieutenant of the Tower, the Lieutenant of the Ordnance, the Victualler of the Ships, the Master of the Work," etc. etc.

"And by the same book he calleth as before at days prefixed, all searchers and all collectors of customs and subsidies ad computandum.

"He calleth to account in open court by his like book called the State of the Collections of Subsidies and Fifteens all manner of high collectors thereof granted by Acts of Parliament in each shire, city, borough, town corporate, and place whatsoever thro'out England.

"He maketh the record of every Bishop's death, of his multure, of his best horse, ring, and cup of gold and silver seized to the King's use, or of fine made thereof. (!)

"He readeth in open court the oaths, and the Usher giveth them the book to kiss, that all grand officers of the court of Exchequer do take.

"He sendeth every Hilary and Trinity term several parchment books to all the customers controllers surveyors and searchers of the ports and creeks

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thro'out England to make the first and second half years' entries in the same of the Queen's majesties customs and subsidies—and likewise each Michaelmas and Easter Time he receiveth the same by the oath again of the same officers."

Further details regarding these offices may be found in Mr. F. S. Thomas's *Ancient Exchequer of England*, and Mr. Hubert Hall's *Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer*. After the Restoration in 1660 the Treasury and Exchequer were located near the Cockpit in Whitehall, a circumstance which accounts for the present position of the Treasury Buildings. A Remembrancer could discharge his duty in person or by competent deputy; and after the Restoration and the death of the second Viscount Fanshawe, the Fanshawe Remembrancers did not apparently take any very active part in the work of the Treasury office. The salary of the post was very small; in A.D. 1593 it was only £55–65 per annum and livery, but the income derived from fees was no doubt very considerable, and complaints of the overcharge of fees were frequent. A list of the fees charged in 1633 still exists among the papers of the Remembrancer's office in the Public Record Office. They vary from 6d. on a Habeas Corpus, scire fac-writ, and attachment, to 1s. 4d. ("whereof to the usher iiij^{d}") on all manner of patent commissions, exemplifications of records, etc. etc. In 1647 Sir Richard Fanshawe declared at the time of compounding that the post was worth to him £600 per annum. Among other miscellaneous matters upon which reports by various Fanshawe Remembrancers exist in the public records are the providing of timber from a royal forest for the bridge at St. Neots, the necessity of a resident customs officer at Bridgewater, the discharge of an account for cochineal and indigo taken at sea for the use of Her Majesty (Queen Elizabeth); while the miscellaneous duties of the office may be judged of from the following instances recorded in the Acts of the Privy Council. In 1575 the auditors of the receipt of the Exchequer were directed to consult with the Attorney and Solicitor-Generals, or else with Thomas Fanshawe or Peter Osborne, Remembrancers of the Exchequer, with a view to delivery to the Lord Mayor of Her Majesty's letters patent for the repayment of £30,000 borrowed of the City of London. In the following year Mr. Fanshawe was directed to write to the sheriffs of London to collect from divers persons who had agreed to contribute to the expenses of the "third voiage of Mr. Furbusher (Martin Frobisher) into the North West partes" "the somes of money totted on every of them." In the next year Fanshawe was appointed with Osborne to inquire into the receipts of the clothiers of Taunton, and to induce the "sope" makers of London to use a hundred tons of "oyle made from seed of the realm," and was ordered to receive the contributions of counties towards the rebuilding of the Lea Bridge. Fanshawe and Osborne were also deputed to view the palace of the Bishop of London, who, contrary to the Queen's proclamation, had pierced his wall and was about to construct new small tenements, and the Bishop was forbidden to proceed with what he intended to do until the visit ordered had been made. Later, Fanshawe was ordered to settle a dispute between James Parry and his

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wife in consultation with the Master of the Rolls and the Attorney-General; with the same officers and the Solicitor-General to put into execution Her Majesty's letters patent for reforming abuses committed by the Tallow Chandlers of London; with Osborne and the Master of St. Katharine's to consider in consultation with city men and chief officers of the Admiralty and officers of the "Trynytye" House if four new corn mills could be erected "near unto the Bridge of London upon the Thamys under a roof in a convenient place"; to take charge of Elizabeth Hill, a young maiden, and see she was not contracted without special order of the Archbishop of Canterbury; to take steps against possible attacks by mutinous soldiers lately in Portugal (this order was given in A.D. 1589) and now assembled in bands on the highways. Later, again, directions were issued to the Queen's Remembrancer to inquire into the complaints of the Skinners against the Crown monopolist for the examination and sealing of leather; the loss of a barge in the River Lea (was it due to the negligence of the bargemen, or to the default of the millers of Stanstead by having set up piles in the stream?); and the liability of Sir Wm. Moore, lord of the old house of Blackfriars, to repair the bridge and stairs and church.

The office of King's Remembrancer is the only one of the ministerial officers of the Exchequer which has survived to the present day. By the statute of 3 & 4 William IV, c. 99, all the other offices, including that of the Treasurer's Remembrancer, Secondaries, Clerks of the Pipe, Nichills and Green Wax, the Foreign Apposer, etc., were abolished, and their duties made over to the King's Remembrancer; while by 22 & 23 Vict. c. 21 the powers of the latter in the past were largely transferred to the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury. The office is now part of the central office of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and the special duties of the incumbent are to supervise proceedings for the recovery of debts due to the Crown, to preside at the Trial of the Pyx, and to control the nomination of sheriffs.

Mr. Scargill Bird gives the following account of the Remembrancer's office in his *Guide to the Public Records*:—

"The King's Remembrancer (p. xxi) had the custody of all manner of informations on penal statutes and entered the rules and orders made thereon. He also called to account all the great Accountants of the Crown, the collectors of customs, etc., and made out all writs of privilege and entered judgements of pleas. He had also the custody of all proceedings on English Bills.

"The Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer made out all the extracts, and took an account of all debts of the Sheriffs, and passed their 'Foreign accounts,' etc. He also issued out writs and Process in many cases.

"The Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's office may be properly said to be the office of the Court of Exchequer, wherein the rendering of the *duties* of the Crown to which the subject may be liable was to be enforced at once by proceedings in the nature of final process; whilst on the other hand the office of the *King's Remembrancer* may be appropriately described as that in which the King's *debts* were recoverable.

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"Under the words duties are apprehended all things *due* to the King, as rents, fines, distrainments, etc., which were received or levied by the Sheriffs; while the King's *debts*, to the matters concerning which the King's Remembrancer's office was exclusively dedicated, may be taken to mean all such *occasional* debts as were not yet reduced to duties and put upon records.

"The King's Remembrancer also had the survey and prosecution of all such acts to the injury of the Crown or the public as might be considered in the nature of torts or trespasses."

While these notes have been passing through the press an interesting MS. copy of the Practice of the Exchequer and of the duties of the various officers of it has come into the possession of a member of the family. This volume (which was prepared in 1712 for Lord Mansell, then appointed a Teller of the Exchequer) contains an earlier draft of the Practice, dated 9 October, 1572, addressed to Lord Burghley, who became Lord High Treasurer in that year, from Ivy Lane, which adjoins Warwick Lane (p. 285), and in which part of the Exchequer Office was situated. The conclusion of this draft runs: "Thus I have set out unto your good Lordship my own experience and observation, c. magno suñio and c. recepta, some wherein I may perhaps have overscaped or mistaken some special matters; yet most humbly I beseech your lordship to accept my poor travel that is so far as myself have learned conceived or your lordship required by your letters; and thus in all humble wise I leave wishing your lordship still increase of honour and long continuance among us." The volume also contains a list of the officials of the Exchequer in 1572 and 1599, Thomas Fanshawe appearing as *Queen's* Remembrancer in both lists (a designation altered in the little printed book of 1658 to *King's* Remembrancer), and a paper addressed by him to the Queen in 1599 drawing attention to the heinous proceedings of Mr. Chidwick Wardor, one of the Auditors of the receipt, in entire disregard of the ordinances of King Henry VII, "your majesty's most noble grandfather," for the reorganisation of the Exchequer. There is also with the fuller transcript of the Practice of the Exchequer a detail of the names of the incumbents of the various offices in January, 1641 (1642), including King's Remembrancer, Mr. Richard Fanshawe; among his clerks Mr. Anthony Bourchier, Secondary (p. 278), Sir Simon Fanshawe (p. 310), and Ellis Young (p. 425); Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Sir Peter Osborn; Master of the office of the Pleas, Mr. George Long; and Surveyor General, Sir Charles Harbord.

Page 6, § 2, *and page* 7, § 1.

Richard Fanshawe was baptised in Ware Church on 12 June, 1608. He was the sixth son and, as Lady Fanshawe records, tenth child of Sir Henry Fanshawe and his wife, Elizabeth Smythe. His elder brothers were Thomas (made Knight of the Bath on 2 February, 1625, and Viscount Fanshawe, of Dromore, on 20 August, 1661), Henry (killed in the Low Countries), John

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(who was unsound of mind and died unmarried), Simon (knighted 11 February, 1640), and Walter, who died young. His elder sisters were Alice, married to Sir Capel Bedell, of Hamerton, Hunts; Mary, married to William Newce, of Much Hadham, Herts; Elizabeth, died August, 1657; and Joan, married first to Sir William Boteler, of Teston, Kent, and afterwards to Sir Philip Warwick, of Frogpool, in that county; a younger sister Anne, born in 1609, died in 1625, and a younger brother, Michael, was born and died in 1611. Sir Henry Fanshawe died on 10 March, 1616, and his widow was buried on 3 June, 1631. One of Sir Richard's godfathers was his uncle, Sir Thomas Smythe, of Sutton-at-Hone. See page 8.

Thomas Fanshawe, of Jenkins, near Barking, and Ware Park, the father of Sir Henry Fanshawe, was born at Dronfield in 1534 (the Dronfield Church Registers commence from November, 1560 only), and succeeded his uncle Henry (not Thomas, as Lady Fanshawe intimates) as Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer in 1568. This uncle, who was the younger brother of John Fanshawe, born in 1504, came to London, and obtained a post among the clerks of the Exchequer, very possibly through Sir Christopher Moore, King's Remembrancer under Henry VIII, who belonged to Norton, the next parish to Dronfield and Holmesfield, on the very border of Derbyshire and Yorkshire. By letters patent of 12 December, 1561, Henry Fanshawe was promised the reversion of the post of Queen's Remembrancer in succession to Sir Thomas Saunders; in February, 1566, he was actually appointed to this: and on 5 July, 10 Elizabeth (A.D. 1568) a fresh patent granted the reversion of the post to his nephew Thomas, as stated by Lady Fanshawe.[1]

He acquired certain lodgings, gardens, and tenements in Blackfriars, formerly in the possession of the Lady Anne Grey, in 1560; and in 1567 obtained the parsonage and tithes of Dronfield by exchange with the Queen of other lands also formerly belonging to Beauchief Abbey, which he had

[1] *The Latin patent of 5 July, 10 Elizabeth* (1568), *refers to Henry Fanshawe as a man "Boni veri et fidelis servitij tam charissimo patri nostro Henrico octavo nuper regi Angliæ, ac Edwardo nuper regi Angliæ Sexto et fratri nostro, ac nuper sorori nostræ Mariæ nuper reginæ Angliæ," and to Thomas Fanshawe as "uni clericorum nostrorum in officio predicto (of Remembrancer)," and recites that "Nos intime considerantes scientiam et experientiam quibus Dominus Thomas Fanshawe in officiis predictis et negotiis ejusdem per diuturnam et quotidianam continuationem et exercitium suum in et circa negotia officii predicti instructus existet, et considerantes quam opportunum et necessarium sit pro utilitate nostra et reipublicæ hujus regni nostri Angliæ hujusmodi personas taliter instructas in officis predictis et aliis officiis admittere, constituere et ordinare" are pleased to grant the reversion of the uncle to the nephew. No less a personage than Sir Christopher Hatton obtained the reversion of the post after Thomas Fanshawe, first in 1570 and again in 1572.*

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Thomas Fanshawe of Ware Park, ob. 1601

From the painting in the possession of M. H. E. Fanshawe

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obtained in 7 Edward VI (A.D. 1553) from James Chanceller, to whom they were granted by the King in that year. The monks of the Abbey had leased these lands in 27 Henry VIII (1535-36) to Philip Bullock, of Norton, for thirty-one years. Henry Fanshawe's lease was for twenty-one years, conditional upon an annual payment of £20. 10s. 6d. to the Queen. At his death Henry Fanshawe also held a large tenement in Warwick Lane, rented of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for £4 per annum, and the residences of Clay Hall, one mile S.E. of Woodford Bridge, and Valence, in Dagenham parish, in Essex.

He was married twice, first in 1554 to Thomasin Stevyns, *née* Hopkins of Barking, and secondly to Dorothy Stonard of Loughton, Essex.[1] The date of the latter marriage is not known. Of the burial of the first wife Henry Machyn makes the following quaint entry in his diary under 31 January, 1562: "The sam day was buried in Sant Nicholas Oleffe parryche good masteres (mistress) Fanshaw, the good gentyll woman, and wife unto master Phanthawe on (one) of the cheycker with no arms." (It will be seen below that the Fanshawe arms were granted in the very month of her death.) Her will is dated 4 October, 3 Elizabeth (1561). By it she left her lands to her husband, who was appointed sole executor, for his lifetime, and thereafter to the sons of her brothers. By his second wife, who must have been married very soon after the death of the first, Henry Fanshawe left two daughters, the elder, Anne, aged six years and one month at his death, which occurred at his house in Warwick Lane, on 28 October, 1568, and the younger, aged one year and six months. He was buried in Barking Church on 7 November following. By his will, dated 1 September, 1567, he made his cosen (nephew) Thomas Fanshawe, sole executor, his brothers-in-law, John and Francis Stonard, Thomas Smythe (no doubt the Customer, page 279), and his cousin John Bullock (of Darley and Norton), being appointed overseers, and directed that the rents and profits of his manors should be devoted to pay off his debts, after which the income of New Barnes (in West Ham) was to be devoted to providing a dower for his elder daughter, and that of Valence for the same purpose with regard to the younger, the widow enjoying Clay Hall for her widowhood. Four years' profits of the parsonage of Dronfield were to be devoted to founding a grammar school there (see p. 268). The plate, bedding, furniture and household stuff of the testator were to be divided equally between the widow and her two daughters, and the receipt of the first for her share, noted in the Philips MSS. of Sir Henry Bemrose of Derby, is dated 12 May, 11 Elizabeth (1569). Among other articles in it was "a little varnished table of the story of Queen Hester." The widow married as her second husband William Fuller of Essex, and perhaps the Elizabeth Fuller mentioned in the will of Anne Fanshawe in 1584 was her daughter. This Anne, the eldest daughter, died unmarried in that year, and Lady Fanshawe

[1] *Two Stonard tombs, one of the date of* 1515, *still exist in Loughton Church. A John Stonard was vendor of the property of Barking Abbey in* 1565.

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was mistaken in saying that she too was married into one of the best families in Essex at that time. By her will she left gifts of considerable value to Paul Stonard, and to the children of Thomas Fanshawe, the second Remembrancer, then born, viz. Henry, Walter, Thomas, Alice, and William. Her sister, Susannah, had been married before that date[1] to Timothy Lucy, the younger brother of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote—Justice Shallow—who lived with her at Valence. The Philips MSS. record his receipt on 2 August, 26 Elizabeth (A.D. 1583), of a sum of £500 in part payment to his wife of her due under her father's will.

Fanshawe Gate, from which the first two Fanshawe Remembrancers came to London, is situated in the Scarsdale Hundred on the north border of the county of Derby. In the seventeenth century it was in the parish of Dronfield, and it is now in that of Holmesfield. John Fanshawe, who resided in it, died in 1579 (according to present reckoning), ten years after his brother Henry, and an interesting memorial was erected to him by his son, the Remembrancer, in the chancel of the church of St. John the Baptist, in Dronfield. This consists of eight brasses, two fine ones twenty inches high, representing the father and mother, three above these bearing the impaled arms[2] of Fanshawe and

[1] *A deed still in existence states that, by the improper influence of her stepfather, William Fuller, she was married in* 1583 *at the age of* 15½ *to Timothy Lucy, brother of one of the previous wives of the former.*

[2] *The Fanshawe arms were granted to John Fanshawe as the elder brother of Henry Fanshawe, Queen's Remembrancer, on* 4 *January,* 4 *Eliz., viz.* 1562. *In the draft of the grant by Gilbert Dethick Garter, Robert Cooke Clarencieux, and William Flower Norroy King of Arms, in the Bodleian (Ashmolean MSS.,* 834, *fol.* 33), *it is recited in medieval French that "Jehan Fanshawe de Fanshaw gate en la conté de Derby estant de la nombre des reluisants en vertue, qui a bien merité en tous lieux honneur et noblesse d'estre mis en repute entre les aultres gentilhomnes." they, the Heralds, have granted "pour lui ensemble et pour sa posteryté les armes et tymbre en maniere qui ensuit c'est a savoir en le champ d'or deux chevrons d'erminey entre trois fleurs delice (de lys) sable, et sur le haulme pour son tymbre la teste de vynre (? wyverne) raze d'or chargé de deux chevrons d'erminey assise sur une torce d'or et sable mantellé de gules double d'argent." These arms are duly figured on the margin of the actual grant in the College of Arms, and on the funeral certificate of the first Fanshawe Remembrancer (also in the college) as certified by George Harrison, Windsor Herald (Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica). But for some reason, of which an explanation cannot be offered by the College of Arms, this coat and crest were abandoned for a simpler one of a single plain chevron between three* fleur de lys *sable on a field or, and a dragon's head without chevronels; and these simpler arms were certified in the visitation of London,* 1633–4, *in the funeral certificates of Sir Thomas and of William Fanshawe, sons of Thomas Fanshawe, the second Remembrancer, in* 1631 *and* 1634, *and in the pedigree furnished by Thomas Lee, Chester Herald, to Lady Fanshawe, Sir Richard's*

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Eyre and the crests of these families, and two below them containing a group of four sons and two daughters, while underneath all is a brass measuring 23 × 8 inches, with the following inscription :—

Hic jacent Johannes Fanshawe de Fanshawe gate et Margareta uxor ejus Filia—Eyer qui obierunt circa ætates suas septuaginta et quatuor annorum et habuerunt Filios et Filias viz. Elizabetham et Thomam gemellos Elizabetha obiit circa ætatem suam quatuor annorum Thomas est rememorator Elizabethæ reginæ de scacario suo Margaretam uxorem Rici Castle, Henricum qui obiit natus circa annos quinque, Robertum viventem apud Fanshaw gate et Godfridum unum clicor'. de predicto scacario. sculpta vicesimo die Juniianno Domini millesimo quingentesimo octogesimo

The monument, which was originally on the floor of the chancel, is now affixed to the north wall, and may be seen in the photograph of the chancel at page 270.

The effigy of John Fanshawe bears as date of decease "obiit xxii Februarii 1578," and that of the twin sister of Thomas Fanshawe "obiit xiii Febrii 1537." The brass of the four sons here reproduced is interesting as containing the grandfathers of both Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe—viz. Thomas in official robes on the left, and Robert in civilian dress, like the father, in the centre. The third grown-up son Godfrey is also in official robes as "unus de clericorum," shortened in the inscription to clicor.

The will of John Fanshawe, dated 16 January, 1579, gives a rather different picture of his family from that represented by the brass, as it shows that at the time of his death he was married to a wife Ellen, and that besides his daughter Margarete Castell (*sic*), he left two other married daughters, Agnes Owterym (Outram) and Ellen Alvey, who had a son old enough to be

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widow, in 1671. *In the last of these the simpler coat is certified as that of the original grantee, John Fanshawe, and his brother Henry, the first Remembrancer, as well as that borne by later members of the family! Ever since then, and in the grant of the honourable augmentation in* 1650, *the arms used by the family have been these more plain ones, which appear for the first time on the brass in Dronfield Church, eighteen years after the grant of the more elaborate coat. The Eyre arms on the monument are: upon a field argent a pile sable with three quatrefoils or, and the crest is a Leg armed or and sable quarterly interchanged with a spur or. Margaret, the wife of John Fanshawe, was the daughter of Godfrey Eyre of Hassop, in Derby, and widow of Hugh Wadd of Aston. An account of the Eyre family, which resided in the Peak country from the earliest times of which there is any record, William Eyre having been a Forest Warden there under Henry III, will be found at page 288 of Vol. II of Hunter's* Deanery of Doncaster. *From the Hassop branch of the family was descended the Earl of Newburgh, whose defence of Hassop Hall against the Parliamentary forces doubtless secured the special approbation of Lady Fanshawe.*

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sent to school. And as the Dronfield Register shows that one of these other daughters was married in the same year as Margaret Castle, viz. 1564, it is clear that her mother must have been married before Margaret Eyre. The widow Ellen was therefore the third wife of John Fanshawe. He left Fanshawe Gate to his eldest son Thomas, as he himself had received it from his father, but expressed a wish that it should be leased to his son Robert for 5 marks per annum. With the consent of the eldest son, the parsonage and tithes of Dronfield were settled on his widow, Ellen, with two annuities of 40s. each, for so long as she should remain unmarried, she waiving all claim to dower. John Fanshawe left 20s. to the poor of Dronfield, 5s. for four years towards providing a minister for the chapel at Holmesfield, 12d. to each of his grandchildren and godchildren and to each servant in his family, and 1d. to each poor person at his funeral, at which meat and drink were to be supplied to all-comers. His son Robert was made sole executor of the will, and his sons Thomas and Godfrey were appointed supervisors, to whom he left one old angel each.

At the time of his death, John Fanshawe was living in Dronfield, having no doubt given up Fanshawe Gate to the occupation of his son Robert. It may be noted here that, besides John and Henry Fanshawe, there was a third brother, Colyn, who lived at Brimington, near Chesterfield. The lease of this place was left to him in an early will of his brother Henry, and by a later will it was left to Alice Fanshawe, probably a daughter of Colyn.

The following is the record in the Court Roll of the Manor of Holmesfield of the transfer of the property of Fanshawe Gate from John Fanshawe to his son, under the date of 23 March, 1580:—

"John Ffanshawe who of the lord held divers lands and ten(ements) died since last court. Heriot one horse value £4. . . . To this court came Robert Ffanshawe (attorney for his brother Thomas Ffanshawe) and took out of the hands of the lord all those messuages, tofts, cottages, meadows, pastures, feedings, lands, rents etc which to him descended by the death of John Ffanshawe his father, holding the same of the lord by the yearly rent of xv^{s} Fine of ingress xv^{s}."

The chancel of Dronfield Church was not wholly reserved for the members of the Fanshawe family, as stated by Lady Fanshawe; though there are not many other monuments in it of a date previous to the middle of the sixteenth century. John Fanshawe was buried there in accordance with his will; and the right of the family to this place of burial was, no doubt, derived from their lease of the parsonage and tithes. Lady Fanshawe must have visited the church in 1653–4, when she and her husband resided at Tankersley Park, some fourteen miles to the north of Dronfield (*Memoirs*, p. 84).

The Free School of Henry Fanshawe in Dronfield, known as the Dronfield Grammar School, was founded in 1579 by Thomas Fanshawe, in accordance with the will of his uncle, under letters patent granted by Queen Elizabeth, the vicar and six of the most honest and discreet men of the parish being appointed governors, and Thomas Fanshawe and his heirs, or in default of

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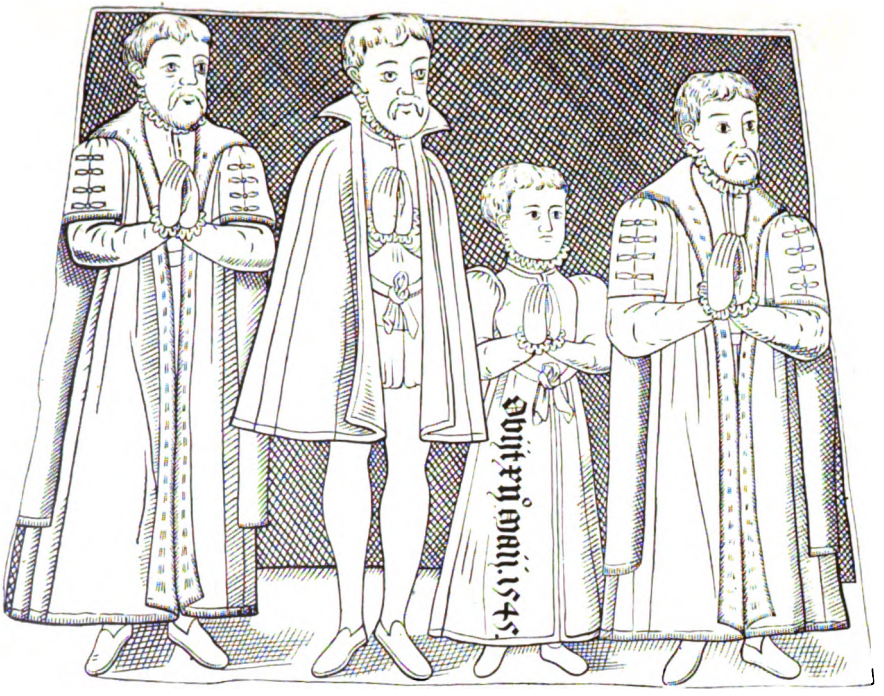

THE FOUR SONS OF JOHN FANSHAWE, OB. 1578

From a brass in Dronfield Church

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them the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, having authority to make rules and appoint the masters of the school.

In the interesting ordinances made by Sir Thomas Fanshawe, K.B., in 1638, it was provided that the school hours should be in the summer from 6 to 11 a.m. and from 1 to 6 p.m., and in the winter from 7 to 11 a.m. and from 1 to 5 p.m.; that, on pain of dismissal of the masters, no otium or play-days should be granted upon any pretext (the scholars were allowed to play, however, after 3 p.m. on Thursdays and Saturdays); that while no scholar should be struck on the head or cheek with the fist or palm of the hand, or should be cursed or reviled (!), correction of swearing by them should be by the rod, and correction of the Latin scholars for speaking English by the ferula; and that the scholars should attend church on all Sundays and Saints' days, walking there two and two in rank from the school.

The old buildings were situated near the church, where the house devoted to the use of the under-master still bears the following inscription:—"In usum perpetuum subpræceptoris scholæ Henrici Fanshawe Armigeri incolæ de Dronfield voluntaria contributione hanc domum ædificabant, Ann. Dom. 1731." The new buildings, erected in 1867 and enlarged in 1893 and 1899, form a handsome block at the south end of the little township on the left bank of the Drone. There are twelve Fanshawe scholarships for boys and girls, entitling the holder to free tuition and to a yearly sum of £5. A tablet recording the foundation of the school has recently been placed in the building by the present representatives of the family.

The interesting seal of the Grammar School, which is of the shape of a pointed oval $4\frac{1}{8}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}$, bears on a ground of arabesque a large board of checker pattern in the centre, above it a smaller shield of the Royal Arms, with three fleur de lys and three leopards quarterly, and below it a smaller shield of the plain Fanshawe coat of a chevron between three fleur de lys. Above the upper shield is the date 1580; at the sides of it are the initials E. R., and at the sides of the lower shield those of T. F. The legend round the broad edging of the seal runs "SIGILLŪ CŌIS (communis) scole gramatical. Henr. Fanshaw. Ar. in Dronfield qui fuit rememorator Regin. Elizabeth. IN SCACÆRIO."

The homestead of Fanshawe Gate lies at the head of the southern slope of the Sheaf valley, about three-quarters of a mile to the north-west of St. Swithin's Church, at Holmesfield[1] (which stands 450 feet higher than Dronfield), in full view of the moors of Bradfield and Hallam. It is about two and a half miles distant from Dronfield, in a direct line, and about three and a quarter miles by the shortest route. As will be seen from the illustration,

[1] *Holmesfelt, Dronefeld, and the adjoining villages of Dore, Totigelli (Totley), Norton, Estune (Coal Aston), Onestune, or Honestune (Unstone), and Barlie (Barley), all of which are connected with the records of the Fanshawe family, are mentioned in Domesday Book. The Crown held lands in most of these.*

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the old house is a substantial yeoman's dwelling of Tudor times, similar to many others in the neighbourhood, and much inferior[1] to Cartledge Hall, the home of the Wolstenholmes of Holmesfield, a third of a mile south of the church, and to Holmesfield Hall, the residence of the Burtons, nearer to that edifice on the west side. Two sets of square stone pillars, one surmounted by pine cones and one by pyramids of balls, still mark the approach to the house; such pillars commonly marked residences of the gentry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this house no doubt were born Henry Fanshawe, first of the Fanshawe Remembrancers, his brother John, and all the family of the latter named on the Dronfield brass, and, as we know from the *Memoirs*, Margaret, the mother of Lady Fanshawe. The area attached to the farm in permanent possession of the family was less than a hundred acres, but the Manor Roll shows that other lands were held by various members of it from time to time, and in Addy's *Beauchief Abbey* it is stated that certain lands of this house in Eckington, Dronfield, and Newbold went on its dissolution to the Fanshawes. The small estate remained in the family till 1832.

A very interesting breviate of the customs of the Holmesfield Manor among the Woolley Charters (xi. 30) doubtless represents very accurately the rights enjoyed by the Fanshawe copyholders in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Lady Fanshawe is correct in stating that the family had been at Fanshawe Gate for some hundreds of years, as it can be traced back there in the Manor Roll of Holmesfield belonging to the Duke of Rutland to the date of A.D. 1417; and as the John Fanshawe then alive had a grown-up son and daughter, the written record of the family may be held to extend back to about the year 1375. By the very kind permission of His Grace, the roll, of which an abstract was edited by the Reverend C. Kerry in the journal of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society of January, 1898, has been re-examined by Mr. I. H. Jeayes, of the British Museum, and it has been definitely ascertained that from 1417 down to about 1540[2] the name was always spelt ffaunchall, with a final double "ll," with variants of ffawnchall, Fonchall, Fanchall. The modern form of the name practically commenced, therefore, with John Fanshawe and his brother Henry, the first Remembrancer, or in the fifth generation, from the John Fanshawe of 1417. Whether the family name was derived from the place or the place name from the family cannot now be said with certainty, but the former would appear to be more probable. The final "e" at the end of the name, as now spelt, was used as often as not in the latter half of the sixteenth century (whether or no it was

[1] *The facts that Thomas Fuller's list of the gentry of Derbyshire in* 1433 *includes no Faunchall, while it duly mentions the families of Burton, Barker, Seliok, Bullock, and Outram of Holmesfield, Dore, Dronfield, and Norton, and that John Fanshawe held the unimportant though respectable post of bailiff of the manor, show that the family was first raised from the rank of the yeomanry of England by the Remembrancers Henry and Thomas.*

[2] *There is a gap in the roll from* 1516, *the last "ffaunchall" entry, to* 1540 *the first ffantshawe, and* 1543 *the first ffanshawe entry.*

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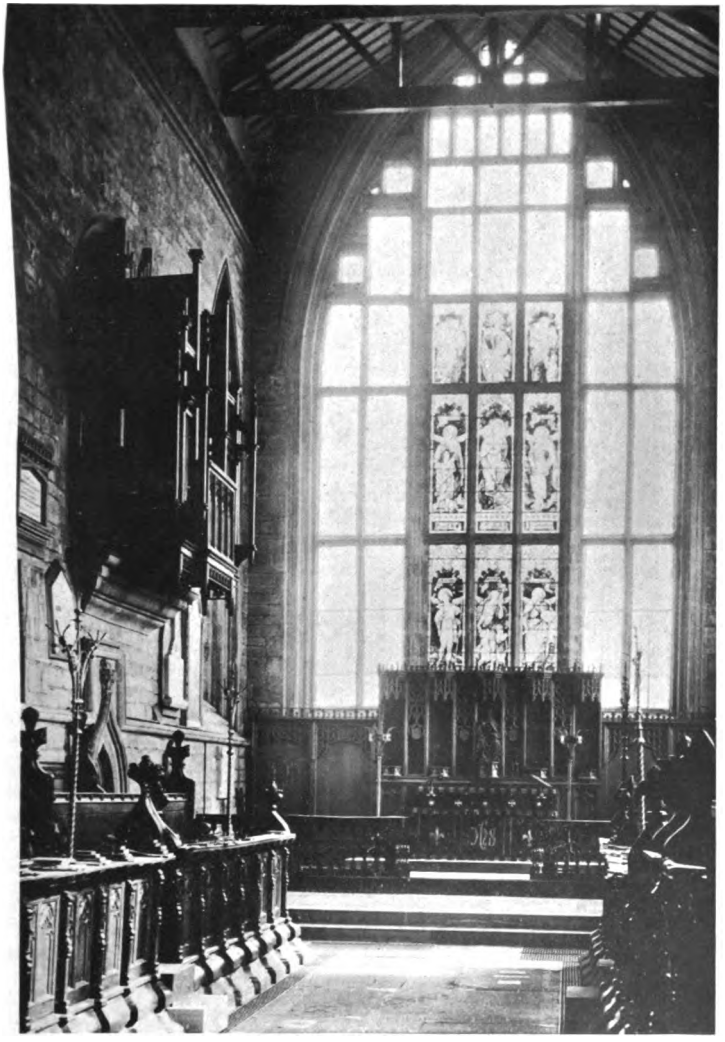

THE CHANCEL, DRONFIELD CHURCH, NORTH DERBYSHIRE

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generally used by Sir Richard is considered doubtful, though some persons may be disposed to hold that the long final flourish to his signature was certainly an "e"); but in the eighteenth century the shorter form was adopted nearly till the end. Since then the spelling with the final "e" has been always followed.

Page 7. §§ 1 *and* 2.

Lady Fanshawe is not correct in saying that her grandfather Robert was the only brother of Thomas Fanshawe, as there was a third brother Godfrey, who, as we know from the Dronfield brass, was a clerk in the Exchequer Office. He became also Master of the Hospital at Great Ilford, where a memorial brass to him once bore the following inscription: "Godfridus Fanshaw Generosus hujus Xenodothij (dum vixit) Gubernator qui placide in Deo abdormivit XII die Februarij MCCCCCLXXXVII." He left his property to satisfy his debts, and all persons who could justly prove he had done injury to them, and the residue to his brother Thomas to be disposed of at his discretion.

It appears, however, from an agreement of 19 May, 30 Elizabeth (1588) between his widow Grace and Thomas Fanshawe, Queen's Remembrancer, preserved in the Philips MSS., now in the possession of Sir Henry Bemrose, by whose courtesy the facts are reproduced here, that between his will, dated three years previously, and his death Godfrey Fanshawe "became greatly indebted by sundry means," and that the value of his property in all lands was not sufficient to pay his debts. Thomas Fanshawe therefore made various proposals to the widow "for the good affection he did bear unto his brother" and for some relief of her case, which "he pitied much, and wished himself more able to relieve"; and she finally accepted one of an annuity of £48 per annum and a payment in ready money of £50, to which was added "certain furniture for furnishing a bed, with necessary linen for the same." The widow thereupon gave up her husband's house at Pie Corner, near St. Sepulchre's, Newgate, the point at which the Great Fire stopped in 1666. She was the widow of Robert Rowbotham of Warwick Inn, London. The above agreement speaks of William Yorke, gent., son of Sir John Yorke, of Gowthwaite, York, as her brother, but he was her half-brother, and her maiden name was Paget. In the above MSS. there are also letters to Godfrey Fanshawe from his brother Robert, of the dates of 15 May and 15 November, 1587, and mention is made of the will of a William Wonstonholme (Wolstenholme), dated 12 August, 1582, under which his "cosin Godfrey Fanshawe" was sole executor and residuary legatee, and Thomas Fanshawe was overseer. Among the Fanshawe papers in the Exchequer Records is one of the expenses of the funeral of Godfrey Fanshawe as follows:—

Grounde in the Chancill	xiii^{s}	iiii^{d}
For the knell	vi	viii
To the vicker	vi	viii
,, ,, clerke	v	
,, ,, sexton	i	ix
For tollinge bell	—	iiii

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Robert Fanshawe, the second son of John Fanshawe who died in 1578, remained at Dronfield and Fanshawe Gate throughout his life. He was churchwarden of Dronfield in 1592, and was buried 24 June, 1613. He had been deputy bailiff under his father, and himself became bailiff of the manor after the latter's death; the father of Richard Castle of Cartworth, Yorks, whom Robert's sister Margaret married, was bailiff of Wakefield. On the death of his father, Sir Henry Fanshawe, in October, 1601, surrendered the messuage of Fanshawe Gate to his uncle, Robert Fanshawe, then living in it, for a term of twenty-one years. Robert wrote from that place to his brother Godfrey on 15 November, 1586, and from Dronfield to his son John "at Mr. Fanshawe his office in Warwick Lane" on 18 November, 1600. In the former letter he urged that his brother the Remembrancer should buy the lordship of Hathersage, "for there is some farms that is pretty yeoman's living, and a great sort of pretty farms that keep 4 oxen apiece" (Philips MSS.). "Pretty yeoman's living" exactly describes the little estate of Fanshawe Gate down to the time of John Fanshawe and the acquisition of office and abbey lands by the family. Robert Fanshawe married Dionis, the daughter of Edward Barker of Rowledge, on 7 July, 1567, and had a large family of sons and daughters; but no pedigree in the possession of the family names the full number of fourteen, stated by Lady Fanshawe. In John Fanshawe's will, mention is made of four grandsons—John, Thomas, Henry, and Rauff (Ralph), the first born in April, 1568, and the last in 1575. Lady Fanshawe was wrong in saying that the wife of Robert Fanshawe was an Eyre, and in doing so she, no doubt, confused her with the wife of his father. Bradway lies between Holmesfield and Norton.

John, the eldest son of Robert Fanshawe, who, like his uncle Thomas, had entered the Remembrancer's office, married Elizabeth, the daughter of Ralph Wiseman of Rivenhall, Essex, and sister of Sir Thomas Wiseman, and settled at Hayes in Stowmaries in that county, and afterwards at Ashford in Kent. He died in 1616 and his wife in 1641. Their daughter Mildred married Phineas Andrews, who was also connected with the Wolstenholmes, and had business relations with Sir John Harrison, the uncle by marriage of his wife. The second son Thomas lived in Dronfield, as his father Robert had done, and died there in 1622. Other sons settled in Dore and elsewhere round Fanshawe Gate. The eldest son of Thomas by his first wife married the daughter of Edward Osborne of Hartlip, Kent; he and his wife are buried in the church there, with the Fanshawe arms carved on their gravestones. The second son of Thomas (by his second wife), Lyonel, had by his second wife, Anne Gill, a son, Lyonel, born in 1627, who was secretary to Sir Richard Fanshawe, both in Lisbon and Madrid (see p. 533).

The second Lyonel died in 1687, seven years after his wife, the daughter of Anthony Senior of Cowley Hall, Darley. They are both buried in Dronfield Church, as is their son Henry, who died in 1722, at the age of forty-three. He was the last of the family to reside in Dronfield. The brass over his resting-place bears the text, "Memoria justi benedicta." The first Lyonel

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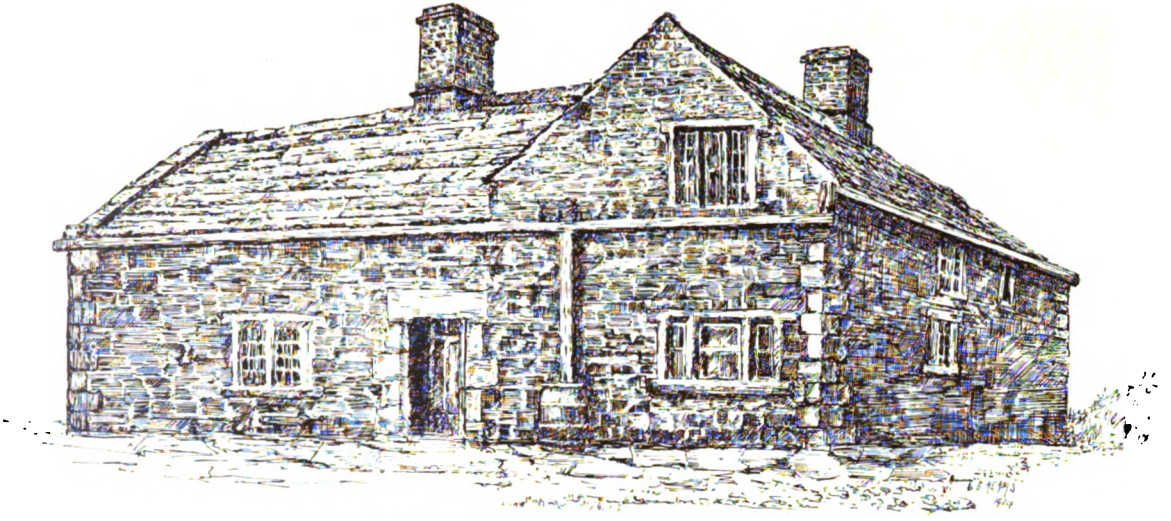

FANSHAWE GATE, HOLMESFIELD, NORTH DERBYSHIRE

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Fanshawe, it may be noted, was on the popular side in the Civil War. In 1641 we find him and others moving to petition the King to return from the north and meet Parliament; and in 1658 and 1659 we find him receiving payments as clerk of the commission from the army.

Page 7. *Paragraph* 3.

The first wife of Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins and Ware Park was Mary, not Alice, daughter of Anthony Bourchier of Barnesley, near Cirencester, Gloucestershire, and Thomasine, daughter of Sir Thomas Mildmay of Chelmsford, and sister of Sir Walter Mildmay, the notable Chancellor of the Exchequer and Treasurer of the Household of Queen Elizabeth and the founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who died in 1589. The position and esteem of the young Queen's Remembrancer at this time may be gauged by the fact of his marriage to the niece of so prominent a personage, from whom a letter, addressed to "Cosen Fanshawe" on 4 November, 1570, is among the Philips MSS. of Sir Henry Bemrose, and who was named, under the designation of "the Right Honble. Sir Walter Myldmay of the Privy Council and Chancellor of her Grace's Court of the Exchequer," as first executor by Henry Fanshawe in one of his draft wills.[1] She died in 1578, leaving two sons, Henry (afterwards Sir Henry Fanshawe), born 1569, and Walter, born 1575 (who died in youth,[2] and doubtless was named after his uncle), and was buried in Christchurch, Newgate. The Barnesley family had no connexion with that of Henry Bourchier, the "last Earl of Bath," grandson of the second Earl, who died childless in 1654. These blunders of Lady Fanshawe are all the more strange, as for two generations a member of the Bourchier family held the post of Secondary in the office of the King's Remembrancer, and the younger of these resided till his death in 1652 in the house at East Barnet, known as Little Grove, which she subsequently bought, and in which she died in 1680. The pedigree of the family (which

[1] *In the same draft will Mr. Thomas Smythe, "Customer of London," was also named executor, and his appointment stood in the Remembrancer's actual will of* 1568. *It seems clear, therefore, that the nephew, Thomas Fanshawe, owed the advantage of both his marriages to the friendship of his uncle Henry with the families of his wives. As an indication of the regard in which he was held it may be noted that in* 1561 *the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer, addressed him as Harye Fanshawe.*

[2] *Walter Fanshawe was admitted to the Middle Temple on* 25 *November,* 1590, *without fine, "because his father (was) a principal officer of the Exchequer and one of this house, and a friend of the Treasurer and masters of the Bench," and was fined as a "vacationer" in the following year. He therefore lived to grow up, but he was dead before* 1596 *when Thomas Fanshawe executed an indenture on behalf of his children, among whom no Walter appears. Lady Fanshawe spells the name of his mother's family Boucher, which was a common form of it at that time.*

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had as arms, Azure, a chevron or, between three martlets argent, and for a crest, a demi seahorse rampant vert, chained and maned argent, eared gules) goes back only to Maurice, father of Anthony Bourchier, the elder. On 29 June, in the first year of King Edward VI (1547–8), this Anthony purchased the manor of Barnesley from the Earl of Warwick, who had received the grant of this royal lordship or manor in the same month; it had been previously assigned by Henry VIII in the thirty-fifth year of his reign (1543–4) to his then dearly beloved consort, the Lady Katherine (Parr), Queen of England. All these facts are recorded in the original parchment confirmation by Parliament and by the King of a petition of William Bourchier in 4 Jas. I (1606), the manor being named Bardesleigh in this document, which ranks as an Act of Parliament. From Anthony[1] the estate passed to his grandson Charles, son of his eldest son Thomas, who sold the manor to his uncle William Bourchier in 38 Eliz. (1595–6). The confirmation in 1606 was sanctioned of course upon a present payment to the King, and the reservation of tenure in capite by knight's service, on one-tenth part of a knight's fee yielding 24s. yearly.[2]

The second wife of Thomas Fanshawe, married about 1580, was Joan, apparently third daughter (but certainly not eldest daughter, as Lady Fanshawe intimates) of Thomas Smythe of Ostenhanger, Kent, generally known as Customer Smythe, who died in 1591, and by his will, dated 22 May in that year, left to Alice, Thomas, William, and Katherine Fanshawe, children of his daughter Joan and of Thomas Fanshawe, and to Henry and Walter Fanshawe, children of the latter and his "late" wife Mary, £500 to be equally divided between them, Thomas Fanshawe being one of the executors of the will. The account given in the Memoirs of the Smythe Family, which had its origin in Corsham, Wilts, is far from correct, the Christian names of two sons being given as William and Edward instead of Henry and Simon, and a more complete account taken from the *Stemma a Chicheliana* and *Archæologia Cantiana* is subjoined here.

By his wife, Alice Judde, daughter and heiress of Sir Andrew Judde, the well-known Lord Mayor of London, and founder of Tonbridge School, Thomas Smythe had six sons who grew to manhood, besides three who died young, and six daughters. The six sons were:—

1. Sir John Smythe of Ostenhanger (now Westenhanger, eight miles south-east of Ashford, in Kent) married to Elizabeth Fineux of Hawe, in Herne, Kent, who was knighted 9 May, 1603, and died 1608. His daughter Katherine married Sir Henry Baker of Sissinghurst (near Cranbrook, Kent), who was created a

[1] *In a patent roll entry of 29 Eliz. (1586–7) assigning the yearly rent of the manor of Barnesley to Thomas Fanshawe, the place is described as in Brightwells, Borrow Hundred, Gloucestershire.*

[2] *Charles Bourchier, it may be noticed, was made ward of his own uncle Thomas Fanshawe in 29 Eliz. (1586–7), the yearly rent of £6. 13s. 4d. payable by the Barnesley manor to the Crown being at the same time assigned to the Remembrancer.*

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baronet in 1611, and whose brother Thomas married Constance Kingsmill, sister of Sir Richard Kingsmill of Malshanger, Church Oakley, Hants, and daughter of Sir William Kingsmill of Sidmonton; and his daughter Elizabeth married first Sir Henry Neville of Billingbear, Berks, and secondly Sir John Thorowgood. His son, Sir John Smythe, born 1599, was created Viscount Strangford of Dromore, in Ireland, in 1628, and died in 1634. He was the companion of Sir Richard Fanshawe in his early travels (*Memoirs*, p. 27). His grandson, the second Viscount, whom Lady Fanshawe mentions here, married as his second wife a daughter of Endymion Porter, and died in 1708, aged 74.

2. Sir Thomas Smythe of North Ash, Bidborough (near Tunbridge Wells), and Sutton-at-Hone (near Dartford) was, like his father, a member of the Haberdashers' Company, and, like his maternal grandfather, a member of the Skinners' Company. He was sheriff of London in 1599, and was implicated—of malice prepense, as the Queen thought; accidentally, as he asserted—in the rising of the Earl of Essex. He was knighted on 13 May, 1603, was Ambassador to Russia in 1604–5 (once only, and not several times as Lady Fanshawe states), was for twenty years Governor of the East India Company, and for many years Treasurer of the Virginia Company, and died in 1625. He left by his will, dated 31 January, 1621, to each of the children of his "loving sister Mrs. Joane Fanshawe," widow of Thomas Fanshawe, who might be alive at the time of his decease, a ring of five pounds price; to his loving sister, Lady Fanshawe, widow of Sir Henry Fanshaw, £20; and to each of her children living at his death a ring as above, except to Richard Fanshawe, of whom he was godfather, and to whom therefore he left £10. The will provided further, that in case of failure of heirs of his son, his nephews, Thomas and William Fanshawe, the sons of his sister Joan, should inherit certain lands of his known as Saltaugh Grange, in Yorkshire, in Halstead, Essex, and in Lewisham and Tonbridge, in Kent; and that his younger nephew Thomas, eldest son of his younger sister Elizabeth and of Sir Henry Fanshawe, should inherit with his cousins, the sons of Sir Richard Smythe and Robert Smythe, a third share of the estate of Otford Park, three miles north of Sevenoaks; but these conditional bequests did not take effect. His third wife Sarah, daughter and heiress of William Blunt, married secondly Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester. Smith's Sound was named after Sir Thomas Smythe by Baffin, who was befriended by him.

3. Henry Smythe of Corsham (near Chippenham) and Baydon, Wilts, who became Receiver for the Duchy of Lancaster. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Owen, Justice of the Common Pleas.

4. Sir Richard Smythe, of Leeds Castle, near Maidstone, Receiver-General of the Duchy of Cornwall, was knighted on 23 July, 1603, and died 1628. He[1] married three widows, the first being the daughter of Sir Thomas

[1] *Sir Richard Smythe and Sir John Scot (see below) were executors of the will of Thomas Fanshawe. Of the former the testator records that he had by his actions given him great cause to rest in his integrity.*

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She and her husband were to have been the guardians of Sir Henry Fanshawe's daughters if their mother had married again. This is the lady so unjustly celebrated in the *Ingoldsby* legend of "The House Warming," in which she is described as the wife of Lord Chancellor Hatton. It would seem as if the *dénouement* of the legend was derived in part from some recollection by the author of an account of the terrible explosion of gunpowder in the castle of Guernsey in 1672, by which the wife and mother of the grandson of Lady Alse, afterwards first Viscount Hatton, were killed on the spot, Lord Hatton being blown out of his room and falling unharmed on the leads of the castle. A pleasing love-letter of Sir Christopher Hatton to "Sweet M^rss Ales" will be found in the Hatton correspondence (Camden Society):—"My judgement and affection, of old enemies, are resolved for ever to dwell together, my affection commending my judgement for so fair a choice, my judgement applauding my affection for her eager pursuit of so worthy a game. Both which jointly dedicate unto you upon this paper altar love answerable to your own virtuous deserts, and far more than these few lines, the stammering servants of a speaking mind, can utter. . . . Only thus your virtue made me to wonder; from admiration sprung my love; from unspotted love this letter, the attorney of cause which must often plead for me in the court of beauty, since the disadvantages of the times, my many jealous observers, prevent my presence. May it please you therefore to answer my love with liking and my letters hereafter with a line or two; that both of us disaccustomed to this new theme of love may write that freely which our tongues divided with modesty and reverence could hardly utter."[1]

According to the family pedigree in the Heralds' Visitation for 1633–4, the second daughter of Thomas Fanshawe and Joan Smythe was Katherine, not Margaret, and this is the order in which they are named in their father's will, so that no doubt Lady Fanshawe was at fault in placing the latter first. Katherine (born *c.* 1590) was married in 1608 to John Bullock,[2] of Norton, near Dronfield, and of Darley, just north of Derby, where his father had obtained a grant of abbey lands. The elder John Bullock was Treasurer of the Inner Temple in 1586, and is buried in St. Alkmund's Church, Derby, the effigy on his tomb being clad very similarly to Thomas Fanshawe, as shown in the portrait reproduced on page 264.

As has been noted in connexion with the will of Henry Fanshawe (d. 1568), he too was allied by marriage with the Fanshawe family. On the dissolution of the monasteries he obtained a grant of the rectory and church of Norton, formerly held by the Abbey of Beauchief, and the lease of these was continued on 16 June, 29 Elizabeth (A.D. 1587), on the advice

[1] *The same correspondence contains a letter from Lady Hatton to her son at Jesus College, Cambridge, commending his handwriting, reminding him of his religious duties, and promising him a summer suit. She was about to proceed to Jenkins at the time she wrote, and proposed to meet him for the vacation at her old home at Ware Park.*

[2] *The MS. reads Mr. Bullock Harding.*

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of Lord Burleigh and Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to his three sons, John, Henry, and Francis, of whom the latter is described as Collector of the King's Rents of Beauchief Abbey.

The son of Katherine Fanshawe compounded in March, 1646, for a sum of £1300, converted subsequently into an annual payment of £90 to the vicar of Derby and one of £30 to the vicar of Norton. The male descendants of the family died out two generations later.

Sir Benjamin Ayloffe, the husband of Margaret Fanshawe (born *c.* 1592, married 1616, died 1658), was the representative of an old Kent family settled at Braxted (near Witham), in Essex, since the time of Henry VI. His father received the honour of knighthood in 1603, as did two of his brothers, and was created a baronet in 1612; and Sir Benjamin succeeded him in 1627. He was distinguished as a Royalist Sheriff in Essex, and paid the penalty for this by a long detention in the Tower, and at Yarmouth. He was fined £2000 on compounding; and though this was ultimately reduced to £1168, he was obliged to sell his seat of Brittains in order to pay that sum. His eldest son was one of the prisoners taken at Colchester in 1648. He served as member for his county after the Restoration, and died in 1662, four years after his wife, having married again since that date, and for the third time. Their eldest son died in 1675, and was succeeded by his brother, the second Sir Benjamin, who lived till the age of ninety-one, and died in 1722. The baronetcy, thus carried over a century all but five years by a father and his two sons, became extinct in 1791.

Thomas Fanshawe, whom, Lady Fanshawe says, Queen Elizabeth called her best officer of accounts, was a man of considerable note in his day. The current statement that he was at Jesus College, Cambridge, seems to be incorrect; but he was admitted to the Middle Temple, 23 January, 1570–1, and sat as Member of Parliament for Rye in 1571, for Arundel in five Parliaments from 1572 to 1592–3, and for Wenlock, Salop, in 1597. He served on various important commissions, such as that for inquiring into the value of the property of St. Paul's in 1570, and against the Jesuits in 1593, and on many parliamentary committees, including important ones to consider the appointment of sheriffs in 1575, the grant of subsidies in 1589, in 1593 (when he sat with Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Drake, and many others), and again in 1597, and the reducing of disloyal subjects to their obedience in 1593. On the occasions of the discussion of the subsidies, Raleigh and Drake, it is needless to say, spoke strongly on the subject of a "frank aid" to withstand the King of Spain; and Thomas Fanshawe himself supplied two lances and three light horse to meet that King in 1588. In 1599 he was called upon to contribute £20 towards the expense of sending troops to Ireland, his fellow-Remembrancer, John Osborne, being assessed at the same sum, by a committee presided over by the Lord Keeper and Lord Treasurer at Sackville House. Under "the Duchy," "—— Fanshawe" (Sir Henry, who was Auditor before his brother Thomas) was called upon to pay £10 on the same occasion.

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One of the latest duties put upon Thomas Fanshawe, of Ware, was by order of the Privy Council on 8 June, 1600, which directed him, Dr. Cæsar, Sir John Peyton, Mr. Wilbraham, and others, to inquire into complaints made against the Master and Company of Merchant Adventurers for interfering with the export of cloths to the East. The direction concluded: "This wee would gladlie wishe to be donne some daye this weeke that wee maie receive your certificate on Sunday next," which shows that statesmen in the time of Queen Elizabeth were not afraid to make a speedy inquiry into alleged infractions of the freedom of trade.

Thomas Fanshawe became Queen's Remembrancer at the early age of thirty-five, and in his official capacity he wrote the little book mentioned on p. 260 as a guide for all officers connected with the Exchequer; and it is clear from many entries in the public records of the time that he was a much trusted subordinate of Lord Burleigh and Sir Robert Cecil, sometimes apparently in private as well as in public affairs. A letter to the latter in 1599 regarding a book which, the Remembrancer says, was prepared in the last year of Queen Mary (1558) of the new rates for valuing customs and subsidies by a committee of officers of the Custom House, and merchants and himself, shows that even at the age of twenty-five he was charged with duties of high trust; and the following extract from another, addressed "To My Most Honourable Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England," from Warwick Lane, on 13 May, 1597, is of special interest: "By my continually attending the business of my office all the term, I have too much neglected my health and business in the country, and as my presence is urgently required there, I have left all things in such state that the duties may be as well performed without me, I hope I may repair thither and stay until the term. . . . If there shall be occasion for my attendance, I will speedily return though to my hindrance both of health and profit."

As his eldest son was born in August, 1569, Thomas Fanshawe probably married about the time of his uncle's death, and perhaps till then resided with him in the house in Warwick Lane, which they successively rented from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and in which they both died. The house near the northern end of Bread Street, in which they lived previously, was rented from Sir John Fogg and his widow for £11. 18s. 8d. per annum, and was let by Thomas Fanshawe, in March, 23 Elizabeth (A.D. 1581), to William Hawthorn, citizen and barber. Before his uncle's death Thomas had, in 1560, acquired the lease of the estate of Dengey, Essex, from the Master and Chaplains of the Savoy for six hundred years, and the property of Jenkins, near Barking, in 1567, the seller being Martin Bowes, who had purchased the property from Edward Osborne, Lord Mayor of London, also the manor Fulks in Barking. Soon after his uncle's death he obtained the grant of the patronage of the hospital[1] of the Blessed Mary of Ilford on 23 April, 14

[1] *In Norden's Description of Essex, which was dedicated to Lord Burleigh in* 1594, *Jenkynes is described as the residence of Thomas Fanshawe of Thexch* (*sic*) *and Vallence as that of Timothye Lucy. Ilford Hospital was closely*

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Elizabeth, A.D. 1572, and bought the manor of Westbury Barking in 1574; and two years later he purchased Ware Park and various outlying small estates adjoining this from Katherine Dowager Countess of Huntingdon,[2] the deed of sale, which is in the possession of the Fanshawe family, being dated 21 June of 18 Elizabeth (1576).[3]

Curiously enough a descriptive poem in blank verse, entitled a "Tale of Two Swannes," by W. Vallans, published in 1590, refers to Ware Park and to Thomas Fanshawe. The poem, which is unusually smooth for such verse in that age, recites the journeyings of these swans which Venus ordered to be brought from Cayster and put into the River Lea.

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connected with the Fanshawes for some little time, the widow of Sir Henry Fanshawe having apparently resided in the Master's house there, and her son, Sir Richard Fanshawe, having been Master of it. It was sold by the second Viscount in 1668. *The marriage of Thomas Fanshawe of Parsloes, son of John Fanshawe, who died in* 1699, *also took place at the hospital chapel in June,* 1745. *The quaint quadrangle with almshouses on two sides and the Low Church chapel on the third still stands in Ilford at the west entrance to the town.*

[2] *This lady was the daughter of Henry Pole, Lord Montague, executed by Henry VIII in* 1539, *two years before his mother, the Marchioness of Salisbury, who held it after the Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. (Previously it had belonged to the mother of the Earl of Warwick, the king maker.) She was married to Francis, second Earl of Huntingdon, who died in* 1561, *and died herself not long after executing the deed of sale of the manor of Ware; as in proceedings taken in* 1577 *to clear the title, which commenced by an order to the Sheriff of Hertford (issued, of course, from the Exchequer Office) to distrain her and her son Henry Earl of Huntingdon and Lord Hastings for homage for the manor, it was reported that she was dead before St. Michael* 1576. *On Thomas Fanshawe being distrained thereupon he pleaded that the Countess had effected a common recovery of the manor in* 1570, *and in virtue of this had sold him the manor in* 1576. *Meanwhile the reversion of the manor had been granted by the Queen to her son in* 1572, *and there had been a common recovery in his favour also and a deed of sale between him and the Remembrancer in* 1575, *and fines had been duly levied in that year and in* 1574. *The result of all this was that the Barons of the Exchequer decided that Thomas Fanshawe was "to go* sine die *by pretext of these premises." Two years after his mother's death the Earl of Huntingdon sold the reserved annual rent of the manor (£80 per annum) to Thomas Fanshawe. Ware Manor is mentioned in "Doomsday" as of twenty-four hides, meadow for twenty ploughs, and a pannage for four hundred hogs, and was valued at £45. It was added, "There is a park of wild beasts and four arpents of vineyard newly planted."*

[3] *Papers in the Fanshawe correspondence in the Exchequer Records in the P.R.O. show that large sums were paid about this time for alterations and improvements in Ware Park. These papers also contain a very interesting complete scheme for the latter.*

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". . . In the Launde hard by the Parke of Ware,
Where Fanshawe buildes for his succeeding race,"

down that stream, and up its affluents, including the Rib, as far as

". . . Wadesmill and Thundrich church,
And so to Standon,"

and afterwards down stream to Ware bridge and Amwell spring head,

". . . By Byrche's house,
That whilom was the Brothers' Friars' place,"

and so finally to London.

At the bridge the swans specially notice the

". . . Barges lading malt apace."

Among the notes on the poems in Leland's *Itinerary* (Hearne) are two to the following effect: "*Fanshawe*, one of the Remembrancers of Her Majesty's Court of Exchequer, an upright Justicer,[1] and one that especially tendereth the profit of Ware, whereof he hath purchased the Lordship." The second refers to the "Tounesmen of Edward's Ware, who with the helpe of M^r^ Fanshawe, have erected a new markett house with intent to procure certaine Fayres to be helde there yeerly."

Lord Burleigh's house at Theobalds is also specially mentioned in the poem.

A letter of his from Ware Park in 1576 is still extant; and from the Historical MSS. publications it would appear that in 1583 he was visited there by Sir Francis Walsingham on his way to Scotland. In 1584–5 he established the right to hold a pie powder court (pied poudré) at the fairs at Ware town. In 1586 he acquired three water mills on the Lea, two for grinding corn, and one for fulling; and in 1593 he purchased the reversion of the lordship and manor of Bengehoe (Bengeo). By his will, dated 10 February, 1595, he devised Ware Park and the house in Warwick Lane to his wife during her widowhood, and thereafter to his eldest son, to whom Dengey was also left, Jenkins going to his second son Thomas.

Previous to this, in February, 1582, he had acquired the free chapel of Holmesfield (called Hounsfield and Houndsfield in various deeds of the time); and he and his son Henry acquired the scholehouse in Dronfield, and the croft and cottage adjoining in May, 1600.

The following extract from his will shows that he was in his private life a good husband, a good father, and a good man:—

"And I require pray and charge my sons Henry Thomas and William and

[1] *The Commission of the Peace for the county of Hertford in* 1590–1 *included, besides Thomas Fanshawe, the Bishop of London, Lord Hunsdon (uncle of Queen Elizabeth), Sir Philip and Sir Henry Boteler, Sir C. Morrison, Arthur Capell, Thomas Sadler, Rowland Lytton, John Ledenthorpe, Francis Heysdon (of Ware), Walter Mildmay, and Thomas Shotbolt—all names connected with the Memoirs, except, of course, the first two.*

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also my daughter Alice Fanshawe in whom I have great hope and confidence, by all the authority that I have over them, and for the love and duty that they owe unto me, and the natural affection and great care that I have towards them, that they will use all their endeavour and diligence care and power to assist my wife, their loving and good mother, not only in the education of her younger children and in assisting and aiding one another, especially their younger sister, but also their said mother in all her own affairs and at all times, and also that they be as dutiful tender and loving towards her as she and I have been tender and loving towards them, and no less natural loving and careful towards their said younger brothers and sisters who are as dear unto me as anie of themselves be." . . . "And I give to every other servant that doth daily serve me in my house where I am resident being no clerks *one yearst wadges*."

The custody of his younger children Thomas Fanshawe left to his wife during her widowhood, "which I wish may continue all her life long as a special blessing to her and her children"; in case of her marrying again they were to be placed in the custody of some of the executors or of some friends "who will be kind, careful and tender over my said children to see them safely and virtuously brought up to serve God themselves and their country in the best manner they may be framed thereunto." The daughters were to receive their portions on their marriage with the consent of their mother after the age of seventeen, or upon reaching the age of twenty-one—Alice to have £1500 and £100 towards her marriage apparel, and Katherine and Margaret 2000 marks (about £1300) and 100 marks each; the eldest daughter also received a special legacy of £500. It seems strange that the testator's wish for "a convenient monument to be made by tomb or in stone or metal over (his) body with some inscription making mention of" him and his two wives and all his children "as well living as gone to God," should never have been fulfilled.

A most interesting *Inquisitio post mortem* held at Ware on 24 May, 44 Eliz. (1602), gives full details of the whole landed property left by Thomas Fanshawe, and records his death on 19 February, 1601, and the fact that his son Henry, next heir, was then aged thirty years and more.

Like that son, Thomas Fanshawe appears to have been a lover of horses, and to have possessed a considerable number at his death. In the Gaudy MSS. (*Report of Historical MSS.*, No. X, 1885) there is an amusing account of how the agent of the Gaudys sought to secure his favour by giving him the best gelding the late Under-Sheriff had. The Remembrancer, however, "much disliked" the beast for stumbling, and called it a lame jade, and the agent was constrained to wish he had been offered the blind gelding which might have passed without fault!

Another curious incident of the times may be seen in the following promise of a person writing to Mr. Fanshawe's clerk about his discharge: "I will send some fresh fish for your master, my very good friend." (!) The picture of Thomas Fanshawe reproduced at page 264 from the Dengey pictures bears the date "setatis suæ 54 Año Dñi 1590"; but this is not correct, as the Dron-

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field brass records that his *twin* sister died in 1537 at the age of four, and he was therefore fifty-six to fifty-seven years old in 1590, and sixty-seven to sixty-eight years old when he died on 19 February, 1601. The portrait, which somewhat resembles that of Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, shows him to have been of slight build and of a shrewd expression of face. He was buried at Ware, as was his widow, in May, 1622; her sister, the wife of Sir Henry Fanshawe (d. 1615), was also laid at rest there nine years later again.

Page 8. *Paragraph* 1.

Sir Henry Fanshawe (born August, 1569; Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer, 1601; Knighted at Theobalds, 7 May, 1603; died 10 March, 1616) was, by all contemporary accounts, a gentleman much respected and loved.

According to Mr. Attersol's dedication[1] to him in 1610 of the *History of Balak*, he was at some college at Cambridge, but this has not been verified; in November, 1586, he was admitted to the Inner Temple, John Bullock, the father of his brother-in-law, being Treasurer in that year.

He was Member of Parliament for Westbury in 1588 (before he was twenty years old) and again in 1592, and for Boroughbridge in 1597, sitting at the same time as his father; but he did not serve in any of the Parliaments of James I.

In 1608 he was appointed by the Earl of Salisbury, with Sir George Moore, knight (one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer), and several others, to inquire into the office of works and buildings about His Majesty's ordinary houses of access, and others, and especially "into the modes employed there for fixing the rates and prices of labour and material, which have of late years increased in a manner to provoke suspicion, and necessitate inquiry"; and again in the same year by this high personage to report with Sir Ralph Coningsby, Sir Rowland Lytton, Mr. Shotbolt, and others upon the timber on the King's lands in Herts. In 1613 we find the Earl of Arundel writing of him from Venice to Sir Robert Cotton: "Commend me I pray heartily to Sir Henry Fanshawe, whose company with yours I could often wish, if that would do it." In 1614 he gave £20 in lieu of his best piece of plate, which, upon the breaking up of Parliament in that year, it had been determined that the gentlemen of England should offer the King as a benevolence; and in 1615 he was dealing with the papers and goods of the Earl of Somerset. His death was caused by a sudden attack of apoplexy, of which John Chamberlain, the well-known letter-writer, and an old friend of the family, gives the follow-

[1] "*Every man that hath known you can tell and myself can among others testifie, being once a poor member of that College whereof you were a chief and choice ornament, that you employed yourself in study more ordinarily than men of your sort and quality do, and gave good proof of great profiting therein.*"

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ing account in an epistle, dated 27 March, 1616, to another old friend, Sir Dudley Carleton, afterwards Earl of Dorchester:—

"Since you went, we have lost Mr. Henry Fanshaw, who being at dinner the 9th of this present at the assizes at Hertford was suddenly struck with a dead palsy, that took him away in forty hours. He is much lamented, and so generally well spoken of as I have not known any man, which is no small comfort to them that loved him; as it was likewise a great happiness to himself that his memory continued till the very end, and his speech did not fail him till some three or four hours before his departure. He hath left all in good order and had made his will two year agone [it is dated 13 November, 1613], but the reversion of his office was in great hazard by reason of his son lacking almost two years of twenty-one [he was born in 1596] was said to be unfit, or rather incapable, to execute it. But by Mr. Secretary's good means, it is now settled in Sir Christopher Hatton and Sir Arthur Harris [nephew of Lady Fanshawe] for his use till he come of age,[1] and they have appointed John West for his deputy."

Sir Henry was buried in Ware Church on 12 March, 1616. The funeral was, no doubt, very quiet, as he expressly commanded in his will that he should be "thare devoutlie laid upp in hope of the Resurreccon by the body of my ffather, but without the usual unprofitable and vain ceremonyes and feastings, the charges whereof will be much more profitablye bestowed upon my children which are many. Notwithstanding I will that there be blacks bestowed on my wyfe children and servants, and twenty pounds in money given to the poor of Ware." The will is full of devout feeling, of which the following passage may serve as an example:—"And I doe further believe that thoughe noe woorks of myne can merytt or deserve any rewards, as being the woorks of an unproffitable servant that is infinitelie behinde with that he ought in duty to doe, yet such is the riches of the mercye and lovinge kindnesse of God that I knowe he will rewarde even the least cupp of cold water that he hath given me grace to give for his sake, therein not paying me my due wages but crowninge in me his owne worke and grace."

In a second letter, dated 20 April, Mr. Chamberlain writes:—

"I have likewise acquainted the Lady Fanshawe with your kind manner of condoling with her great loss, which I assure you is to good purpose, being indeed no small comfort to her to have him so generally lamented and well spoken of. And as it falls out Mr. Secretary could not have devised to do himself a greater honour than to assist and stand so firm for the good of her and her children, wherein, besides the good work itself, he has purchased a general applause. . . . Her younger daughter Mary was married the ninth of this present, to one Mr. Newce of Hadham in Hertfordshire, the only child of his parents; and on Monday last, I was entrusted for want of better

[1] *Mr. John Chamberlain tells us in a letter dated* 18 *May*, 1616, *that Lady Fanshawe compounded with the King for the wardship and marriage of her eldest son for a sum of* £800.

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company to convey the bride home and reconduct Mrs. Alice Fanshawe and Bess Hatton [her elder sister and her first cousin] that went to accompany her. We found all things answerable to promise and beyond expectation, so that there is no doubt she is well bestowed and like to prove a happy match."

Among the smaller legacies left by Sir Henry Fanshawe was one of a diamond ring to wear for remembrance of me to "my especiall frend Mr. John Chamberlaine." The executors of the will were the widow, Dame Elizabeth Fanshawe, Sir Richard Smythe, her brother, and "my deare and towardlie son Thomas." Each daughter was to receive a portion of £1500 on her marriage, and the widow, who the testator was persuaded would, for the sake of their children, not marry again, received all the furniture and movables in the house in Warwick Lane, except the pictures in the middle chamber in the gallery, "both in oyle paintinge and lyming," which were to "be brought to Ware Park" and "there safelie in the gallerie or other place fitt and in the house remayn as heir Loomes not to be aliened, to the end that it may stirr up my posteritye, so long as God be pleased to continue the howse in my blood, in matters of their pleasures to delight in wittie and ingenious things." (Some of these pictures are still in the possession of the present head of the family, Mr. H. E. Fanshawe, and are reproduced in this work, among them that of Sir Henry himself. Mr. Chamberlain records in 1625 that Lord Arundel had played a friendly part with the Lady Fanshawe, and caused the King to send for all her pictures, great and small, "which may serve as a caveat, that if you bring home any you esteem he may be the last to see them.") The coach horses and "fower of my other lesse geldings or naggs" were left to the widow, and to the eldest son "my greate horses instructed to manage (menage) or learning to manage, if he be of yeares and skyll to ryde them," a provision which bears out Lady Fanshawe's relation of Sir Henry's love for horses. The Earl of Exeter of the story told by her, was the first Earl (created 1605, died 1622), eldest son of the first Lord Burghley. A daughter of his was married to Sir Giles Alington, and was mother of the first wife of the first Viscount Fanshawe.

Sir Henry was no doubt the great beautifier and planter of Ware Park, which stands on a fine wooded promontory at the junction of the Rib with the Beane and the Lea, a mile north-west of Ware town. The park still contains some grand old oaks and fine hornbeams[1] which must be of much

[1] *Evelyn writes of the hornbeam in his "Silva":—"We have it no where more abounding in the south than in the woods of Hertfordshire."*

John Scott, the Poet of Amwell, wrote of it and Hertford one hundred and fifty years later, in the following terms:—

> *"Far tow'ards the west close under sheltering hills*
> *In verdant meads by Lee's cerulean stream*
> *Hertford's grey towers ascend. . . . Peace and love*
> *Sat smiling by; as now they smiling sit,*
> *Obvious to fancy's eye, upon the side*
> *Of yon bright sunny theatre of hills,*

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earlier date than the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and a most charming avenue of limes which may, as tradition asserts, have been originally planted by the Fanshawe owners. In referring to Mr. *Camden's* description of the gardens, Lady Fanshawe doubtless made a slip, and intended to name Sir *Henry Wotton*, who in his *Elements of Architecture* writes thus:—

"But though other countries have more benefit of the sun than we, and (are) thereby more tied to contemplate this delight, yet have I seen in our own a delicate and diligent curiosity, surely without parallel among foreign nations, namely, in the garden of Sir Henry Fanshawe, his seat in Ware Park, where I well remember he did so precisely examine the season and tincture of his flowers that in their settings the inwardest of which were to come up at the same time should be always a little darker than the utmost (outermost), and so serve them as a kind of gentle shadow, like a piece not of nature but of art; which mention (incident to this place) I have willingly made of his name, for the dear friendship there was long between us; though I must confess with much wrong to his other virtues, which deserve a more solid monument than among these vacant observations."

In a letter to Mr. John Chamberlain in the summer of 1609, Sir Henry wrote:—

"Here be melons like very shortly to be ripe and reasonably fair, but in no great number. A grand kind is coming forward in greater plenty. If the summer prove dry, I shall be easily provided about the middle of September. You shall eat of them if they prove worth sending, as I cannot yet but hope they will. There is reasonable (quantity) of peaches and grapes—plums not so many. The kitchen garden is full of all manner of good things in extraordinary number."

Of the improvements carried out by him we hear from that friend in August, 1613:—

"We are busied about new works and bringing water into the gardens, which have succeeded so well that we have a fine fountain with a pond in

---

Where Bengeo's villas rise and Ware Park's lawns
Spread their green surface interspersed with groves
Of broad umbrageous oak and spiry pine,
Tall elm and linden pale, and blossom'd thorn
Breathing mild fragrance like the spicy gales
Of Indian Islands. . . .
The gentle Fanshawe there from "noise of camps,"
From courts' disease, retir'd, delighted view'd
The gaudy garden famed in Wotton's page;
Or in the verdant maze or cool arcade
Sat musing and from smooth Italian strains
The soft Guarini's amorous love transfus'd
Into rude British verse."

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the lower garden where the fount was, if you remember the place, and a running stream from the river in the upper garden between the knots and ranks of the trees in the broad walk or alley, wherein we hope to have plenty of trout fed by hand. These works, with industry and care, are brought almost to perfection; and when they are well and come to the highest, I would there might be an end, for else there is no end to new inventions."

The same writer records that when King James was residing at Theobalds, in 1618, Lord Arundel and Inigo Jones came over to Ware Park, and "were so pleased with the grapes and peaches that ever since their being there the King hath sent duly twice a week for that kind of provision, which is sent in all readiness and will ever be taken for a favour, unless perhaps some others hereafter may under that title make it a custom." It seems probable that King James actually visited Ware Park the following year: his son proposed to do so in November, 1641, but the idea was ultimately abandoned. Again, writing from Ware Park in October, 1624, this old friend of the family records what a beautiful autumn it had been, "the later spring more fresh and flourishing than the first, with such plenty of all manner of fruit, especially quinces, which happens rarely, that I never knew the like quantity or more fine and cheap." The quaint receipt of Lady Fanshawe for fattening fowls, given in "the closet of the eminently learned Sir Kenelm Digby," belongs no doubt to Lady Elizabeth Fanshawe, of Ware Park, and not to the wife of Sir Richard, to whom it has been ascribed.

The family of Sir Henry Fanshawe by his wife Elizabeth Smythe has been noticed above at p. 263, and full details of the various sons and daughters and their families are given in subsequent notes. His widow, Lady Fanshawe, survived him for fifteen years, and was buried at Ware on 3 June, 1631. Her will seems to show that she was loved and cherished to the last by all her sons and daughters and by their wives and husbands, and she appears to have fully deserved the praise recorded of her by Lady Fanshawe at page 16 of the *Memoirs*. She charged the Dengey estate to provide £1000 for each of her younger sons, John, Simon, and Richard—(Henry, the other soldier, was dead before the date of the will, 20 February, 1629)—£500 for the daughter of her eldest son Sir Thomas, and £400 for the children of William Newce; and gave legacies of £500 to her daughters Elizabeth and Joan. A sum of £30 was left to her grandson John Bedell; Lady Bedell was probably too well off to need any legacy, beyond a share of the household goods and linen, which she received with all the others, Richard Fanshawe having a bedstead and furniture of Tournai, six stools of Turkey work, a pair of andirons, fire shovel and tongs, also a "suit of linen damask of small flowered work and a suit of linen diaper." (!) By Sir Henry's will she was entitled to occupy the house of the Master of Ilford Hospital, which is described as having the "commodotie" of "gardens, orchards backwards and a grove next adjoining."

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THE LIME AVENUE, WARE PARK, HERTS

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Page 8. *Paragraph* 2.

Sir Thomas Fanshawe, of Jenkins, eldest son of Thomas Fanshawe, of Jenkins and Ware Park, and of his second wife, Joan Smythe, was born in 1580, and died on 17 December, 1631. He married in 1604 Ann, daughter of Urias Babington, draper, of St. Stephens, Coleman Street, and left one son, Thomas, born November, 1607. He entered the Middle Temple in November, 1595, became a Bencher of the Inn in 1614, and died in his chambers there. He sat in Parliament for Bedford in 1601 (43 Elizabeth), and in the seven Parliaments from 1603–11 to 1628–9 for Lancaster Borough. He was auditor of the Duchy of Lancaster in succession to his elder brother Sir Henry, and later yielded the post to his younger brother William. The patent appointing him to be Clerk of the Crown is dated 1624; that of 28 April, 1625, by which King Charles I makes him Surveyor-General[1] of the King's Lands, is no doubt a warrant of *re*-appointment by that King. The salary of the post was fixed by this warrant at £200 per annum. He was knighted at Theobalds on 19 September, 1624, on the same occasion as the Venetian Ambassador. As Surveyor-General we find him submitting to Secretary Conway in October, 1626, a list of all the King's parks and chaces, both those to be kept and those to be sold; and as Clerk of the Crown we find him concerned in 1628 with the examination in the Tower of one Savage, who had said Felton would have hired him to kill the Duke of Buckingham, and reading the indictment at the trial of Mervyn, Lord Audley and Earl Castlehaven, before the Lords, presided over by Lord Keeper Coventry, Sir Nicholas Hyde, and other Judges being present, in May, 1631.[2] In 1625 he was made Deputy-Lieutenant of Essex by the Earl of Suffolk, who seems to have been mightily incensed in this connexion with the Earl of Warwick being associated with him in the Essex Commission. That he was a staunch royalist and Churchman and a notable Member of Parliament appears from many entries in the public records, and from the proceedings of the House of Commons. In 1627 he reported having made arrangements for watching the beacons of the coast, and complained that people refuse to pay the money needed for this, and submitted a list of the names of the most obstinate; and in 1628 he was appointed member of a commission to compound with recusants in various counties for forfeitures to be employed in maintaining six

[1] *The King's General Surveyors were first appointed in* 1514–15. *From* 1528–9 *their duties were confined to looking after the forests, lands, parks, and chaces belonging to the Crown, and controlling the first. The accounts of the auditors of the Duchy of Lancaster were subject to their control.*

[2] *Sir Thomas Fanshawe (whose name is given as Fenshaw in the record of the State trial) also read the King's Commission to the Lord High Steward* pro illa vice *to preside at the trial, upon which the Usher of the Black Rod, Maxwell, presented his lordship with the white staff verge of State. It is noted in the record that Mr. John Keeling was Deputy or Assistant to Sir Thomas Fenshaw.*

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men-of-war to guard the coasts from the north-east point to the mouth of the Thames. As early as 1604 in the Parliament of 1 James I he was on a committee with Sir Francis Bacon for the due recovery of homage and fealty by the Great Chamberlain of England on behalf of the King, and on others for the grant of charitable relief in parishes infected by the plague, and for dealing with an objectionable publication by the Bishop of Bristol, who was called upon to apologize in writing to be sent down by the Lords. He was also entrusted with inquiries concerning the wherrymen and watermen of London, and the "keys" and wharfs formerly made open and free. In 1614 (12 James I) he was member of the Committee of Privileges of the House of Commons (perhaps the most important committee, as it turned out, that ever sat, as from it ultimately came the assertion of the liberties of the people of England), and served with Sir Christopher Hatton, his brother-in-law, Sir John Scot, Sir Thomas Smythe, and Sir Thomas Rowe, among others. He was also on a committee for a general revision of the statutes, and on 20 April moved a motion "for some consultation for the safety of the King by reason of the increase of recusants. That they increase everywhere. That now they will profess their recusancy at table and defend it—that now they are at liberty, not in prison: moveth for a committee why the penalties on recusants are not executed." Two days before he was among eighty members of the House of Commons who met the Lords in conference to discuss the matter of the Elector Palatyne; and later he served on the committee for the "confirmation of the Foundation of the Hospital of King James in the Charterhouse at the humble petition and only costs and charges of Thos. Sutton, Esq."

In 1620 (18 James I, the Parliament in which Sir Thomas Wentworth, later Earl of Strafford, took so prominent a part on the popular side) he was again on the Committee of Privileges, and upon his motion (13 February) all the lawyers in the House were appointed to consider how all the laws regarding the clergy might be reduced to one or more Bills. He was also member of committees to survey all the statutes and draw all those concerning one matter into one or more plain and perfect laws, to take notice of all frauds and deceits in the finding of inquisitions in favour of recusants, and to provide for the safekeeping of the records of the sessions of the peace.

In the Parliament of 1623 (21 Jas. I) he served a third time on the Committee of Privileges with Sir E. Coke, Sir H. Fane, Mr. Pym, and Sir Benjamin Rudyard, and on the other committees regarding the exactions of Heralds, the confirmation and continuance of Hospitals and Grammar Schools, and (with Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir E. Coke, Sir H. Fane, Sir John Eliot, Mr. Selden, Mr. Noy, Mr. Glanville, and others), on a committee regarding the abuse of monopolies. In 1625 (1 Chas. I) he was among the members of the Commons who held a conference with the Lords on the subject of religion; and on 25 June he made a vehement speech against "the increase of Papists and their insolencies attacking (1) the liberty they had for selling their goods and removing to privileged places; (2) the per-

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mission given to informers to compound with them before conviction; (3) the prevalence of Popish schoolmasters (one in York having fifty-six scholars, of whom thirty-six were Papists, and others in Buckingham, Cornwall, and Lancashire); and (4) the printing of books of mediation to reconcile us and the Papists, and recommending the enlarging of silenced ministers who refused to sign articles by canon law, but were willing to sign those under Statute." Clearly a strong Church of England man this. The King's answer to a petition of the Houses based on these lines was: "I am very glad to see you so forward in religion. I assure you you shall find me as forward as you can wish."

In 1628–9 (3 Chas. I) he served on committees for the presentment of recusants and for preventing the assignment of forfeitures before the passing of sentence of attainder; and on 20 June (with Mr. Pym, Mr. Selden, Sir E. Coke, Sir D. Digges, and others) to view and dispose of the business of the House.

Sir Thomas Fanshawe acquired the right of holding the market in Barking in 1616, and purchased the rights of Barking manor from the King in 1628 by a payment of £3000.

Page 9. § 1.

William Fanshawe, second son of Thomas Fanshawe of Ware Park by his second marriage, was born in 1583, and in 1617, thirteen years after the promise of its reversion, became Auditor[1] of the Duchy of Lancaster for all lands beyond the Trent, a post which his father had secured in the first instance for Henry, the eldest of all his sons, and afterwards for the second, Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins. In November, 1600, he was admitted to the Inner Temple, and, like Sir Thomas Fanshawe, was subsequently a member of the Commission of the Peace for Essex, and also of that for Lancashire in 1615. In that year he married Katherine, the elder daughter of Sir John Wolstenholme, whose original home was at Cartledge Hall, in Holmesfield, and in 1619 he bought "Passelowes" (Parsloes) manor house and ninety-one acres attached to it for £1150 from Edward Osborne and his wife. He afterwards became purchaser of the site of Barking Abbey in 1631, and of the estates of Great Singleton and Wyersdale, in Lancashire, which remained in the family till 1747 and 1870, when they were respectively sold by Mr. Simon Fanshawe of Dengey and Mr. John Gaspard Fanshawe of Parsloes. He died in 1634, leaving only one son John, who is mentioned further on by Lady Fanshawe, and a daughter Katherine, wedded to John Ayloffe of Wilts.

In the Chetham Society publication (vol. xiv.) we find him, in September, 1617, with the Chancellor, the Attorney, and other officials and gentlemen at

[1] *Sir Walter Mildmay (see p. 278) had been Auditor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and this may be the reason why the three sons of his niece's husband, Thomas Fanshawe, were successively appointed to that post.*

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Whalley, calling upon the copyholders to elect representatives to hear what manner of composition the King will accept; and in 1618 we find the Corporation of Leicester paying him 6d. for a broad arrow in connexion with the rent of the Butt Close. He was member of Parliament for Clithero, Lancashire, in 1614, 1620, 1623, and 1625 (1 Chas. I), and took a leading part in one important transaction in the short-lived Parliament of 1614. This was the improper interference in the Stockbridge election, Hants, by Sir Thomas Parry, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, whose personal action William Fanshawe half sought to excuse, while impeaching the conduct of his servants. The quaint parliamentary extract of his speech runs as follows:—

"That the Chancellor hath no power in elections. That the Chancellor in his younger time of good service, now in his age abused by bad servants. That these letters written by one that will sell his master and all for 20s., Mr. Loveday, who causeth the Chancellor not only in this but in other things concerning the King's profit in his wood and many other things. . . . Declareth many particulars, moveth he may be examined, and thinketh it will fall out the Chancellor free save only for setting his hand to that which Loveday brought him." So fierce was the debate on the question of freedom of election (one member contending that three good results might ensue from the discussion. "Caution to great ones hereafter how to write—Encouragement to freeholders to use their own right in election—A good precedent in future ages that this shall be punished in any how great so ever") that the Secretary of State had to acknowledge that the fault of the Chancellor was a great one, and that his place and service aggravated the offence. "That His Majesty has heard of it and is much grieved; the Lords of the Council ashamed of it. That the King out of the unworthiness of his action thought this morning to have punished him; and (it) will be found that punishment will be greater than here mentioned. A message from him if this house will remit it to him, he will punish him." This message was unfavourably received, one member boldly saying that while it favoured of grace it trenched much to the prejudice of the liberties of the House; and the next day (11 May) Mr. Secretary brought a fresh message. "His Majesty will ever highly prize the liberties of this House, with thanks for their course of justice now or upon any, of what quality soever, for this or the like offence. That His Majesty mindeth further to suspend him (Sir T. Parry) from the Council." Whereupon the House resolved that Sir Thomas Parry, who sat as member for Berks County, should be removed from the service of the House, and a new writ be issued for a new choice; and after further debate, that "the House resteth for their parts satisfied with the punishments themselves have inflicted, (and) desire no further punishments, but leave that wholly to himself," which was a decided rebuff to the King. The members for Stockbridge were Sir Henry Wallop and Mr. John Cheke, and as their election does not seem to have been cancelled, it would appear they must have been duly elected in spite of the improper letters of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to the freeholders.

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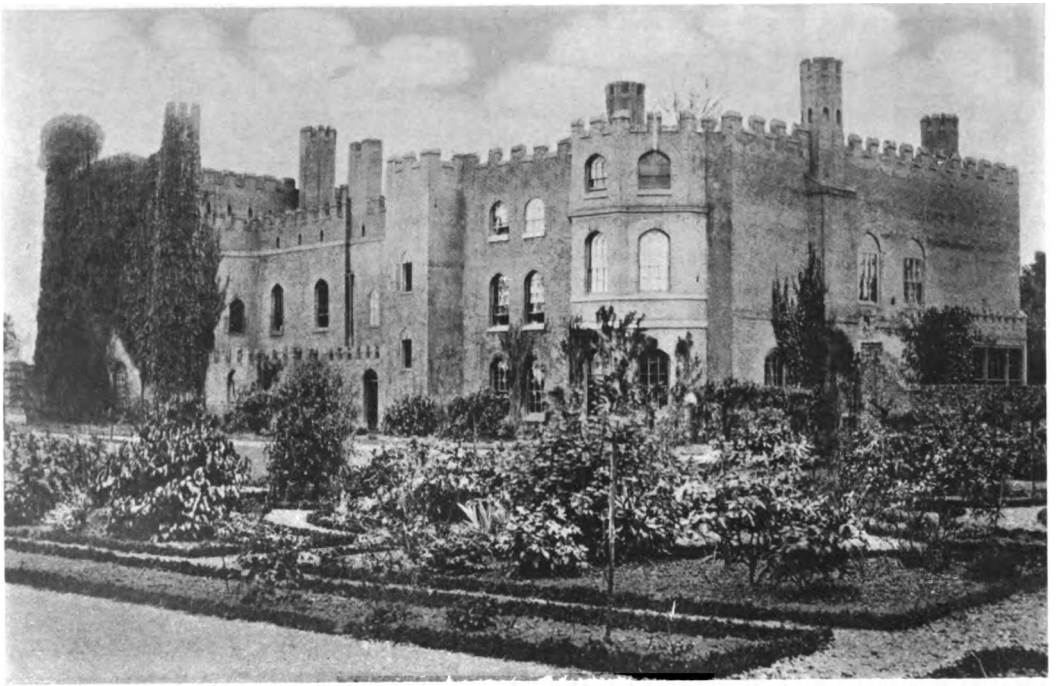

PARSLOES, DAGENHAM PARISH, ESSEX

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In 1631 (Cowper Papers) we find William Fanshawe invited to supper to discuss business with Sir J. Coke; and two years later we find him praying for release from a prosecution in the King's Bench, in connexion with which he was committed to prison by the Lord Chief Justice Richardson, and this high personage, writing about him to Sir John Coke: "I am grieved you should be troubled about Mr. William Fanshawe, whom I wish no harm to, only I desire he should spare his too lavish speeches of his betters. Therein and in some other carriage of his I would be a means to work his reformation, because he is a gentleman and my neighbour. Whatsoever Sir Thomas Aylesbury[1] and Sir Henry Mildmay (whom he hath wronged as well as myself) will do in this matter, I will willingly join with them." Three years after this misfortune William Fanshawe died.

Page 11. *Paragraph* 2.

Sir Thomas Fanshawe, K.B., first Viscount of Dromore in the peerage of Ireland, was the eldest son of Sir Henry Fanshawe of Ware Park, and his wife Elizabeth Smythe. He was born in 1596, three years before Oliver Cromwell, and died at Hatton Garden, in Holborn, on Easter Sunday, 1665. He succeeded to his father's post of Remembrancer through the medium of a commission composed of his kinsmen, as above stated, and was confirmed in it on 19 September, 1619, upon the death of his uncle Sir Christopher Hatton. Up to the time of the Civil War he seems to have taken an active part in the discharge of the duties of the office; and in 1635 he protested against the creation of a new office for entering and keeping the proceedings of the Court of the Exchequer. "Ever since there have been proceedings in English in the Court, they have been kept by the King's Remembrancer, and he has a large and well-practised staff of clerks, whose maintenance depends on these proceedings, and who do the service better than can be expected from any new created office."

On 12 May, 1636, the King granted permission under the Privy Seal to Sir Thomas Fanshawe to pull down the blind wall of the house of Warwick Lane, which ran to the length of eighty feet, and in consequence of which the lane was "very noysome," and to build fair tenements opening on to the lane and additional rooms for the keeping of the records of the Exchequer Office. The warrant was addressed to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of our city of London and our Commissioners for Buildings within our said city. Whether the frontage of the house was so rebuilt before the troubles of 1640 is perhaps doubtful. The house perished in the Great Fire of 1666, and probably many Fanshawe possessions in it, though Lady Fanshawe does not note this. Evelyn mentions the lane being on fire on 4 September.

[1] *Sir Thomas Aylesbury was the father of Sir Edward Hyde's second wife, and as such is mentioned by Lady Fanshawe on page 96 of the "Memoirs." Sir Henry Mildmay was the grandson of Sir Walter, and therefore son of the first cousin by the half blood of William Fanshawe.*

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Among curious items connected with his duties are an order of the Lord Treasurer in 1629, endorsed "To be concealed from the King," and a letter in July, 1640, to Mr. Robert Read, secretary to Secretary Windebank, in which the writer says, "Get this warrant" (to Sir Thomas Fanshawe for the stay of a suit) "subscribed in time and you shall have £20 for the present; and do but afford your aid hereafter and you shall have £50 p. a. out of the profits." He was made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation[1] of Chas. I with Sir Christopher Hatton, afterwards Lord Hatton, his first cousin, Sir Thomas Smythe, and Sir Ralph Hopton, and many others. On 23 September, 1627, he married his first wife at Horseheath, and in 1629 his second wife, Elizabeth Cockayne. Two years later his mother passed away (p. 208); and not long afterwards a chapel built by him at Ware Park was consecrated by the Bishop of Durham, Dr. Morton, who was appointed to that diocese in July, 1632. The form of consecration[2] used on this occasion is still extant (additional Hatton MSS. 29,586, ff. 25, 28, British Museum), and was adopted later by Bishop Cosins of Durham, a friend of the Fanshawes, during the Civil War. He sat as member for Hertford Town in the Parliaments of 1625, 1628, and 1640, and in the famous Long Parliament which met on 3 November in the last year, his colleague on the last two occasions being Viscount Cranborn, who finally joined the popular side. In the Short Parliament, which lasted only from 13 April to 5 May, 1640, he served on the Committee of Privileges with Pym, Hampden, Hyde, St. John, Lenthall, and others, and on that to consider the Bate case, which involved the power of indirect taxation claimed by the Crown, and to prepare the question of ship money in such a way as to be fit for the House's consideration; and in the Long Parliament he was appointed on 17 December to the Committee to consider the charges of the Scots against Archbishop Laud:

[1] *A somewhat lurid light upon the honours of these days is thrown by a letter of Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins to Christopher Hatton on this occasion, in which the uncle writes openly that there are* 120 *earls, viscounts, and barons to make, and that ready money will be accepted for these, and desires to know his nephew's wishes in the matter. The peerage conferred on Sir Christopher in* 1643 *was doubtless largely in recognition of the considerable sums advanced by him to King Charles I.*

[2] *An incident which illustrates the polemical spirit of the age may be quoted in connexion with this consecration. Mr. Charles Chauncey, the vicar of Ware, who resigned in October,* 1633, *and afterwards in* 1637 *went to America, had a bitter antipathy to the railing in of any communion table, and in a tract published in* 1641 *solemnly recorded that on this occasion he saw "the Bishop himself, Sir Thomas (Fanshawe) and divers others that bowed to or at least towards the table being railed in before any Sacrament was administered at it." It is not surprising to learn that Mr. Chauncey was taken to task by the Bishop of London, Dr. Laud, for various opinions of his, and that in consequence of his persecution he decided to leave England.*

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but no doubt it soon became impossible for him to serve the will of the House. He was one of the fifty-nine members who voted against the attainder of the Earl of Strafford at the end of April, 1641, and with the rest was threatened by the ominous proclamation of their names under the heading: "These are Straffordians, betrayers of their country"; and in the note below, "This and more also shall be done to the enemies of justice aforewritten."[1] Among others in this minority mentioned in the *Memoirs* were Colonel Pierce Edgcumb, Sir William Portman, Sir Thomas Hele, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Philip Warwick ("of which malignant number I was one," he writes in his Memoirs); and it was the one cause of deep regret to Lord Capel at his death that he had yielded to the popular clamour on this occasion. "Many it is thought," wrote the author of the *Icon Basilike*, "were terrified to concur with the condemning party rather than satisfied that of right they ought to do so"; and when the attainder of the Earl was reversed in 1662, this statement was placed on formal record in the Statute Book.

The houses of Sir Thomas Fanshawe at Ware Park and of Mr. Arthur (later Lord) Capel at Much Hadham were searched on 29 August, 1642, and while arms enough for one thousand men, it was reported, were found at the latter, the more terrible discovery of two pieces of ordnance was made at the former—one no doubt being the brass gun which the grandfather of Sir Thomas had ordered by his will should be kept there as an heirloom! Probably on account of this he, together with Sir Christopher Hatton, was disabled from sitting in Parliament on 7 September, six weeks before the battle of Edgehill, in which, according to Lady Fanshawe, he fought. In June of the following year his goods, which had been attached, were sold "by the candle," Sir William Lytton, of Knebworth, falling under the suspicion of having received and concealed some of his property. Meanwhile Sir Thomas had joined the King and Oxford, where with Sir Christopher Hatton and others he made a sum of between twenty and thirty thousand pounds available for the King's service, and received in return an assignment of the Forest of Clarendon. He served the King in the Oxford Parliament, which Charles so ungratefully called a "mongrel Parliament," and with his son and Sir John Harrison signed the letter for peace addressed to

[1] *We may conjecture that the vote of Sir Thomas Fanshawe against the attainder of Strafford was largely influenced by what he knew of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland through his brother Richard. Is it often remembered that this extraordinary man, who was only three years older than Sir Thomas, was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland when he was only thirty-nine, and died before he was fifty? Mr. G. M. Trevelyan has drawn attention to the fact that there were always many absentees from the divisions of the House of Commons, and that only* 263 *members out of some* 500 *took part in the division upon the vote of attainder of the Earl of Strafford; but probably a number abstained through fear.*

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the Earl of Essex on 27 January, 1644. In addition to his own family, his brothers, Sir Simon Fanshawe, colonel of horse, and Richard Fanshawe, were both at Oxford, and probably John Fanshawe, of Parsloes; and the domestic events of the family at this time of suffering and wandering are marked at Oxford besides by the marriage of his brother Richard, by the birth to Sir Thomas of a son Charles, afterwards fourth Viscount Fanshawe, on 6 February, 1643, by the death of Sir Simon's wife on 6 February, 1642 (according to A. Wood), and elsewhere by the burial of a daughter Alice (otherwise unknown) at Madran, near Penzance, on 10 December, 1645, and by the birth of another son Simon, afterwards fifth and last Viscount Fanshawe, at Morlaix, which lies thirty-five miles east of Brest, in March, 1646. Sir Thomas had arrived at the last place, as stated by Lady Fanshawe (*Memoirs*, p. 39), shortly before the last event, having spent some time of 1645 in Barnstaple, according to the certificate of Sir Thomas Fairfax, when he sought to compound under the Barnstaple Articles. He left England under orders of the Prince of Wales dated at Launceston[1] in February, 1646, and signed by his brother Richard, requiring him to provision Castle Cornet, in Guernsey, then held by Sir Peter Osborne, a member of the family much connected with the Fanshawe's in the Exchequer Office, and father of the sprightly Dorothy Osborne who married Sir William Temple. This young lady appears to have been with her mother at St. Malo at this time, and there Sir Thomas, and perhaps a little later Mistress Ann Fanshawe, may have seen her. She was two years younger than the latter. What would we not give for a portrait of each by the other! Sir Thomas, who was noticeable for his riband of the Bath, according to the local Jersey annalist, Mons. Chevalier, whom Mr. Hoskyns follows in his work, *Charles II and the Channel Islands*, was at St. Heliers on 11 March with his cousin of Jenkins, and at Cornet Castle on 2 April; and after quieting the mutiny there and supplying provisions, returned to the former island, which he left after the arrival of the Prince on 17 April, going to Caen, where, as we know from the *Memoirs* (p. 43), he was "desperate sick," and where his brothers Simon and Richard visited him. From Caen he returned to England in April, 1647, as we know from a letter from Sir Edward Hyde to Secretary Nicholas, in which the former inveighed, according to his wont, against the iniquity of compounding. It cost Sir Thomas £910 to compound, and final orders in his case were not passed till 6 February, 1649,

[1] *As a memorial of his stay in the West we find a letter from Mr. William Scowen to Sir Richard Fanshawe in February*, 1665 (*Heathcote MSS.*), *in which the former, writing from Cornwall, claims to have been "a little known to your Lordship, and somewhat more to my lord your honourable brother and my singular good friend" . . . "in the midst of many unhappinesses of the late wars here." Lady Fanshawe is mistaken, of course, in saying Sir Thomas reached Morlaix on* 28 "*March*" ("*Memoirs*," *p.* 39); *it is clear from what follows that she meant* 28 "*February*," 1646.

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a week after the execution of the King. It must have been a bitter day for him when he had to petition for permission to compound for delinquency in adhering to his masters and take the oath of abjuration;[1] but probably nothing else could save his wife and young children from actual starvation. His application to the committee for compounding is dated 13 November, 1648.

General Fairfax certified on the Christmas Day following that Sir Thomas Fanshawe had resided in Barnstaple within the six months next preceding the surrender of that place, and was entitled to the benefit of the articles of surrender, being the same as those of Exeter. In the statement of particulars of his estate, Sir Thomas asserted that his interest was only a life one, with remainder to his wife for her jointure, and then to their first son; that his estate of Westbury, in Barking, co. Essex, was worth £200 per annum; Tillingham Grange, in Essex, £107 per annum; the manor of Ware, with properties in Thundridge, Bengeo, and Wades Mill, etc., £800 per annum; but it was mortgaged to cover debts of £14,000 [due chiefly to three ladies "Carye," daughters of the Earl of Dover, and his own nieces, for their "porcions" (£7000); to Mrs. Elizabeth Fanshawe (£2000), and the son of Sir William Boteler (£1560)]; and his house in Warwick Lane, £180 per annum; his own present interest being worth only £200 per annum. He also stated that his household goods and furniture had been sold by order of Parliament, and that much timber had been cut in Ware Park. A subsequent statement of assets in connexion with Dengey (under which it was noted that £1500 was due to John Fanshawe, who was *non compos mentis*) and Ilford Hospital led, on 2 February, 1649, to a second assessment of £400. In March, 1650, Sir Thomas had to petition again for release of his Essex estates from sequestration, and they were duly ordered to be released.

For the next ten years he lived quietly at home, no doubt biding his time like the "leal old Scottish cavalier, All of the olden time." Lady Fanshawe (wife of Sir Richard, who became so in 1650) was with him when the news of the battle of Worcester reached London early in September, 1651 (*Memoirs*, pp. 7, 8), and he stood surety with her and Lady Capel Bedell in the sum of £4000 for Sir Richard (p. 81). Afterwards Sir Richard and his wife lived in a small house of Sir Thomas's at Bengeo, which lies opposite Ware

[1] *The oath of abjuration ran as follows:—*

"*I swear from my heart that I will not directly or indirectly adhere unto or willingly assist the King in this war, or in this cause against the Parliament, nor any forces raised without the consent of the two houses of Parliament in this cause or war. And I likewise swear that my coming and submitting myself under the power and protection of the Parliament is without any manner of design whatsoever to the prejudice of the proceedings of the two houses of Parliament, and without the direction privity or advice of the King, or any of his council or officers other than what I have now made known. So help me God and the contents of this Book.*"

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Park, on the west side of the Rib. The Ware church records have an entry: "July 12th, 1655, Sir Thomas Fanshawe and Sir John Watts (of Mardocks) are both at their habitations according to Proclamation.—Richard Brigg, Constable."

In 1658 the office of Remembrancer, which Mr. Salway, one of Sir Thomas Fanshawe's clerks, had filled for a time, was bought by Mr. John Dodington. He, however, had only six months' profit of it, and after the Restoration it was regranted to the original holder in August, 1660, his eldest son, his nephew, Mr. Vere Bertie, and Henry Ayloffe being also included in the patent. Like other Cavaliers, the Fanshawes were waiting for the right moment to move for the King; and John Mordaunt, writing to Hyde on 16 June, 1659, notes: "My Lord Oxford, Colonel Russel, and my Lord Maynard will be able to draw a considerable body of gentlemen together; to these will be joined Sir William Compton, Sir R. Willis (the traitor), and the Fanshawes"; and again on 6 July Broderick, another Royalist agent, wrote: "Sim (Sir Simon) Fanshawe's gaiety after he had returned from the country (as I have already mentioned to your lordship) too far advanced the number of horse, calculating Sir John Watts, Sir John Gore, etc., at twenty . . . whom Sir Richard Willis examining particularly found it in their wishes not in their power." It is not surprising in these circumstances that Sir Thomas's eldest son, afterwards second Viscount Fanshawe, should have been suspected in connexion with the rising of Sir George Booth in September, 1659, and that with Sir Thomas Leventhorpe he should have been arrested on 10 October; both, however, were released in February, 1660, when the Restoration became assured. The prospect of this was facilitated by the judicious disclaimers of any intention of revenging themselves put forward at this time in most counties by the Cavaliers, and in the one issued on 26 April, 1660, by "the knights and gentry of the county of Hertford that adhered to the late King," and signed by Sir Thomas, his brother Sir Simon, Sir John Watts, Sir Francis Boteler, Mr. George Bromley, and others, it was said: "We are not of the numbers of those that vaunt ourselves in the prospect of our prosperity, nor if that were in our power would delight in any revenge upon any man or body of men whom we think hath contributed most to our sufferings; we are rather of those that will with patience bear the indignation of God because we have offended Him, and will forgive our brethren a little that of Him we may be forgiven much."

Such rewards of loyalty as did not cost the bestower much followed in due course. The son was made Knight of the Bath on the coronation of the King, 21 April, 1661, and the father was raised to the Peerage of Ireland as Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore[1] (the Heralds were pleased to call it Donomore, though Kennet names the place correctly as Drommore) on 6 September, 1661, the fees for which honour cost the impoverished head of the family

[1] *Sir Thomas Fanshawe took his title from Dromore, no doubt because his cousin Lord Strangford had already done so.*

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£197 8s. 4d.[1] Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins had already been knighted on 10 December, 1660. Both father and son were elected to the First Parliament of Charles II, which met on 8 May, 1661, as member for the county and the borough of Hertford; and Sir Richard Fanshawe was at the same time elected Burgess for the University of Cambridge. The warrant of honourable augmentation granted to the family by the King in Jersey on 8 February, 1650, had already recited how "durante ista nefaria rebellione familia ista generosa de Fanshawe unanima virtute et fidelitate erga predictum serenissimum patem nostrum et nos emicuit"; and now the Viscount's warrant drawn up by Sir Edmund Walker, Garter King at Arms, set forth the great virtue and courage of this trusty and well-beloved subject and servant "who, in the late times of rebellion, proved himself a true and valiant asserter of the rights of the crown of England, and for constantly adhering to the just cause of His Majesty King Charles I of our blessed memory suffered with an undaunted resolution both the loss of his estate, imprisonment, and banishment, as also was very instrumental, both by his help and counsel to His Majesty's most happy restoration." Some of the duties which fell to the restored Remembrancer bear the special marks of the events of the time, such as the order to take possession of the estates of the traitors, Cromwell, Fleetwood, Bradshaw, Ludlow, Whalley, Pride, Lilburn, and Hacker, under warrants issued by Lord Southampton, on 28 November, 1660,—the causing of the commissioners employed to raise money by way of poll for disbanding of the soldiers to speedily return their estreats into the Exchequer,—and the returning to their owners all deeds in his custody concerning advowsons, rectories, annuities, etc., taken from loyal subjects by the late usurped powers on their composition for delinquencies. The services of Sir Thomas Fanshawe as an old Member of Parliament were used for many committees of the House of Commons, including that of Elections and Privileges in 1661, 1662 and 1664. He was one of seven members who met the Lords in consultation upon the Bill for securing and preserving His Majesty's person against seditious practices and attempts in May, 1661, and was a member of the conference with the Lords upon the Seditious Conventicles Bill, which he had been directed to take up to that House (28 April, 1664), and was further one of the members appointed to consider the arrangements of the business of the House as regards Bills to be passed and dropped in July of the former year. Among other matters which he was appointed to consider in Committee, were the establishing of the fees of the Masters of Chancery, the business of His Majesty's Revenue, the levying of money by churchwardens for the repair of churches, the restoring of advowsons of rectories, the preventing of danger from

[1] *Of the £197 8s. 4d. no less than £164 9s. 4d. went to His Majesty's servants in sums varying from £10 to the Garter King of Arms, and £30 additional for granting supporters, and £10 to the other Kings at Arms, Heralds and Pursuivants, to £5 to the Trumpetts, £4 to the Musitians, and £1 10s. to the Drums.*

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Quakers and other schismatics, the uniformity of Public Prayers, the settling of the Militia (3 December, 1661), the better observation of the Lord's Day, the prevention of the further growth of Popery, and the provision of carriage for the King in his royal progresses; and he served also on many other committees upon useful matters, such as the draining of the Fens, navigation of rivers, protection of woollen manufactures against frauds, and the like. Among personal matters he was on committees dealing with the restoring of the Marquis of Hertford and the Earl of Arundel to the Dukedoms of Somerset and Norfolk, the reversing of the attainder of the Earl of Strafford (19 February, 1662), and the sale of lands by his cousin Lord Strangford, (p. 279), and on several committees for considering the case of loyal indigent Royalist officers, and distributing a sum of £60,000 to them. Petitions from various persons of quality in the county of Hertford complaining of frequent and numerous conventions of Quakers, Anabaptists, and other dissenters from the Church of England and (17 January, 1665) from Mr. Henry Neville (p. 433) were also referred to him and to others. On most of these committees his son also served with him. As the House was prorogued at the time of his death the writ for a new election to fill his place was not ordered to issue till 9 October, 1665. His successor in the representation of the county of Hertford was Sir Henry Cæsar, who was elected on 3 April, 1666. Matters of deeper personal interest for him mentioned in the public records are those which relate to "his wound . . . too wide to be closed," as Lady Fanshawe aptly puts it (*Memoirs*, p. 11).[1] As early as 17 December, 1660, Sir Thomas, Sir William Walter, Sir Richard Spencer and Sir Gervaise Clifton petitioned to be admitted to lands in the Sherwood and New Forests, and in Clarendon and Bowood Parks assigned to them in trust by the late King for a sum of money amounting to £27,400. This petition was referred to the Attorney-General and Surveyor-General of lands, and the former reported on 27 March following, that the King was at great disadvantage owing to the great debt due to the petitioners, but that these worthy gentlemen had deserved well. Accordingly on 8 June, while spending his honeymoon at Hampton Court, the King gave instructions to the Lord Treasurer that justice required payment of these seasonable supplies given in time of pressing necessity, and that assignations must therefore be made for the sums paid (i.e. made good to the actual lenders by the sureties), both principal and interest, and that the creditors not paid must be induced to take principal only. But though a sum of £1100 had been paid to Sir Thomas in February, 1662, on account of certain bonds executed by him on behalf of the late King, on which he had had to make payment, it was not till December, 1662, that the warrant for payment of £20,000 was passed; and as the Lord Treasurer had to admonish the auditor in May, 1664, that there was to be no diversion of the funds assigned to meet this sum, it is not surprising to find that the actual pay-

[1] *These words added to the MSS. are not in the* 1829–30 *editions of the* "*Memoirs.*"

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ment of it according to the Treasury Issue Books was spread over the whole of the years 1663 and 1664, the earlier disbursements of £2000 dwindling down to the small sums of £500, £450, and even £350. It must be remembered, however, in favour of the King in this connexion that, as Mr. W. A. Shaw has pointed out in his introductions to the Treasury Books after the Restoration, Parliament never really supplied him with the means to pay off the debts contracted by him and by his father.

A few months later, on Easter Day, 1665 (26 March, O.S.), Viscount Fanshawe died suddenly of apoplexy like his father. So once more in the general certificate issued on his death did Sir Edmund Walker, Garter King at Arms, record that the deceased throughout the long course of his life had "always lived in honour and reputation, and with the hazard and expense of his estate given singular testimony of his loyalty in the late unhappy times," to which he added the facts that the funeral procession from London, on Thursday, 30 March, 1665, was escorted as far as Bishopsgate by many of the nobility and gentry in their coaches, and was met near Ware by the principal persons of quality of the county of Hertford, by whom the first Viscount Fanshawe was laid in the family vault on the south side of Ware Church, not far from the spot where the monument of Sir Richard Fanshawe now is. To what Lady Fanshawe records of him (*Memoirs*, p. 11) may be added the following tributes of that sorrowful brother, her husband, to whom the loss came, he records, as a thunderbolt. "How sensible his loss is to me," he wrote to Lord Arlington (see illustration, p. 522), "your lordship will judge better than I can express, if your lordship have informed yourself how much the mutual love of us two was ever beyond that of brothers. God's will be done. I thank your lordship and all good men" (these were the words used by Lord Arlington) "that help me to bear a loss so insupportable"; and again, writing to Lord Belasyse at Tangier on 25 April—5 May, he said, "My private news is very unsuitable to that of the public, and will be some grief to your Excellency for the honour you did the deceased to love him. Upon Easter Day last in England God took to himself my most dear and loving brother my Lord Fanshawe. To qualify this loss in some measure, his son—now Lord Fanshawe—about the same time was married to a fair, and very exceedingly rich young lady." (Lord Fanshawe, it may be noted, stood as godfather to both the firstborn sons of his brother Richard.)

Sir Philip Warwick, in a letter to his brother-in-law, dated 3 *March*, 1665 (but no doubt intended to bear the date of 3 *April*, Monday, O.S.), writes of the death of Lord Fanshawe as follows: "Sir Andrew King brought us the good news of your lordship's and family's good condition, which I assure your lordship was very comfortable to my wife who was before drooping, but is now dead upon the heart by God Almighty's so suddenly calling to himself the honoured and dear lord your brother, who was with me on Wednesday sennight (i.e. 22 March, O.S.) most part of the afternoon cheerful, and the next morning in an apoplexy that conveyed him to God

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on Easter Day in the morning, when my lord his son dispatched his great works for this world (*sic*), and married my Lady Wray that very good fortune."

The picture of Viscount Fanshawe, reproduced here from the Dengey pictures, gives him a sad expression.

Viscountess Fanshawe was granted a pension of £600 per annum from the Customs for thirty-one years in July, 1665. This she lived to enjoy for only two and a half years up to her death in February, 1668 (*Memoirs*, p. 208); but the payment of it can be traced up to 1688, at least in the public accounts. By will she devised the pension (1) to produce £2000 for her daughters Anne and Catherine, and £3000 for her daughter Elizabeth; (2) then to pay off a debt of £1300 on Dengey, accepted by her son Henry; and (3) to provide £1000 each to her sons Henry, Charles, and Simon; and legacies of £100 each to her granddaughter Sarah, daughter of the second viscount (who died, however, in January, 1669), and her grandson Henry Cambell. She also left two beds with linen complete to each of her children, and divided her pewter among the five. Within a year of her death her son the second Viscount was, Lady Fanshawe records, compelled to sell Ware Park. She was daughter of Sir William Cockayne, descended from a very old family residing at Ashbourne in Derbyshire, and therefore a successful Londoner from the same county as the Fanshawes, and their kinsmen the Wolstenholmes, Mores, and Cokes. Sir William, who, like Sir Andrew Judde, was a member of the Skinners' Company, was Sheriff of London in 1609, and Lord Mayor in 1619. He had won considerable renown as Director and Governor of the City of London's plantation at Londonderry, and was knighted by James I on the occasion of a feast given by him to the King in 1616. Three years later he bought Rushton Hall, near Kettering, in Northamptonshire; four years afterwards again his warehouses and house in Broad Street, opposite the church of St. Peter's Le Poor (in which Sir Thomas Fanshawe and Mrs. Elizabeth Cockayne were married on 24 June, 1629), were burnt down, according to the Rev. Mr. Joseph Meade, because the owner refused assistance from the outside for fear of being robbed while the flames were being extinguished. The mansion was a notable one in the City, and was subsequently the first South Sea House. Sir William Cockayne died in 1626, and was buried in St. Paul's under a very elaborate monument recording his descent as "antiqua Cokainorum Derbensium familia oriendus," and the "splendor subolis quam numerosam genuit." Dr. Donne preached an eloquent sermon on the occasion of his funeral, the following extract from which may be quoted as a sample of the whole:—

"This city is a great theatre, and he acted great and various parts in it, and all well. And when he went higher (as he was often heard in Parliament, at Council tables, and in more private accesses to the late King of blessed memory) for his manner of expressing his intentions and digesting and uttering his purposes, I have sometimes heard the greatest master of Language and Judgement which these times or any other did or do or shall

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give (that good and great King of ours) say of him 'That he never heard any man of his breeding handle business more rationally, more pertinently, more elegantly, more persuasively.'"

Cockin's Island was named after him by Baffin. By his wife, daughter of Richard Morris, Master of the Ironmongers' Company, he had six daughters, and one son, Charles. The last was created Viscount Cullen of Cullen (three miles west of Tipperary) in 1642. He was married to Lady Mary O'Brien, daughter of Henry, fifth Earl of Thomond, and therefore sister of Lady Honora O'Brien, mentioned at p. 57 of the *Memoirs* (see note on p. 405), and of Lady Glamorgan. He was assessed by the Committee for the advance of money at £6500, but managed to escape with a payment of £1030; and died in 1661. Of the six daughters five made notable matches, each with a dowry of £10,000, and the youngest died unmarried. The eldest, Mary, married Charles Howard, second Earl of Nottingham; the second, Anne, married Sir Hatton Fermor, of Easton Neston, Northampton; and the third, Martha, married first the Earl of Holdernesse, and secondly, in 1627, Montague Bertie, second Earl of Lindsey and Lord Willoughby d'Eresby. The fourth was Elizabeth, Viscountess Fanshawe, born in 1609 and married in 1629; while the fifth, Abigail, married in the following year John Carey, Earl of Dover, his father in the same year marrying her mother, the widow of Sir William Cockayne. The sons of the Earl of Lindsey were entered in the reversion of the Viscountcy of Cullen; one of them, Vere Bertie, was entered in the patent of the post of King's Remembrancer, granted to Viscount Fanshawe after the Restoration; and another, Charles Bertie (p. 480 below), was for a time on the staff of Sir Richard Fanshawe at Madrid in 1664–5, and was afterwards in close relation with his brother-in-law, the Earl of Danby. A full-length portrait of Viscountess Fanshawe, painted by Cornelius Janssens in 1639, is among the family pictures now in the possession of Mr. H. E. Fanshawe. The first wife of Viscount Fanshawe was daughter of Sir Giles Alington, of Horseheath, Cambs., and of his first wife, daughter of the Earl of Exeter (p. 275). She was born in 1607, married on 23 September, 1627, and died in July, 1628, upon the birth of her daughter Anne, who lived, unmarried, till 1714. For his second marriage, technically within the forbidden degrees of affinity, Sir Giles was subjected to a monstrous fine by the Star Chamber.

In speaking on page 16 of the *Memoirs* of *three* sons of the first Lord Fanshawe and his second wife as alive in 1676, the date when they were copied, Lady Fanshawe includes only Henry (died 1685), Charles, fourth viscount (died 1710), and Simon, fifth and last viscount (died 1716), the second viscount having died in 1674. There were only three, not five daughters, alive at that time, viz. Mary, married to Sir Thomas Cambell of Clay Hall, Essex, died 1701; Catherine, died 1726; and Elizabeth, who married her cousin, the second Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins, and died childless in 1729, the last of all the Fanshawes in the fourth generation from Thomas Fanshawe of Ware Park. The son Henry Fanshawe succeeded to

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Dengey under the will of Lady Elizabeth Fanshawe his mother, and left this interest on his death to his cousin Mistress Alice Hatton, from whom it passed to the son of William Fanshawe, elder son of John Fanshawe of Parsloes (see p. 316); whence it comes that the senior branch of the family holds that still, though John Fanshawe disinherited his elder son as far as possible. Henry Fanshawe was admitted to the Middle Temple on 24 June, 1657, and held the post of Remembrancer of the Exchequer from 1674 to 1685. He died in August, 1685, two years before his nephew the third viscount, and three months after he had been elected M.P. for Penryn, Cornwall, in the first Parliament of James II. Charles, fourth Viscount Fanshawe (born 1643, died 1710), resided at the Court of Lisbon from November, 1681, to May, 1686, as Envoy Extraordinary (*el embiado extraordinario*), and succeeded in extracting from it the balance of the dowry of Queen Catherine of Braganza. He also arranged for the return of the exiled Count of Castel Melhor (*Memoirs*, p. 113) to his native country. He was M.P. for Michael Boroughs in Cornwall in the Convention Parliament of 1688, and in the great debate on 28 January, 1689, openly spoke on behalf of King James II, against the throne being declared vacant, and proposed an adjournment of the House. (Lord Macaulay by a slip, most unusual for him, speaks of him as "*Richard* Fanshawe, Viscount Fanshawe.") On 13 May, 1689, he appeared before the House, in answer to a summons, for absence from its service, and having stated "that since he was absent there was an Act of Parliament passed for taking the oaths, and that he was not qualified to sit in the House, in regard he was not satisfied to take the oath," the House resolved that "he be discharged from being a member of the house," and another[1] member was elected on 18 September. Three years later he was confined for a time in the Tower, no doubt for his allegiance to the late King. His name does not appear in the Tower Registers,[2] but Sir Charles

[1] *Down to Charles Viscount Fanshawe eleven members of the family had sat in Parliament—Thomas, the first Remembrancer,—his three sons, Sir Henry, Sir Thomas of Jenkins, and William—the two sons of Sir Henry, the first Viscount Fanshawe, and Sir Richard,—the three sons of the first Viscount, the second Viscount, Henry and Charles,—the son of Sir Thomas of Jenkins,—and his son the second Sir Thomas of that ilk. Eighty years later Mr. Simon Fanshawe of the Board of Green Cloth, fourth in descent from William Fanshawe in the Dengey branch of the family, was M.P. for Old Sarum in* 1751, *and for Grampound in* 1754 *and* 1761, *and Captain Robert Fanshawe, R.N., in the same generation of the Parsloes branch, was also M.P. for Plymouth in* 1754.

[2] *The date of the arrest of Viscount Fanshawe has been found at last in a letter dated Saturday, 7 May,* 1692, *printed in a note on page* 389 *of Vol. III of the "Life and Times of Anthony Woods": "Last Thursday* (5 *May*) *about twelve at night the Earls of Huntingdon and Marlborough were committed to the Tower to be kept separate, Lord Brudenel* (*son of the Earl of Cardigan*)

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Lyttelton, writing to Viscount Hatton, mentions the fact that bail had been refused to "my Lord Fanshawe, who had consequently returned to the Tower." He died in Suffolk Street on 28 March, 1710, and his estate was administered by his half-sister Ann, who died in 1714, and by his full sister Katherine, who died in 1726.

Of Simon, the last Viscount Fanshawe, practically nothing is known, except that he was commissioned to several regiments between 1665–75, and became the ninth and last Queen's Remembrancer of the Fanshawe family in 1710. In the warrant appointing him reference is made to his allegation that Viscount (Charles) Fanshawe neglected to discharge the duties of the office; but this was perhaps only a friendly fiction to secure the transfer of the post from one brother to the other. By his will executed on 16 April, 1715, he left all his property and estates to his kinsman Thomas (Edward) Fanshawe, the son of William Fanshawe late of Westminster, ancestor of the Dengey branch of the family (p. 317), or failing him and his heirs to Thomas Fanshawe, son of the late John Fanshawe of Parsloes (p. 318), head of the Parsloes branch, or his brothers or their heirs. To his sister Katherine, the viscount left 1s. and no more, and to his sister Elizabeth, widow of Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins, two small annuities of £13. 10s. and £63. 15s. per annum, the former to pass on her death to the charity school for the poor children of St. Ann's parish in Westminster, in which it was recorded the testator's brother Viscount Charles had been interested. It has not been possible to ascertain anything about that interest, or the practical form which it took. He died in 1716 at the age of seventy, and like all his predecessors was buried in Ware Church. One of the last two viscounts, probably the younger, was the person referred to by Pepys on 23 February, 1668, as "a witty but rascally fellow, a brother of my Lord Fanshawe, without a penny in his purse, that was asking him what places there were in the Navy fit for him, and Brisband tells me in mirth, he told him, the Clerke of the Acts," the office which Pepys himself held, and of which he adds, "I wish he had it, so I were well and quietly rid of it, for I am weary of this kind of trouble, having I think enough whereon to support myself." With him the title Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore became extinct after it had been fifty-five years in the family; that of baronet had already expired forty-four years from the date of its grant.

Page 12. *Paragraph* 2.

Sir Thomas Fanshawe, K.B., second Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore, was born in 1632, and dying in May, 1674, at the early age of forty-two, was buried in the parish church, Ware, on the nineteenth of that month. He was admitted

and the Lord Fanshawe were seized, and upon examination were committed to the Tower." The Tower Records contain the entry of the committal of the Earl of Marlborough on 5 May, 1692.

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to the Middle Temple on 24 June, 1657. As above noted, he was first suspected and then arrested by the Government in the autumn of 1659, together with Sir Thomas Leventhorpe, married to his first cousin, Mary Bedell,—was released in February, 1660, was made K.B.[1] on the coronation of Charles II, and was elected M.P. for Hertford Town in 1661. When only sixteen years old he was married to Katherine Ferrers, daughter of Knighton Ferrers, and step-daughter of Sir Simon Fanshawe, she being but twelve years of age. She was made ward of Sir Thomas and Sir Simon Fanshawe and Catherine his wife in December, 1640, upon payment by them of £1200, of which sum they were declared in 1655 to still owe £600 to the Exchequer. She died in June, 1660; and in March, 1665, he married as his second wife Sarah, daughter of Sir John Evelyn, of West Dean, Wilts, by his wife Elizabeth Coxe of London, and widow of Sir John Wray, of Glentworth, in Lincoln, who was a noted "Parliament" man and died in 1664. As stated in the *Memoirs* (p. 12), this lady married as her third husband (at the Temple Church on 14 February, 1675, and therefore Lady Fanshawe in 1676 says "lately") the fifth Viscount Castleton in the Irish peerage; she had no children by him, and died many years later, in 1717.[2] Apparently this marriage was disapproved by her father, as by a deed executed in 1676 he devised all his property away from her, and left her a legacy of only 5s. by his will executed in 1685. Lady Fanshawe discreetly passes over the fact that as M.P. for Lugdershall, Wilts, he was a strong republican, and had been Governor of Wallingford in 1646, and in 1642 was specially excepted against by Charles I as a Parliamentary Commissioner after the battle of Edgehill, on the ground that he was a proclaimed traitor, the proclamation in question being post-dated by the King! He was able, however, to make his peace with the Government on the Restoration. He was cousin of John Evelyn, the Diarist, who was also cousin to Sir Richard Fanshawe through the Bourchiers (see p. 420). Sir Thomas Fanshawe was M.P. for Hertford for thirteen years, and seems to have taken a fairly active part in the proceedings of Parliament, serving on many committees of the House of Commons, generally with his father, from 1661 to Easter, 1665, and after that date on other committees of elections and privileges (five times); to consider the suppression of conventicles, and unconforming ministers and schoolmasters and the checking of the spread of popery; the naturalization of Isabella of Nassawe (*sic*), wife of Lord Arlington, (p. 562); the petition of William Taylour, and framing articles of impeachment against Lord Mordaunt (p. 455); certain private

[1] *The Knights of the Bath created at the coronation of Charles II were, it may be noted, the last made with the full old ceremonial. A sheet of the time gives a most quaint representation of the twenty-three stages in this.—See "Harleian Miscellany," Vol. I,* 558.

[2] *A Chancery proceeding of* 1702 *shows that the executors of Viscount Fanshawe sold certain effects of his to Lady Castleton for £600 and took her bond for the amount. But before the money was paid she married Viscount Castleton, and referred the executors to him.*

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bills relating to his kinsmen, Sir Richard Wiseman and Sir John Prettyman; the correction of abuses in the post office and importation of Irish cattle; the repairing of highways and the prevention of the burning of stacks of hay! On 13 April, 1675, a writ was issued for the election of a new member to serve for the borough of "Hartfort," and Mr. Edmund Field, of Meriden, was chosen in Lord Fanshawe's place on 28th idem. To judge from the Calendar of Treasury Books for 1667–8, Vol. II, he took a fairly active part in the duties of Remembrancer at that time, as he often appeared before the Lords of the Treasury, and orders were addressed by them to him, especially regarding the returns of Fire-hearth and Poll-tax money by the official receivers. In connexion with taking bonds for the newly granted source of income from the Excise, it was settled he should receive 10s. per bond and 12d. on delivering each bond up. On 8 September, 1668, my Lords recorded gravely that he had not answered two letters of theirs about issuing processes—"that they cannot think the fault to be in him; that he examine where the faults have been and cause them to be removed." As Deputy-Lieutenant of the county of Hertford, he was directed upon the occasion of the Great Fire (in which the house in Warwick Lane perished, and perhaps much valuable property in it), to draw the militia together for fear of disturbance, to send two hundred soldiers to Kingsland near Bishopsgate with carts, pickaxes and food for forty-eight hours, and to furnish provisions for the city, especially cheese and bread; and carried out his instructions through Sir John Watts (see p. 473). The occasion was also one of a violent collision with the Master of the Rolls and ex-Speaker of the Commons, Sir Harbottle Grimston. That luminary had already complained of violent and partial proceedings of the Viscount in the previous month, and had reported to the Lord Chancellor that the master of Ware Park had said openly, "that the Master of the Rolls had had as deep a hand as any one in the late horrid (or bloody) rebellion." Another knight of the county had complained that Lord Fanshawe had accused him of being "a committee man, a decimator, a persecutor of the King's friends"! It is not surprising to find that though he speaks of him as an old friend, Lord Clarendon wrote of him in round terms as a rash man likely to lose all his friends, and added, "If he doth not reform himself he will quickly be forced to leave the county himself" (Verulam MSS., Historical MSS. Commission, Volume of 1906). From which it will be seen that the second Viscount had inherited a full share of the "choleric and rash" nature with which Lady Fanshawe credits the first Viscount (*Memoirs*, p. 11).

Writing from his father-in-law's in Wiltshire in June, 1668, the Viscount laments to Sir Joseph Williamson that were it not for the entertainment received from Sir John Evelyn, he would have to converse with dogs and hounds.

"It will be a kindness," he adds, "to let me have the ordinary news once a week; for the stock of old cavaliers wish and pray for the prosperity of the King, and would be glad to hear of his happiness. Although we are not fit for anything but ruin, I wish his majesty may never find the mischief of it.

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Let me know if Parliament will sit in August, so that I may steer my course accordingly."

And again on 23 December, 1669, he writes from Glentworth (where his son had been born on 9 August, but not till after Ware Park had passed away from the family) that he was glad to find the King would stick to the interest that was ever true to him and his father.

"I have spoken with three Parliament men who think his majesty could not do himself greater right than rely on those who in the worst of times never swerved from him, but maintained his title at all hazards of their lives. . . . I hope his majesty will bring about a thorough reformation by degrees, and am glad he has set apart some time to look into the accounts."

In the May previously he had been present at a madcap wager, on a ride from Ware to London, long before ever "Gilpin rode his race"; for being on that road in company with other gentlemen and his cousin Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins, the last accepted the challenge of Sir John Norton to race to London for £100 (Sir John wished to wager £1000), and "beat him and his horse all to dirt, for he was so bedasht that neither horse nor man could be known, for which the King and Duke did not a little laugh at him." Apparently the Viscount had some hopes of a high post abroad, as Sir Charles Lyttelton wrote to Lord Hatton in November, 1672, that he had been disappointed of his desire to go as Ambassador to Constantinople. By his will, executed on 9 May, 1674, he left £4000, payable to him on the death of his father-in-law, to his daughter Katherine, and his lease of the minster farm of Fillingham, Lincoln, and £100 to his sister Elizabeth, married to Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins, and the residue of his property to his wife. His surviving daughter died in 1684, the year before her grandfather, and her property was administered by her mother. His portrait in armour is among the Dengey pictures, which also include one of his second wife, the mother of his son. They had two other children also: Sarah, who died in January, 1669, and Anna Maria, buried at Ware in September, 1668. His son Evelyn being scarcely five years old when he died, the office of Remembrancer was granted to his brothers and son in trust for the last by letters patent of 25 November, 1675. The son went on travels in the spring of 1687 (the pass to travel abroad is dated 29 March), making his will before he started, and died at Aleppo on 18 October in that year, after adding a codicil on 17 October by which he left £100 to his mother; all the rest of his property, outside some small legacies, was left to his uncle Charles, fourth Viscount, his uncle Henry having predeceased him. In accordance with the wish expressed in the will his body was brought home and buried at Ware on 24 February, 1688. His cousin, the Earl of Kingston, son of the elder daughter of Sir John Evelyn, was with him at Aleppo, and signed the codicil to the will, as did Edmund Challoner, who with Mr. Clutterbuck was also included in the pass to travel.

Nathaniel Harley, writing to his mother Lady Harley on 29 October, 1687, from Aleppo, says:—

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"I have passed over a summer here very well, which I think is more agreeable to me than the winter. The heat for five months, in which time there falls no rain, is very severe, and could scarce be borne were it not qualified by the cool breezes, which seldom fail us all the summer. The distemper at Scanderoon has been very malignant; scarce any one that has come thence hither has escaped. In two months we have buried two Captains and Lord Fanshaw, who coming here out of that bad air into this sharp one immediately fell sick."

This might be read to mean that Viscount Evelyn died of the plague.

Page 12. *Paragraph* 2, *end.*

Henry Fanshawe (born 1600) appears to have been filled with the yearnings of a soldier at an early age, as we find the friend of the family, Mr. John Chamberlain, writing about him in April, 1625, in the behalf of his mother and elder brother, that it seems he "obscures himself, and will not let any of his friends know what is become of him, nor what course he means to take, nor under what captain, colonel, or general he hath put himself." In June, however, he had returned home "as wise as he went, but yet as welcome to his friends as the prodigal child's, in whose behalf I must present his mother's thankful acknowledgements." His name occurs among those of other captains made prisoners on 29 October, 1627, on the Isle of Rhé, as the name was then spelt, in the ill-fated Rochelle expedition, and doubtless he was also among those so gracefully released to his sister the Queen of England by the King of France. In the list of those who fell on this occasion were four colonels, four lieutenant-colonels, and twenty-four captains, so Henry Fanshawe was perhaps fortunate in escaping then. Where he was killed in the Low Countries is not known—Occisus, in Belgia, is the entry in the certified family pedigree of 1671; and in a draft of an inscription to be placed over the family vault in Ware Church (Heathcote MSS., p. 257), Lady Fanshawe refers to him as "soldier, died in Holland." Search among likely papers in the Public Record Office has failed to elicit any notice of the circumstance. The event must have taken place before his mother's will was executed on 20 February, 1629, as he is not mentioned in that.

Page 13. § 1.

Nothing is known of John, third son of Sir Henry Fanshawe, whom Lady Fanshawe never met, except that he was *non compos mentis* (see p. 297 above). His estate was administered by his brother Sir Simon in 1666, the description of him being "of Hamerton," the home of his sister, Lady Capel Bedell.

Sir Simon (born 1604, knighted 1640, five weeks after Sir John Harrison, died March, 1680) married before December, 1640, the widow of Knighton

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Ferrers,[1] of Bayfordbury, two miles south-west of Hertford. He was admitted to Lincoln's Inn on 18 September, 1623, and was included in the regrant of the office of Remembrancer to Sir Thomas Fanshawe in 1631; and it was in his capacity of attorney in that office that in 1643 he was, with the note of "now with the King at Oxford," declared to be "a malignant well able to contribute to the State," for which object he was assessed in April, 1644, at the large sum of £600. His wife, as already noticed, died at Oxford on 6 February, 1642. The actual part which he took in the fighting of the day on the King's side is not known very exactly; but he was lieutenant-colonel to Sir Charles Lucas under General (later Lord) Goring, in Yorkshire, in 1644, and was doubtless present at the battle of Marston Moor. He was a prisoner of war in the hands of General Fairfax in 1646, and in that year Sir Richard Willis, Governor of Newark, was negotiating for his exchange (Boothroyd's *History of Pontefract*). He was also one of the officers who with Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice presented to the King at Newark, on 27 October, 1645, the memorial demanding that officers should not be unjustly deprived of their commissions, but should be tried for alleged misbehaviour by tribunals of war. Sir Richard Willis, whose removal from the governorship of the place was the principal cause of this, and who afterwards proved traitor to the Royalist party just before the Restoration, was also a Hertfordshire man, being one of the two proprietors from whom Sir John Harrison, the father of Lady Fanshawe, bought Balls Park. In 1646 Sir Simon was granted a pass to go to France, "putting in first security to return again and not to do anything prejudicial to the Parliament," the reason of his journey being doubtless the illness of his elder brother at Caen (*Memoirs*, p. 44). Two months before this date he had begged to be allowed to compound for delinquency under the Newark articles, and had declared his estate as not worth £200 after payment of his debts. He was fined £600, but the order was at once recommitted, and after examination of various judgments against him the amount was reduced

[1] *Knighton Ferrers was the son of Sir John Ferrers, of Bayfordbury, who married as his second wife Anne, daughter of Sir George Knighton (died* 1613) *of that place. She died in* 1630, *and he on* 17 *September*, 1640, *at the age of sixty-five. The son, born in* 1607, *married Katherine, younger daughter of Sir William Waller, of Wimbledon, whose elder daughter married Sir John Sackville, of Kent. He died at the age of thirty-three, in April*, 1640, *before his father, leaving a daughter, Katherine, only six years old, as his heiress, two sons of his having died in the previous year. His widow very shortly afterwards married Sir Simon Fanshawe, and the daughter, when twelve years old, was wedded to Thomas, second Viscount Fanshawe, as already stated. Bayfordbury (which once belonged to Tostig, brother of King Harold), Markiate, Agnells, and other Ferrers properties, were sold by Sir Thomas Fanshawe in* 1661, *and Wasperton, in Warwickshire, which came from the Walter family, was left by him to his son.*

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to £50, at one-twentieth of his estate. He joined his brother Sir Thomas in the declaration signed by the knights and gentry of the county of Hertford in April, 1660; but the only records that have been traced of him after the Restoration are those of an unsuccessful attempt to secure reversal by the House of Lords of a judgment passed against him during the Commonwealth and the issue of a warrant of arrest against him in pursuance of an order of the Exchequer Court in October, 1668 (Calendar of Treasury Books, 1667–8, Vol. II). He died two months after the authoress of the *Memoirs* at the ripe age of seventy-six, leaving the "small estate which God hath given me and the rebels have taken from me" to pay his debts, and appointing Dame Mary Leventhorpe, widow of Sir Thomas Leventhorpe, Bart., deceased, sole executrix in place of her mother, "my dear and loving sister Lady Alice Bedell, long since dead." A charitable construction may no doubt be put upon Lady Fanshawe's allegation that he was "more a libertine than any of his family."

Page 13. § 2.

The dates of the principal events of the life of Sir Richard Fanshawe noted here by his wife were as follows:—Born June, 1608; baptized 12 June; Master of Requests, 12 January, 1661–January 1664; Secretary of the Latin Tongue, 12 January, 1661–June, 1666; Burgess for the University of Cambridge, May, 1661–June, 1666; Privy Councillor of Ireland from 8 June, 1662, and of England from 2 October, 1663, to his death; Ambassador to Portugal, August, 1662–August, 1663, and to Spain, January, 1664–June, 1666; married 18 May, 1644; died 16—26 June, 1666; buried in All Saints Church, Hertford, 17 November, 166*f*, and in St. Mary's Chapel, in the parish church of Ware, on 18 May, 1671, the anniversary of his wedding day. It will be seen from these that neither of the statements of duration of time given in the text by Lady Fanshawe is quite correct. Humphry, Lord Bishop of London, was Dr. Humphry Henchman (see p. 456).

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Full details of the children of Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe were added by the latter to the *Memoirs*, and will be found on pp. 214–17. Eighteen births in twenty-one years is by no means an unusual record for the seventeenth century. By an inadvertent slip her son buried in Paris is called the second, as well as the son Henry, who was really so. In speaking of Mary as her fourth daughter Lady Fanshawe must have meant to indicate that she had three older daughters alive when her daughter Mary died, viz., Katherine, Margaret, and Ann, all of whom survived their mother.

The statement regarding the parish church of St. John's College is confusing, as from page 214 it is clear that Lady Fanshawe's first baby was born in Trinity College. Perhaps the reference is to St. John's Church, now Merton Chapel; but no entry of the birth or burial of the poor little infant

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can be traced. Indeed, of all the many births and deaths of her children only the record of that of the second daughter called Ann, who was born at Foot's Cray, Kent, can be traced, and the Chislehurst register has the date of her baptism on 3 February, 1655, whereas Lady Fanshawe says the child was born on 22 February. No doubt the existing entry was made after the Restoration, and was incorrectly posted for 23 February, the day after the child's birth. The husband of Margaret Fanshawe, Vincent Grantham, is noticed on page 428, and of Ann Ryder at page 449.

Page 15.

Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins, the second knight of that name and place, was the son of Thomas Fanshawe (often omitted in the accounts of this branch of the family) and his wife Susan, daughter of Matthias Otten of Walthamstow, Essex, whom he married at the early age of nineteen. The father was admitted to the Inner Temple at the age of thirteen in 1620, being described as Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins, eldest son of Thomas Fanshawe, Esq., a Bencher. Apparently he was subsequently at Cambridge, to judge from a Latin letter in the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian addressed to him in 1625, and the King's order in that year that he was to be admitted to the degree of M.A., notwithstanding all statutes to the contrary! He succeeded his father in 1631 as Clerk of the Crown in the King's Bench, and also as Coroner and Attorney. He was elected to the Long Parliament for Lancaster with Sir John Harrison; and in November, 1643, was "forthwith disabled," being then in the King's Parliament at Oxford, "from sitting and being any longer as a member of the House during this Parliament," as Sir John Harrison had been on the 4th September previous. In the May following he was deprived of his office, and in July was assessed at a contribution of £800, reduced to £712, upon payment of half of which he might, the committee decided, be heard as to his debts. He accompanied Sir Thomas Fanshawe, K.B., to France in 1646 (*Memoirs*, p. 39), and was with him in Jersey; and he compounded for delinquency in February, 1647, under the Barnstaple Articles, admitting he had sat in the Parliament at Oxford and had resided there and in other towns of the King. He was fined £1300 at the rate of one-tenth of his estate, and was ordered to settle £80 per annum on the ministers of West Ham and Low Leighton. In March, 1648, he appears in the list of Essex delinquents with Sir Thomas Fanshawe, K.B., Dr. William Beale, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Dr. Robert Pinke, Warden of New College, Oxford, among many others. He died in 1651, and, like the rest of his family, was doubtless buried at Barking.

The son, the second Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins, was born in 1628, was knighted on 10 December, 1660, and died on 29 March, 1705, at the age of seventy-seven. He was with his father in the West in 1645–6 (*Memoirs*, p. 39), and no doubt abroad—when admitted to the recovery of the estate of Westbury, in June 1650, he was recorded as only nineteen years old. In

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February, 1657, he married his first wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Heath, of Cottesmore, Rutland (son of Lord Chief Justice Heath, see p. 421), and his wife Margaret Croke of Thame. She died in 1674, and their only child, Susannah, born in 1661, married in 1682 the Hon. Baptist Noel[1] of Luffenham, Rutland, whose son became third Earl of Gainsborough. An amusing account of the young lady "very good and humble," and without "the least of pride or gallantrie in her," and of "Bab," who was not likely to break his heart over his lady, looking "very well, and very fine, and mightily pleased," is given in the second volume of the papers of the Duke of Portland, published by the Historical MSS. Commission. Sir Thomas was arrested and sent up to London in August, 1659, but was released upon furnishing security not to act against Parliament and the then Government, and was restored to his offices in 1660.[2] He was elected Member of Parliament for Essex in 1685, with Sir William Maynard (their return being mainly due to sharp practice in their behalf by the Lord Lieutenant the Duke of Albemarle), but refused to stand for the convention Parliament of 1688. He and his second wife are mentioned on various occasions, April, May, and June, 1687, by Bishop Cartwright of Chester, who was also vicar of Barking. She was the Hon. Elizabeth Fanshawe, daughter of the first Viscount; the date of their marriage is not known, but as it is not alluded to in the *Memoirs* it must have been after 1676, when these were copied. In 1671, Sir Thomas had been made Deputy-Lieutenant of Rutland; and in 1696 he is found acting as godfather to the son of John Fanshawe of Parsloes, and Mary Coke. In December, 1691, he gave his assent to a bill before Parliament, enabling Vincent Grantham, husband of Margaret, daughter of Lady Fanshawe, to sell part of his estate of Goltho in Lincolnshire. In 1703 a petition was presented against him as Attorney in the King's Bench complaining of his decrepitude; and in March, 1704, he was described as very ill and weak. Before his death he made a new will leaving his property to his widow and his cousin John of Parsloes, his daughter having, he states in it, been fully provided for in his lifetime. This will, however, was not attested by witnesses; and though he had told the clergyman and Lord Fanshawe (Viscount Charles), that he had made it, and what the

[1] *He was the son of the third Viscount Campden by his fourth wife Elizabeth, daughter of the second Earl of Lindsey and Martha Cockayne, and therefore niece by marriage of the first Viscount Fanshawe. His son, born* 1685, *became third Earl of Gainsborough in* 1691, *and died in* 1714.

[2] *On* 22 *February, in the twenty-ninth year of Charles II* (A.D. 1678,), *the officer of Coroner and Attorney of the King's Bench was regranted, upon surrender of a grant of* 27 *July of* 12 *Charles II, to Thomas Fanshawe and Samuel Astrey, and in reversion after them to William Matthews. The names of previous holders of the office are recited as William Fermor, Thomas Wrothesly, Thomas White, Leonard Sandell, Miles Sandes, David Waterhouse, Ralph Hare, Thomas Fanshawe, Knight, Thomas Fanshawe, Esq., John Keeling, William Ayloffe, and Richard Marston.*

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contents of it were, it was of doubtful legal validity under a statute of recent date (though in other similar cases the will was allowed to stand), and it was never propounded against the first will leaving everything to his daughter by his first wife. His widow died in 1729; his two brothers mentioned in the *Memoirs* died, William in 1683, and John in 1693. Though twenty years younger than Sir Richard Fanshawe, Sir Thomas was the intimate friend of the latter, according to the statement of the authoress of the *Memoirs*, and it seems possible that the copy of these, from which the present edition is printed, was one presented by her to her husband's friend, from whom it passed to the Parsloes branch of the family. On the death of his daughter the old timbered house of Jenkins was sold to Sir William Humphreys, who pulled it down and built another house in the Queen Anne style on the site. This too has disappeared, and the Manor Farm House now represents Jenkins, standing on the south of the long pools of water once enclosed in the old garden and fed by the Mayes brook which passes it on the east. Sir Thomas Fanshawe presented the rents of the market-place of Barking, to which he was entitled as Lord of the Manor, to the poor of the parish, a bequest recorded together with bequests by Sir James and Sir Thomas Cambell on the south wall of Barking Church. The old market-house with arms and a carved stone of the reign of Elizabeth still stands on the north side of the abbey enclosure.

Page 15. *Line* 9.

John Fanshawe, son of William Fanshawe of Parsloes, and Katherine Wolstenholme his wife, was born in 1619 and died in 1689. He was at Trinity College, Oxford, where he matriculated on 9 February, 1638. On 30 March, 1639, being then twenty years of age, he married at Church Oakley, near Basingstoke, Hants, "Mrs. Dorothea,[1] daughter of Sir Richard Kingesmill of Malshanger," the second son of the youngest Sir William Kingsmill of Sidmonton (d. 1620). The error of Lady Fanshawe regarding the parentage of this lady and her name has been repeated ever since the seventeenth century, but is proved beyond all doubt by the entry of the marriage in question in the Church Oakley register. There were previous connexions of the Kingsmills and Fanshawes, Thomas Baker of Sissinghurst (see p. 275) having married Constance, the sister of Sir William Kingsmill the younger in 1601, and Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote (see p. 266) having married another Constance, daughter of Richard Kingsmill of Highclere, the brother of Sir William Kingsmill the elder. The younger sister of Dorothea Fanshawe, by name Anne, was married in 1645 to Sir Robert Howard, son of the Earl of Berkshire, and brother-in-law of John Dryden; Sir Robert,

[1] *A portrait of this lady, signed Mary Beale, is among the Dengey pictures. There is a corresponding portrait, but unsigned, of John Fanshawe's second wife also.*

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who was knighted for brilliant behaviour at the fight of Cropredy Bridge, was an auditor of the Exchequer, as Sir Richard Kingsmill was a Surveyor in the Court of Wards; and no doubt both had many business relations with the Fanshawes in the offices of King's Remembrancer and Surveyor-General. By his will dated 16 March, 1663, Sir Richard left 20s. of lawful money to his "grandson (William) Fanshawe to buy him a ring." Mistress Dorothy was undoubtedly the Mistress Fenshaw who, with her friend Lady Isabella Thynne, came under the rebuke of Dr. Kettle,[1] the old head of Trinity College, Oxford, who censured her light behaviour "as a very woman" on the ground that her husband and father had been under him (see Aubrey, edition of A. Clark, Vol. II, p. 25). It has been suggested that this incident relates to Lady Ann Fanshawe, the wife of Sir Richard; but this is impossible, for while Sir Richard was not married till 18 May, 1644, Dr. Kettle died in July, 1643. A John Kingsmill was at Trinity College in 1634; and this and the fact of John Fanshawe having been there form sufficient foundation for the framework of the tale of Dr. Kettle's rebuke. John Fanshawe was another staunch Royalist member of the family, as Lady Fanshawe records; and though in September, 1642, we find the Lords granting him a pass for his safe passage to the North, he being now going to attend the business of His Majesty's revenue there, he went in due course to Oxford and to the West, and had to compound[2] under the Barnstaple Articles by a pay-

[1] *A nephew of Dr. Kettle bore the name of Fanshawe Kettle, and inherited Kettle Hall, the quaint old timbered building still standing in Broad Street, Oxford (Wood's "Life and Times," Vol. II, p. 372). The connexion of the Kettles and Fanshawes, if there was any, cannot be traced now. Mr. Blakiston records in his history of Trinity College, Oxford, that Dr. Kettle "used to stand at the College Gate" when Oxford was a garrison for King Charles, "and observe what persons used to walk in Trinity Grove; for that was then the Oxford Hyde Park, the rendezvous of the nobility and gentry," and usually had a saying for each one of them, which, instead of vexing them, made them laugh. And this, it may be conjectured, was the result of his remark to the two ladies of the tale quoted. Dr. Kettle was master of the College for forty-four years.*

[2] *The Composition Papers of John Fanshawe of Parsloes are very complete and interesting. The annual value of his property was declared to be: Parsloes, £108; Great Singleton, Lancashire, £100; the Abbot's Lodging in St. Sepulchre's Churchyard, £5; office of Auditor of North Parts of the Duchy of Lancaster, £76; Parsonage of Dagenham, £52; total, £341. He stated his debts to be £800, exclusive of three years' arrears of annuities of £30 each to his two brothers, to which Sir John Wolstenholme certified. John Fanshawe took the negative oath on 2 July, 1646, and the national covenant on 4 August. His petition is dated 30 May, and his fine of £490 was fixed at one-tenth of his estate on 17 January, 1647. His case was not finally disposed of till 20 October, 1649.*

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ment of £490, reduced to £280 by an annual contribution of £40 to the church of West Thurrock. A trunk of his mother's left to him and his brothers was exempted from attachment when the goods of her brother, Sir John Wolstenholme, were seized. In 1652 John Fanshawe is found complaining of damage done to his property at Swineshead, in Wyersdale, Lancashire, and at Calder, in Bleasdale.

It is not known when his first wife died; but in 1659 he married his cousin Alice, sister of the second Sir Thomas of Jenkins. By his first wife he had one son only who grew up, William, whom Lady Fanshawe describes as unmarried; by his second wife, who died in 1662, he had a son John born in that year, and mentioned as a child in 1676. The former is the ancestor of the senior or the Dengey branch of the Fanshawe family, and the latter the progenitor of the junior or Parsloes branch. The family pedigree of both of these branches at the end of the book is brought down to date, viz., 1907.

John Fanshawe died on 6 April, 1689, and was buried at Barking; the stone above his grave is now half concealed by the seats on the south side of the Choir. William Fanshawe, his son, married in 1676 Mary, the widow of William Sarsfield, who was daughter of Lucy Walter and sister of the Duke of Monmouth. John Fanshawe apparently quarrelled with his son over this marriage, and various records of the time show that William Fanshawe and his wife were in great distress, the King having withdrawn Mary Walter's pension on her becoming a Protestant.

Among the records in Kilkenny Castle are two letters from Mary Fanshawe to the Duke of Ormonde, one of the date of 28 September, 1678, and one of earlier date, in which she pleads on behalf of her husband for the grant of the reversion of the post of Clerk of the Pells for Ireland (for which the Duke favoured Sir Theophilus Jones), and for the transfer to trustees of the estate of her late husband. "The King ever intended that estate for me, and though Mr. Sarsfield" (later the Earl of Lucan), "by a surprise and misrepresentation of matters, have got the King's letter for part of it, yet the King having declared he was deceived therein, I do not doubt, by your Grace's favour, to reverse all their proceedings thereupon." The poor lady went on to assure the Duke that Mr. Fanshawe was ready to embrace and improve every occasion of serving his interests, and that "both the King and my brother will give you thanks for any just favour you will please to show us." She also prayed for a patent for her pension of £600 on the Irish revenues, as if these could not bear the charge at present they would do so sooner or later for the seven years for which the pension was granted. In the same papers is a letter dated the Exchequer, 19 August, 1678, from Sir Robert Howard to the Duke, on behalf of "my relation" (his nephew), "William Fanshawe," with reference to the reversion of the office of the Clerk of the Pells.[1]

[1] *This information has been kindly given me by Mr. C. Litton Falkiner, by the courteous permission of the Marquess of Ormonde.*

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Some years later Bishop Cartwright tried to improve the relations of father and son, but was not successful in his efforts, though he recommended the son to Lady Peterborough and to Father Petre, and also to the King at his levee on 10 July, 1687. In a petition to King William dated early in 1689, William Fanshawe recites that he not only lost his wife's pension of £800 per annum when she became a Protestant, but was also deprived of his post of a master of requests, which was worth £50 per annum. King Charles had afterwards granted a pension of £400 per annum, but it had not been paid since his death. His wife was near a confinement, and he was threatened with eviction from his house. Subsequently, as appears from a list of pension payments, she received an allowance of £100 per annum, which was continued till 1693, the year apparently of her death. In 1692 the Lord Justices of Ireland reported upon their claim to the forfeited Sarsfield estates, which were worth £2000 per annum, and found that under the arrangement made by Charles II, when the lands forfeited by Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, were acquired, the widow of William Sarsfield was entitled to a jointure of £800, and to a portion given her by the King, and that her daughter—her two sons being dead—was entitled to a maintenance of £50 per annum, and to a portion of £1000. In 1695 William Fanshawe was still pursuing his claims, and in 1703[1] he continued to do so alone, though the benefit from the Sarsfield estate had passed from him by the marriage of his stepdaughter to a Mr. Vesey, and in the year previous his demand against the estate had been satisfied by a private bill in Parliament for the sale of the lands, the trustees being directed to pay him out of the realizations a sum of £1000, with interest thenceforth at 10 per cent.

William Fanshawe died in 1708, leaving two daughters and an only son, Thomas Edward, who, under the will of the last Viscount Fanshawe (died 1716), succeeded to Fanshawe Gate, in Derbyshire, Dengey, in Essex, and other properties. The present (1907) head of the Dengey branch of the family, Mr. Henry Ernest Fanshawe, of Abberley House, Great Shelford, Cambs, is fifth in descent from the son of William Fanshawe and his wife Mary Walter. She was born at the Hague on 7 May, 1651, and married William Sarsfield in 1671. It has been suggested lately as the most probable account of her paternity that she was the daughter of the second Earl of Carlingford, with whom she was residing at the time of her marriage. All that is known is that it is impossible she should have been the daughter of Charles II, who sailed from Holland to Scotland in June, 1650. She was made the subject of a gross political libel directed against her brother in 1681, in which she was

[1] *A later memorial of William Fanshawe in the reign of Queen Anne stated that the losses of his father, John Fanshawe, in the Civil War were near twenty thousand pounds. Among other claims put forward by him for consideration at the Queen's hands was one that his father and family had always been humble and faithful servants of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon during the King's banishment.*

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alleged to have cured a case of the king's evil by her royal touch. In the unhappy Duke of Monmouth's notebook is a memo. in 1684: "Dagenham is eleven miles from London," which perhaps indicates some visit paid by him to his sister. The accounts of her mother by Clarendon and Evelyn ("a brown, beautiful, bold, but insipid creature") are well known; the correspondence regarding her in Thurloes' State Papers casts a lurid light on the immoralities of the King's Court while in exile.

By his will, dated 23 July, 1708, William Fanshawe appointed the then Viscount Fanshawe (Charles, fourth Viscount) to be guardian of his son and his estate during his minority. The son, Thomas Edward, was apparently born before 1689, when William Fanshawe stated that he and his wife had five children.

John Fanshawe, ancestor of the Parsloes branch of the family, was born in 1662, married Mary Coke, eldest daughter of John Coke of Melbourne, Derbyshire, in 1695, and died four years later, leaving four children—three sons and a daughter. An amusing and lively account of the advent of the first child on 18 September, 1696, is given by Mistress Alice Coke in a letter to her brother Thomas Coke (Papers of the Earl of Cowper, Vol. I, Historical MSS. Commission Reports). At the christening on 2 October Sir Thomas Fanshawe and Thomas Coke were godfathers, the latter by deputy, and each presented three guineas to the midwife and the two nurses. John Fanshawe had succeeded his father in the post of Auditor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and in January, 1700, his widow was in London lodging next door to the "Jocalet" house seeking to sell her reversion of it, which John Coke offered to buy "if I can serve my sister Fanshawe or advantage myself." Thomas Coke was afterwards a somewhat notable court personage as Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Anne and King George I. The memorial stone of John Fanshawe still stands on the east wall of the south aisle of Barking Church, though now almost entirely concealed by the organ. It recites among other facts that he was great-grandson of Thomas Fanshawe of Ware Park, and that his mother was Alice, eldest daughter of Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins, in the county of Essex.

The Parsloes estate is still owned by the branch of the Fanshawe family called after it, the present possessor being Mr. Evelyn John Fanshawe, whose father, Mr. John Gaspard Fanshawe, was fifth in descent from John Fanshawe, who died in 1699.

The front of the Parsloes manor house was recast in the beginning of the last century, but the central portion of the interior is still much the same as when it was purchased by William Fanshawe two hundred years previously. The fine fireplaces and some of the fine old panelling in it were brought to Parsloes from Westbury Hall, which belonged to the Fanshawes of Jenkins. The exterior was probably once very similar to that of Eastbury House, which stands half-way between it and Barking.

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Page 16. *Paragraph* 1.

Lady Fanshawe is wrong about the date of the marriage of Mary Fanshawe. As we know from Mr. John Chamberlain's letter (p. 274), this took place in the month after her father's death, viz. on 9 April, 1616. The eldest daughter Alice was married in June, 1619, the facts being again supplied by Mr. Chamberlain in a letter of the 26th of that month. "We had a wedding this week at Lady Fanshawe's" (in *The Court and Times of James I*, Vol. II, p. 176, this is wrongly given as Lady *Farnham's*), "who hath bestowed her eldest daughter to one Bedell, a grandchild of Sir Arthur Capel's, a young gentleman of good parts and means without father, mother, brother, or sister; and the match is every way likely and full of fair conditions, saving that he is somewhat younger[1] than his bride." The third daughter, Elizabeth, died in 1657, unmarried. The fourth, Joan (baptized 4 January, 1607), married Sir William Boteler of Teston, Kent, in 1631, and Sir Philip Warwick in 1647 (*Memoirs*, p. 45). Anne, the fifth daughter, and the only younger sister of Sir Richard, was baptized on 6 August, 1609, and died at the age of sixteen.

In a letter of August, 1609 (B.M., additional MSS. 4176, f. 71), Sir Henry Fanshawe gave the following account of her birth to Mr. John Chamberlain:—

"The Friday night after I came down my wife was delivered of a daughter, and is now very well and strong, I thank God. Yesterday (6 August) was the christening, the gossips the Lady Ann Glemham by her Deputy, which was my sister Davy (see p. 281). Her son was godfather, and the young lady Boteler of Woodhall was the other godmother. My lady Ann sent her man with a very fair piece of plate. Herself was at Cowdray, where the lady Montacute hath a son—my daughter is named Ann. Thus much for women's matters." Lady Glemham's daughter was married to Sir Dudley Carleton, the old friend of the Fanshawes.

Page 16. *Paragraph* 2.

The three sons of "your uncle Lord Fanshawe" the first Viscount, were, in 1676, Henry, Charles later fourth Viscount, and Simon later fifth Viscount. Four sons of Mary Newce (spelt News in the *Memoirs*) and her husband, who died in February, 1652, are mentioned in the Hertfordshire visitation of 1634. The Much Hadham Church registers of the time are not very complete, but according to them, Mrs. Mary Newce, widow, died 3 August, 1666. She had been godmother to Lady Fanshawe's daughter Ann, born in 1655. The father of the elder William Newce was Sheriff of Hertfordshire in 1616, when his eldest grandson was born; his name was Thomas, and not, as apparently indicated by Lady Fanshawe, William. Two fine brasses of

[1] *He was born in* 1602, *she at some date between September*, 1600, *and June* 1603.

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Clement Newce (died 1579) and of William Newce (died 1610) are placed on the floor of the nave of Much Hadham Church just in front of the chancel screen. The former had six sons and seven daughters, the latter eight sons and nine daughters; but the family of William and Mary Newce died out, according to Sir H. Chauncey, in their sons. Sir Oliver Boteler of Teston was born in 1636; this family died out in Lady Boteler's grandson, Sir Philip. "Lady Cambell[1] of Essex" was Mary, second daughter of the first Viscount Fanshawe, who became second wife of Sir Thomas Cambell, of Clay Hall, near Barking, about 1661. He was the grandson of Sir Thomas Cambell, Lord Mayor of London 1609–10, and uncle of Sir John Cambell, created baronet in 1661. He himself was called to that rank in 1664, and died the following year. His widow was not really Lady Cambell when Lady Fanshawe wrote in 1676 (though she was buried under that name in 1701), as she had married her cousin Robert Sheffield, grandson of Jane, daughter of Sir William Cockayne, before 1668. Two sons of hers became successively baronets, and the baronetcy became extinct with the latter of them in 1699. Her three maiden sisters were her half-sister Ann and her sisters Katherine and Elizabeth, the last of whom married Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins some time between 1676 and 1685, when mention is made of her at Jenkins. "Lady Leventhorpe of Blakesweare," properly Blakesware,[2] three miles north-west of Ware, and half-way between that place and Much Hadham, was Mary, daughter of Sir Capel Bedell and Alice Fanshawe, who married Sir Thomas Leventhorpe in 1654. He was the son of the first baronet of the name of Thomas, and of Dorothy, daughter of Sir Giles Alington, and therefore indirectly connected with the Fanshawes. This Sir Thomas had been killed in 1636 in a duel which he forced upon Sir Arthur Capel, uncle of Lord Capel and of Winifred, mother of Capel Bedell. Mr. Mead gives an account of the incident in a letter, dated 4 May, 1636 (*Court and Times of Charles I*, Vol. II, p. 248). The son had been arrested with Thomas Fanshawe, afterwards second Viscount, in September, 1659, and was released the next spring, when all entries relating to the business were ordered to be deleted from the Journals of the House of Commons. We know from Pepys that he was on board the ship of Admiral Montagu (Earl of Sandwich) on 7 May, 1660. A copy of the "Lusiad" corrected by Sir R. Fanshawe, and inscribed:

For my honourable nephew,
Sir Thomas Leventhorp,
23 July, 1655,

is still in the possession of Mr. Evelyn Fanshawe of Parsloes. Sir Thomas died in 1679, some years after his wife, from the kick of a horse at Elvaston, near Melbourne, in Derby, being doubtless on a visit to his daughter, who was married to John Coke of that place in 1672, and whose eldest daughter

[1] *The name is given as Campden in the editions of* 1829–30.
[2] *This was the Blakesmore Hall of Charles Lamb.*

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married John Fanshawe of Parsloes, in 1695 (p. 318). The Leventhorpe family, which came originally from Yorkshire, resided for several generations at Shingey or Shingle, Hull, Sawbridgeworth, Herts, four miles south of Bishops Stortford. Blakesware was bought by Sir Thomas Leventhorpe in 1660, and sold again in 1672. The baronetcy became extinct in 1680 in his uncle. There is a fine coloured tomb of Sir John Leventhorpe (died 1625) in Sawbridgeworth Church, with effigies of himself and his wife and their fourteen children. In the tower of the church is a brass of his mother, who died in Rome in 1566.

Page 17. *Paragraph* 1.

The sum of £80,000 is probably no exaggeration if the income of all the family connexions named by Lady Fanshawe be taken into account. What would one not give for the sight of the list of this now!

Page 17. *Paragraph* 2.

The church of St. Olave, Hart Street, called after the militant Norwegian saint, in the parish of which Lady Fanshawe was born in 1625, is one of the few churches still extant in the city which escaped the Fire of London; it was commonly known as the Crutched Friars Church, from the adjoining house of the Crossed Friars. How near that fire came to it we know from the pages of Pepys, who lived close by at the Navy Office, formerly the residence of Sir John Wolstenholme, in Seething Lane. The view of it, taken[1] across the nave to the north side of the altar and the east window of the north aisle, includes the kneeling effigies of the merchants, Paul and Andrew Bayning, deceased in 1610 and 1616, at which no doubt Lady Fanshawe often gazed with interest as a child; above them is the bust erected by Samuel Pepys to the memory of his wife. Among the entries in the well-kept registers are the baptisms of Ann, daughter of John and Margett Harrison, 2 April, 1625; and of Margarett, daughter of the same, 6 August, 1627; the death of Mrs. Ann Harrison, "buryed at Harford Chancell," 6 August, 1640; and the marriages of William Fanshawe and Catherine Wolstenholme, and of John Ayliff and Katherine Fanshawe in 1615 and 1636.

Lord Dingwall, in whose house John Harrison lived at that time, and where Lady Fanshawe tells us she was born in the same room as the Marchioness, afterwards Duchess, of Ormonde (*Memoirs*, p. 48), was drowned in the Irish Channel on 28 October, 1628, his wife, the Countess of Desmond, having died eighteen days previously in Wales. He was a favourite Gentleman of the Chamber of James I, and derived his titles (Lord Dingwall 1609, Earl of Desmond 1628) and wealth, through a rich marriage, from that King and the favourite Buckingham. He was particularly noticed for his

[1] *By kind permission of the rector, the Rev. A. Boyd Carpenter.*

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splendid attire on the occasion of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Count Palatine.

Lady Aston was no doubt the wife of Lord Walter Aston, who had been a gentlewoman of the younger Lady Christopher Hatton, daughter of Thomas Fanshawe of Ware. Lady Wolstenholme was Catherine *née* Fanshawe, the wife of Sir John Wolstenholme the elder (Knight 1616). It is not known for certain whose child she was, though she was certainly not the daughter of Robert Fanshawe of Fanshawe Gate (died 1613). It seems most probable that she was a daughter of Colyn Fanshawe of Brimington, brother of Henry Fanshawe, first Remembrancer, and of John of Fanshawe Gate (died 1578). Another daughter of Colyn, Alice, was a servant (see p. 325) in the household of Henry Fanshawe, who left her the lease of Brimington; she married Edward Elliot of Birch Hall, Essex. Who Mr. Hyde may have been is quite uncertain, for though the fact of Sir Edward Hyde being present at Lady Fanshawe's marriage in 1644 might seem to indicate him, he would have been only sixteen years old in 1625. Perhaps the person in question was his father, though no connexion between him and the Fanshawes is known.

Page 18. *Line* 9.

Dr. Richard Holdsworth, somewhat unfortunately called Howlsworth by Lady Fanshawe, fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, was in 1625 made rector of St. Peter's the Poor in Old Broad Street (another church which escaped the Great Fire, but was rebuilt in 1788–92), and afterwards professor of divinity at the Gresham College in Bishopsgate Street, no distance from Hart Street. He stood for the mastership of St. John's in 1633 against Dr. Lane, and the claims of the two are thus mentioned in a letter of Archbishop Laud, dated 14 October, to Sir Thomas Wentworth about "your St. John's business."

"For my part I have done Mr. Oldisworth all right to his majesty; and for Dr. Lane I never saw him five times in my life, and to my remembrance never spoke to him but once. God send the business a good end for the University and college sake, for I heartily wish the public well; and to speak clearly if the one be not sober enough for the government, I doubt the other may be found too weak—honest and learned is not enough for government."

In the end Dr. William Beale, the tutor of Sir Richard Fanshawe, was made master, and Dr. Holdsworth became first Archdeacon of Huntingdon, and then in 1637 master of Sir Walter Mildmay's college of Emmanuel. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1641, giving up his professorship; and in the same year was called to account for an oration considered to reflect upon Parliament. In 1642 he received the King and Prince of Wales at Cambridge, when Dr. Beale provided a lunch for them with which the King stuffed his son's pockets. He was arrested in February, 1643, and again in May for republishing at Cambridge the King's proclamation at York, and was im-

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prisoned in Ely House, Holborn, and in the Tower after he was made Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, till 1645, and was removed from his mastership in 1644. He was with the King at Hampton Court in 1647, and for a time in the Isle of Wight. He refused promotion to the Bishopric of Bristol, but was made Dean of Worcester by Charles I. He died on 22 August, 1649. It is recorded that when his friends sought to comfort him on his deathbed by saying he was being taken away from the evil to come, he exclaimed, "No, no. I foresee, I foresee the good things to come" —a saying afterwards converted into a prophecy by the Royalists. The greatest compliment paid to his powers as a preacher was by the Committee of Safety, which reported that if he was allowed to preach he would undo all they had done!

Page 18. *Line* 17.

Dr. Thomas Winston, born in 1575, took the degree of M.A. at Cambridge in 1602, and of M.D. at Padua, incorporated at Cambridge in 1608; he also studied at Basle. He was licentiate of the College of Physicians in 1610, fellow in 1615, and fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, in 1617. From 1615–42 he was Professor of Physic at the Gresham College. He then removed to France; but returned, and was restored to his professorship in 1652. He died three years later on 24 October, 1655. His lectures on anatomy were published after his death in 1659. Isaac Casaubon calls him "the ornament of his profession." When Hyde's absence from the House of Commons in 1642 was noticed, Dr. Winston certified to the Speaker that he was suffering from stone, and had been recommended to try the air of the country.

Page 18. *Last line.*

Lady Knollys was Joanna, daughter of Sir John Wolstenholme the elder, and Catherine Fanshawe (see above), and wife of Sir Robert Knollys of Grays, Oxon, grandson of the famous Sir Francis Knollys, who died in 1596. Who Lady Russell, a kinswoman of the Harrisons or Fanshawes, was does not certainly appear, from anything in the *Memoirs* or the family pedigree; but as Sir William Russell, son of Sir Thomas Russell of Strensham, Worcestershire, lived in Tower Street, adjoining Hart Street, it would seem a reasonable conjecture that the lady, who was the sister of Sir John Reade, was his wife. Sir William was not made a baronet till 1627, but Lady Fanshawe would always have known his wife as Lady Russell; and throughout the *Memoirs* she uses titles in anticipation.

Sir William Russell was Treasurer to the Navy, M.P. for Worcestershire in 1625, and Sheriff in 1635–6. He had to pay the large sum of £1800 and £50 per annum to compound in 1642–3. His son, Sir Francis Russell, married the daughter of Sir Rowland Lytton, sister of the husband of Lady Fanshawe's half-sister (*Memoirs*, p. 328).

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Page 20. § 2.

Like that of Sir John Evelyn, of West Dean, the Ludlow family was of Wilts, and a staunch supporter of the Parliament side, the famous republican General, Edmund Ludlow, being a member of it. Lady Fanshawe again discreetly passes over these facts. The family rose to note in the person of William Ludlow, butler to King Henry VI, who died in 1478. His descendant in the fourth generation was high sheriff of Wilts, and married a daughter of Lord Windsor. Their son, Sir Edmund Ludlow, who died in 1624, married twice. His son Sir Henry (died 1643), by the one marriage, was father of General Ludlow; and a son of the same name by the second marriage wedded Lettice, daughter of Lord de la Warre. Their eldest daughter Lettice married John Harrison, eldest brother of Lady Fanshawe. By his will, dated 21 September, 1669, Sir John Harrison left legacies of £600 to his "grandchild, Mrs. Ann Harrison, daughter of my son John Harrison," and to his "grandchildren Margaret and Letice Harrison, two other of the daughters of my said son John, £35 per annum between them for their maintenance for and during their natural lives." Apparently one of these died between 1669 and 1676, when Lady Fanshawe wrote of *two* surviving daughters.

William Harrison was buried at Oxford on 1 July, 1643, according to the register of funerals of St. Peter the Great. Lady Fanshawe (p. 25) was mistaken in saying that he was buried in Exeter College Chapel. He was M.P. for Queensborough (*Memoirs*, p. 23—the name is left blank in the MSS.) in the Long Parliament in place of his father, who was elected for Lancaster also, and sat for that place. He joined his father in furnishing £50,000 to pay off the Scots army (*Memoirs*, p. 23), and the Act of 16 March, 1642, for relief of His Majesty's army in the northern parts provided that this sum was to be repaid to Sir John Harrison, knight, and William Harrison, his son.

The skirmish against a party of the Earl of Essex in 1643, in which he received such injuries from his horse being shot under him that he died of them, must have been connected with the occupation of Wheatley, four miles east of Oxford, beyond Shotover Hill, by the Parliament forces, on 10 May, 1643, or the abortive attempt upon Islip, six miles north of Oxford, on the 17th *idem*. If the incident had formed part of Rupert's raid to Tetsworth and Chinnor on the night of the latter date, and the engagement of Chalgrove field the next day, Lady Fanshawe would surely have mentioned these. The portrait of William Harrison is reproduced by the courtesy of General Sir R. Harrison, G.C.B., from a picture in his possession at Ashton Manor, Dunsford, Devon.

No record can be traced of the third brother Abraham. Margaret Harrison, who was with Lady Fanshawe and her husband in the West, in Scilly and Jersey, in Ireland and Spain (1650), probably on account of her father's second marriage, married Sir Edmund Turnor (knighted 19 January,

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WILLIAM HARRISON, OF. 1643

From the painting in the possession of General Sir R. Harrison, G.C.B.

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1664—*Memoirs*, p. 89) in 1653 (*Memoirs*, p. 61), and died on her birthday, 30 July, 1679, five months before her sister, and twenty-eight years before her husband, who is noticed in further detail at p. 479 below.

Page 21. § 2.

It seems probable that the Bemond where, according to Lady Fanshawe, her father was born, is Beaumont, lying two miles north of Lancaster, which is said on his tombstone to have been the native place of Sir John Harrison. According to the Heralds' College his father was William Harrison of Adcliffe, which appears to be the farm of Aucliffe, in Beaumont, not Adcliffe, lying south-west of Lancaster. Adjoining the former is Highfield, from which his grandmother, Joan Heysham (the old spelling is Heisom, Heighsham), is said to have come. He was born in 1589, and was partly educated at the Grammar School of Warton (five miles north of Beaumont), founded by Archbishop Hutton in 1594, to which he left £10 for the buying of such books as the master should think fit for the scholars. Coming to London, no doubt at an early age, he started, as Lady Fanshawe tells us, in a small post in the Customs under the elder Sir John Wolstenholme. That he rose quickly is clear, as in 1616 he was able to obtain for his father and himself the grant of a coat of arms—Or on a cross azure five pheons of the first—crest, a cubit arm erect vested azure, cuff arg., in the hand proper a pheon or, the staff broken off—which may be seen impaled with those of Fanshawe on the cover of this book.

In the same year he married; perhaps the arms were needed for this occasion. The marriage licence granted to him by the Bishop of London on 21 August, 1616, states that he was then twenty-seven (which corresponds with the date of his birth as recorded on his tombstone), and that Margaret Fanshawe was twenty-five years old, and was servant to Sir John Wolstenholme, and had been so for five years, her father (buried at Dronfield on 24 June, 1613) being dead. She must have been the second daughter of Robert Fanshawe of that name, as the birth of one is registered as of the date of November, 1584. Curiously enough, a Margarett Fanshawe was married to a Thomas Harrison at Dronfield in 1615. The practice of gentlewomen of good family serving in other good families of relations was a very usual one in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and was the constant source of good marriages. In 1625 we find him living in a notable mansion in or near Hart Street, in which the so-called fine timbered house of Whittington once stood; and about 1637, when he bought the advowson of St. John's, Hertford, and the old priory of that name, he acquired Balls, or Balls Park, from the sons[1] of Richard Willis of Fenn Ditton, and Horningsey, Cambs, the

[1] *Both these sons were made baronets, Sir Thomas in* 1641, *and Sir Richard in* 1646, *he having been knighted on* 1 *October*, 1642, *at Shrewsbury. The latter was famous as Governor of Newark in* 1645, *when he negotiated for the*

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husband of Jane, daughter and heiress of the former owner of these, William Henmarsh. Lady Fanshawe states he served in five Parliaments, which can be made up only by supposing he is the John Harrison elected for Scarborough in 1627–8, and that he was elected in the Parliament which met on 25 April, 1660, for which the Lancaster returns are not forthcoming. He was elected for Lancaster borough in the Short and Long Parliaments of 1640, on the latter occasion with Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins, and again in the Parliament of 8 May, 1661; and on his death his son Richard Harrison was elected in his place on 25 October, 1669. He was knighted at Whitehall on 4 January, 1640, just six months before the death of his first wife, Margaret Fanshawe; and it was perhaps because of the latter event that he gave up his house in the parish of St. Olave in that year (*Memoirs*, p. 24). It is curious perhaps that Lady Fanshawe does not mention the purchase of Balls Park by her father, as this must have been one of the principal events of her girlhood, and the direct cause of her love of riding (*Memoirs*, p. 22). Standing among the grand old trees of the park one can readily conjure up a vision of the wild, graceful girl galloping over the undulating ground, probably on the bare back of some favourite horse which she herself had caught; and one may imagine that about the years 1640–2 she was seen there at the pastimes in which she delighted by her graver cousin, whom she afterwards married, for the boundaries of the parks of Ware and Balls were almost coterminous then, and the homes of the cousins were barely a mile and a half apart, nearly facing one another, on the north and south sides of the Lea Valley. In 1641 we find Sir John's share of the "neate profits" of the greater farm of the customs, which was strongly objected to by Parliament, put at £4133, the shares of Sir Abraham Dawes and Sir John Jacob being over £16,000 each, and of Sir John Worsenham (Wolstenholme), sen., and Sir Paul Pindar over £12,000. In 1642, as above noticed, he and his son William produced £50,000 to pay off the English and Scots armies, on the security of fifty gentlemen out of the hundred who had offered to become responsible for £100,000, the City of London also producing £50,000 at the same time.

In the same year, according to Lady Fanshawe, he was arrested at Montague House, in Bishopsgate Street (which stood till 1820, and the site of which is indicated by Montague Court, near Spital Yard, on the east side of Bishopsgate Street Without), but made his escape and went to Oxford. In 1643 he lost his son William there, and on 4 September he was disabled from sitting in the Long Parliament; on 11 October the Commissioners of the Exchequer offices and of the Treasury for the time being at the Court at

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release of Sir Simon Fanshawe (p. 310), and infamous as a half traitor to the cause of the Restoration in 1659. He died in 1690, and with his son the baronetcy expired. It is on record that the baronetcy was suspended, but for what cause does not appear. His elder brother survived him till 1701, and was M.P. for Cambridgeshire in 1659, and for Cambridge in 1660.

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BALL'S PARK, NEAR HERTFORD

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Oxford, placed on record that the enormous sum of £253,000 was due to the Farmers of the Customs above named and to Sir Nicholas Crispe, and ordered £15,000 produced in cash by the last should be repaid to him. Sir John was among the members of the Parliament which sat in Christchurch Hall, January–April, 1644, and was one of those who signed the letter for peace to the Earl of Essex on 27 January. About this time he declined the patent of a baronetcy sent to him by the King. On 18 May, 1644, his eldest daughter Ann was married to Mr. Richard Fanshawe. In the July following he was called upon by the Committee for the Advance of Money to pay £2500, and in October his estate and goods were seized in connexion with this. (In May, 1651, his nephew Phineas Andrews was informed against for having sent him £50 to Oxford, in September, 1644.) In May, 1645, he accompanied his daughters from Oxford to Bristol, and, as Lady Fanshawe tells us (*Memoirs*, p. 39), crossed with Sir Thomas Fanshawe, K.B., to Morlaix, in February,[1] 1646. He was then newly married to his second wife, who apparently had been a gentlewoman in Sir Thomas Fanshawe's family (to judge from the words Lady Fanshawe uses, "which he had then married *out of that family*"); and their son Richard, called we may fancy after Sir Richard Fanshawe, was born in October, 1646, according to the *Memoirs* (p. 43); the inscription on the son's tombstone in All Saints, Hertford, stated that he died in his eighty-first year, in 1725, but this cannot have been correct. She was Mary Shotbolt, daughter of Philip Shotbolt, of Yardley (a family dating back to the time of Henry III, and once of some note in Hertfordshire), and Elizabeth Marsh, his wife, and was then aged about thirty-three. He must have returned to England before the birth of his son, as he compounded on 1 October, 1646, for delinquency in deserting Parliament and adhering to the forces raised against it. In his petition he alleged that he had endeavoured to render himself in 1645, but that being in the West, where the King's forces were, he was obliged to go into France. His business with the Committee was a long one, and it was not till 15 December, 1647, that it was settled by his being fined the enormous sum of £10,745 at half of his estate. It was noted at the time that he was then outlawed for actions in the Common Pleas for debts amounting to over £25,000; and finally, in July, 1648, the fine was reduced to £1000. He remained, however, a ruined man, as Lady Fanshawe notes, on account of the obligations undertaken by him for the King: and his poor wife in January, 1648, begged for possession of Balls, "which stands empty, as Mr. Rolles makes little or no use of it or the gardens or the orchards, and she is altogether

[1] *The date of* 28 March, *given at page* 29 *of the "Memoirs," must be a mistake for* 28 *February. The Prince left Pendennis Castle on* 2 *March, and reckoning back five days from this would give* 25 *February as the date of the departure of Sir John Harrison from Penzance. The distance from that place to Morlaix, near Brest, is only one hundred and thirty miles, so there was plenty of time for a really tempestuous crossing during the three days which this occupied!*

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destitute of habitation or means to provide for herself and children." A record of March, 1650, states that he was then again in France, but this seems to be of doubtful correctness. He had paid for Sir Richard Fanshawe's compounding in 1646–7 (*Memoirs*, p. 44), but was probably too broken to be bound as surety for him in 1651, when he was again living at Balls (*Memoirs*, p. 78).

A British Museum letter to him from Sir Richard in 1655 strongly urges him to accept some arrangement of his affairs which was then being proposed to him; but what that was does not appear. Immediately on the Restoration he and Sir Nicholas Crispe, Sir John Jacob and Sir Job Harvey petitioned for repayment of the above sum of £253,000, reciting that they had raised £165,000 "for the public service (which was to disband two devouring armies) . . ." "the houses then promising to provide for their repayment when they considered the resettling of the King's revenue," and that this had "sunk them and many more families, whose cases to this hour are as grievous to your petitioners' thoughts as their own miseries." These debts were among the few fully, or almost fully, repaid after the Restoration; and a grant of £10,000 was made to the customers towards payment in February, 1663, "to save them from the clamours of their creditors until the whole can be paid." Meanwhile the farm of the customs had been restored to them, and Pepys records on 5 September, 1662: "To Mr. Blands the merchant by invitation, where I found all the officers of the Customs, very fine grave gentlemen, and I am very glad to know them, viz., Sir Job Harvey, Sir John Wolstenholme, Sir John Jacob, Sir Nicholas Crispe, Sir John Harrison and Sir John Shaw." What would we not give for a picture of this group of "most grave and reverend signiors." Thereafter nothing is forthcoming regarding Sir John Harrison, except that he was failing in health and anxious to see his eldest daughter again in 1666, and that in 1668 she took a house at Hartingfordbury, only two miles from Balls, in order to be near him. The same year also some amusingly serious correspondence took place between the old knight and Sir Rowland Lytton, the father of his son-in-law,[1] in which the former dealt upon the unhandsome usage of his daughter by the last, who had drawn his sword on her and her sister Lady Turnor in a coach, and the second retorted that he was confident Sir John did not know how much "my son hath been a sufferer"! (See *Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of the first Lord Lytton.*) He died on 28 September, 1669 (his daughter twice gives the date of his death wrongly,

[1] *His epitaph at Knebworth runs—"Hic jacet Gulielmus Lytton miles Rolandi Lytton Equitis aurati filius &c hoeres, ab antiqua Lyttonorum de Lytton in com(itatu) Derb(iensi) familia (quæ in hac vicinia a tempore regis Henrici Septimi felicter floruit) rectâ lineâ deductus. Mariam filiam Johannis Harrison de Balls in hoc ægro Hertfordiensi militis uxorem duxit primam, deinde Philippam Johannis Keyling de Southhill in com(itatu) Bedf(ordiensi) militis natam. Sine prole obiit, uxore secunda superstite, 14 Jan.* A.D. 1704—5." *His first wife died in* 1685, *and was buried in her father's vault in All Saints Church, Hertford.*

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once as 1670 and once as 1671.) By his will Sir John gave £100 to the poor of All Saints parish, Hertford, and of Lancaster, and legacies of £20 each to his daughters and daughter-in-law, and left the bulk of his property to his wife and after her to his son. The legacies to Lady Fanshawe's four daughters (p. 154) were under the will only £400 each. According to her Sir John had given his daughter by his second wife a portion of £20,000, which was double that which Lady Fanshawe herself received, or was to receive.

The inscription on his monument erected by his wife in All Saints Church, Hertford, which was destroyed by fire with *all* its memorials in 1892, ran in part as follows:—

"Who in the whole course of that large time of his mortality was an admired example of piety integrity and moderation; and among the various and considerable appointments which his industrious and prudent temper put him upon and conducted him through, was always very eminent in his loyalty to his king and love to his country, having served King Charles I as a Farmer of his Customs and in other weighty affairs, and his native place of Lancaster as a member of 3 Parliaments in that King's reign; in the last whereof (called in 1640) by his strenuous adherence to his sovereign and the established laws of the land against the violence of an unnatural civil war, he did deeply share in his King and country's calamities, sometimes by a voluntary exile, and always by an illegal sequestration and detention from plentiful properties and possessions; until by the happy and peaceable restoration of his present Majesty King Charles II he was most justly and meritoriously restored to his former condition . . .; and after nine years peaceably passed, happily and lamentedly finished the period of his long and well-spent life."

No portrait of him is now forthcoming, though it seems certain one must have existed. His wife survived till 1705, and at her death the following touching addition was made to the inscription:

"She who formerly erected this monument obtained at length what she often prayed for to be dissolved that she might be blest with Christ, though not until the age of almost 93 years, she dying on 14 Feby. 1705 full of days and good works, which are the monument more durable than marble or bronze."

In 1680 Lady Harrison had presented a large silver communion jug to the church.

The monument stood against the north wall of All Saints Church. It consisted of a white marble panel charged with an inscription and enclosed by a deeply carved frame of olive branches and berries in prominent relief. Upon the enriched moulding with cornice and pediment highly ornamented were the arms, or, a cross azure, five pheons of the field (i.e. also or). Below the inscription were two shields, the dexter Harrison impaling Fanshawe (a chevron between three fleur-de-lys sable), and the sinister Harrison impaling Shotbolt—per pale indented argent and sable, two lions combattant countercharged.

Richard Harrison, who married the eldest daughter of George Villiers, Viscount Grandison, died in 1725, his wife having died in 1715. Their

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third son Edward, (born 3 December, 1674; died 1732) was Governor of Madras, 1711–17, and their grandson Richard Bourchier through their eldest daughter, Barbara, was Governor of Bombay, 1750–60. Edward was Member for Hertford in 1721, and Postmaster-General in 1726; his daughter Etheldreda or Audrey married Charles Viscount Townsend, in whose family the Balls estate remained till 1901. George, younger brother of Richard, was, like his grandfather, M.P. in five parliaments. All of these are buried in All Saints, Hertford; as is the daughter of Sir John Harrison (died 1685), married to William Lytton (died 1705), eldest son of Sir Rowland Lytton, Knight, of Knebworth, whom he succeeded in 1674. The view of the house, which has been very little altered since it was built by Sir John Harrison, and was seen by Evelyn as a new structure in April, 1643, is reproduced by the courteous permission of the present owner, Sir George Faudel Phillips, Bart. The enclosed centre court, still paved with the original black and white marble, the fine carved mantelpieces, the handsomely decorated ceilings, the long gallery, and the bold external cornice of the roof, are special features of the mansion. It still has the old formal flower-plot of the seventeenth century behind it, and standing on the crest of the south slope of the Lea Valley it commands a beautiful view of that and of the heights of Bengeo and of Ware Park. The house was apparently rather larger than that of the Fanshawes, as it paid on thirty-one hearths in 1663, while Ware Park paid on twenty-six. Fanshawe Gate paid at the same time on one hearth only.

Page 21. *Paragraph* 2.

Sir John Wolstenholme, Farmer of Customs of London, belonged, like the Fanshawes, to a family settled at Holmesfield in Derbyshire about 1450, where they lived in Horsley Gate, their original home having been near Rochdale, in Yorkshire, where they were before the end of the twelfth century. Their actual residence, Cartledge Hall, still stands half a mile south of St. Swithin's Church, and contains a finely carved mantelpiece with a representation of the Fall, and a beautifully moulded ceiling with Tudor emblems. Sir John's father came to London in the time of Edward VI, and obtained a post in the Customs; and the son became a merchant prince and farmer of the customs, and amassed a great fortune. He was one of the incorporators of the East India Company in 1600; and with Sir Thomas Smythe and Sir Dudley Digges helped to further Baffin's expedition in 1615, whence Wolstenholme Sound and Cape and Bay to the north of Labrador, now stand on our maps. He was for many years one of the unpaid Commissioners of the Navy, and was a member of the Virginia Company and of the King's Virginia Board. He was knighted in 1617, and died in 1639. The simple effigy of him at Stanmore, by Nicholas Stone, is very fine. The tomb bears a long epitaph, of which the following is part: "Vir in omnibus vitae officiis accuratissimus; antiquâ probitate, prudentiâ solertissimâ, pietate in deum flagranti; idem charitate in familiam plus quam pater, in

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amicitiis constantissimus, humanitate vero in omnes effusâ, nullius mensa, domus, fucultates magis publicae erant, nulli magis negabat quam sibi." In 1625 we find him praying for consideration of his loss of £1000 over the Customs, owing to plague and trouble with Spain, on the ground of his nine years' service as Commissioner of the Navy and his having remained in London during the plague to do His Majesty's service.

In 1628 he retained a renewal of the lease of Customs on wines and Corinths (currants) for three and a half years upon payment of a fine of £12,000 and making a loan of £20,000 to the King. In 1631 a grant of the farm of the general Customs and the subsidies was made to him and others for £150,000, on payment of an advance of £30,000. In 1634 he and Mr. John Harrison violently opposed a new book of custom duties, and in doing so spoke of the farm of coals, "the bravest farm the King has," as much abused; and in 1637 the same experienced persons, anticipating the Aliens Immigration Act, urged that the King "should know the number and quality of all strangers residing in and resorting to the kingdom."

He married Catherine Fanshawe (daughter probably of Colyn Fanshawe—see above) by whom he had three children, Sir John Wolstenholme, the younger; Catherine, who married William Fanshawe, of Parsloes, third son of Thomas Fanshawe, of Ware (p. 291); and Joan, who married Sir Robert Knollys (see p. 323 above).

His son, who had been knighted on 8 May, 1633, and who succeeded him as Farmer with Sir John Harrison and others, was overwhelmed by the events which followed upon 1640. He was M.P. for Cornish Boroughs in 1625–6–8, and for Queensborough, in place of Sir John Harrison, in the short Parliament of 1640. He retired from London to Nostell Priory, near Wakefield, in Yorkshire, which his father had purchased, and where Sir Edward Hyde stayed in 1642 on his way to join the King in the North; and in October, 1643, he was suspended by Parliament from his office as Collector of the Customs on the ground of having been absent for twelve months. In the following year he was assessed at £4000 by the Committee for the Advance of Money, and several parcels of plate and money "mured up in his house in Seething Lane" were distrained. In December, 1644, he wrote a manly letter to Sir Thomas Fairfax complaining of the way he was treated by the soldiery in Yorkshire, who had threatened his wife with a naked sword and fearful oaths that they would have money, and had carried off four horses, "my milch kine, my draught oxen, five good oxen which were for my own expense and valued very high; and either I must purchase them or lose them." "I beseech your lordship give me leave to defend my house according to law against any but (such) as have your lordship's commission, because I live in fear of my life with all my family." He had permission given him in 1648 to stay in London in order to compound; and finally the amount to be paid by him was fixed at £2000 in May, 1650. This was reduced to £1000 in September, and Phineas Andrews having paid this sum on security of the estate, Sir John was heard in his own behalf, and

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got off with a further payment of £500. Phineas Andrews was father-in-law of Sir John's son and successor (b. 1621), and was married to Mildred Fanshawe, daughter of Thomas Fanshawe, of Ashford, Kent, one of the sons of Robert of Fanshawe Gate (d. 1613). (See p. 272.) Finally, in 1650 Sir John was declared bankrupt for £60,000. In 1655 he is found complaining that he had been made bankrupt for a debt of £100,000 contracted for the public service, and that his creditors held the whole of his estate, and that he had no means of paying the proportion assessed on him, on account of the Yorkshire Agreement to provide the King with funds made in February, 1643.

On the Restoration he received a payment of £12,000; and in petitioning for a tenement in Seething Lane sold to Oliver Cromwell for £2400, and property at Redrith, Surrey, sold for £8200 to Colonel Thomas Pride (these being forfeited by attainder), he again stated that he had lent his credit to raise £100,000 to pay off the Scots in 1642, and that he and his son had, in consequence, been compelled to sell their whole estate. The petition was referred to the Lords of the Treasury, with the observation that the King retained "a very gracious esteem of his long and faithful services." Sir John was created a baronet in 1664, and died in 1670. He was married to Alice, the sister of Sir Thomas Dallison, who was killed at Naseby, as his own son Henry, captain of the horse under Prince Rupert, was at Marston Moor. He was succeeded by his third son, Thomas, in the baronetcy, which became extinct about 1750, on the disappearance of the last baronet, Sir Francis Wolstenholme. In the Herald's certificate of his funeral Sir John is described as "very eminent for his losses and sufferings for his loyalty in the late troubles." Clarendon records in his life that, "having by the friendship of Sir John Wolstenholme, caused the boat of the farmers (of the customs) to wait for him at Erith," he proceeded there by coach on 29 November, 1667, and so escaped to France, being detained at sea by contrary winds for three days.

Page 23. *Paragraph* 1—*end.*

Dr. Thomas Baĭnbridge (Dr. Bamberge of the MSS.) was master of Christ's College, Cambridge, from 1622 to 1646. He is said to have been a strict disciplinarian, and to have rusticated Milton, who was at that College between 1624–32. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1627–28. Dr. Holdsworth has been mentioned already (p. 322). Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, whom Lady Fanshawe calls Broanbrick, graduated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, taking the degree of M.A. in 1611, and of D.D. in 1626. He became master of St. Catharine's College—was Vice-Chancellor in 1637–8, and was appointed Bishop of Exeter in 1641. He died in 1659, and is buried in the Temple Church, of which he had been for some time preacher. Heath notes that he and Archbishop Usher were the only prelates of the Church of England to whom Oliver Cromwell showed any respect and regard. Dr. Whalley is perhaps Dr. Wallis of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, afterwards Professor of Geometry at Oxford. He was noted as a decipherer of intercepted corre-

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spondence. He was made chaplain to Charles II on the Restoration, and died in 1703. Dr. Micklethwaite was perhaps a divine of that name, who for fifty-two years was rector of Cherry Hinton, near Beverley: many clergymen of that day used to be constantly in London, in spite of their charges in the country, and so a Yorkshire clergyman may have been often at the house of Sir John Harrison. Dr. Sanderson may have been the clergyman who was rector of Boothby, near Grantham, from 1619 to 1660. He was a chaplain to Charles I, and was made Bishop of Lincoln in 1660, and died in 1663. He was a member of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Regius Professor of Divinity at that University; but Lady Fanshawe might easily have made a mistake about his University, judging from the many other little errors of hers in matters of which she really must have possessed accurate knowledge.

Page 25.

Well might Lady Fanshawe write of perpetual discourse of losing and gaining of towns and men, and of the sad spectacle of war at the windows of Oxford during 1643–4.

Lord Brooke was shot at Lichfield on 2 March, 1643, and Lord Northampton killed at Hopton Heath on the 19th. Between 15–26 April, Reading was besieged and captured, and Colonel Fielding, who surrendered the place, was twice placed on the scaffold at Oxford, but was finally pardoned at the intercession of the Prince of Wales.

On 16 May, Lord Hopton won the battle of Stratton, and on the 21st Wakefield was surprised by the younger Fairfax. At the end of June there were the skirmishes round Oxford consequent on Essex's advance from Reading to Thame, and the death of William Harrison resulted from his accident, and that of John Hampden from his wound on Chalgrove field. On 5 July Hopton defeated Waller at Lansdown, where Sir Bevil Grenvile fell, and on 13 July (the day before the Queen entered Oxford) at Roundway Down, near Devizes.

Bristol was captured by Prince Rupert on 23 July, and Dorchester by the Earl of Carnarvon on 4 August. Exeter was taken by Prince Maurice on 4 September, and on the day following the London train bands relieved Gloucester, a relief which was perhaps the real turning event of the Civil War. On the 20th, as the Parliament forces returned to London, they were attacked at Newbury by the King, and Lord Falkland and the Earl of Carnarvon set the final seal to their pure loyalty with their life-blood; a few days after the latter was buried in the chapel of Jesus College, Oxford. On 7 and 12 November Basinghouse was unsuccessfully attacked. On 6 December Hopton captured Arundel Castle, and on 6 January, 1644, Waller recaptured it. On 21 March, in the second year, Prince Rupert relieved Newark; on the 29th Waller defeated Lord Forth (Brentford) and Hopton at Cheriton, near Alresford, and in the same month the siege of Lyme was begun by Prince Maurice. On 27 April the Queen left Oxford, and in the next month the tide of war

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swept round that city again, and only a week after Lady Fanshawe's marriage Abingdon was abandoned; while on the 28th of the month Essex crossed the river at Sandford and occupied Islip, and on 2 June Waller crossed the Thames at Newbridge above Oxford. On the 3rd the King left that city with three thousand horse, which had been quartered round Wolvercote, including, no doubt, the regiment of Sir William Boteler, and was followed by Waller; and on 29 June, after manœuvring round Banbury on the previous day, occurred the confused cavalry engagement of Cropredy Bridge on the Cherwell, in which Sir William Boteler was killed. The unhappy field of Marston Moor followed on 2 July. Meanwhile the King had gone south; on 26 July, twelve days after his wife had fled from Falmouth, he was at Exeter, and on 2 September the Parliamentary foot in the West surrendered to him at Lostwithiel. On 27 October was fought the second battle of Newbury, after which the King withdrew his forces, and entered Oxford again on 20 November. Apparently the Prince of Wales and his Secretary for War remained at Oxford all the summer and autumn. It is curious that Lady Fanshawe should not have mentioned the picturesque entry of the Queen into Oxford, which she must have seen. It is described in the *Mercurius Anlicus* as most triumphant and magnificent—

"The soldiers being placed on each side of the streets with their muskets charged, both to enlarge and guard the passage, and every house by or near which she was to pass thronged with spectators to behold her. In the first place there went the carriages for the remove of her court; then followed the servants' troop commanded by Sir Wm. Killigrew; after them His Majesty's Gentlemen Pensioners and others of their Majesties' servants and domestic officers; the trumpets and loud music sounding all as they passed along. Next came the Heralds in their coats; the Sergeants at Arms bearing their maces; and next immediately before their Majesties the Earl of Forth, Lord General of His Majesty's army, and the Earl of Dorset, Lord Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household. Prince Rupert and the Duke of Richmond rode on that side of the coach on which their Majesties sat, and in the rear of all followed the Gentlemen of His Majesty's Troop. At Catervoix (or Carfax) being in their passage the Mayor and his brethren entertained Her Majesty with an English speech delivered by Master Carter the Town Clerk in the name of the city, and presented her with a purse of gold. At Christchurch she was waited for by the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of the Houses, and at Merton College which was provided for her lodging welcomed with an oration by Dr. Strode, Orator of the University, the common people all the way following with loud acclamations."

Poor Queen! She left Oxford, never to see her husband again, on 27 April, 1644, three weeks before Lady Fanshawe was married, and fled from England, leaving her new-born baby in the care of Lady Morton, on 14 July, landing in her native land at Brest on the 16th.

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Page 25. *Line* 24.

The record of the marriage of Lady Fanshawe and her husband may still be seen in the register, St. Peter's Church, Wolvercote.[1] The details of the entry are merely "May 18th 1644, M^r. Rich. Fanshawe and M^rs. Ann Harrison," to which a later hand has added "The poet, aftd. Sir Richard Fanshawe." She was nineteen years and two months old at the time, and he nearly thirty-six; her sister Margaret Harrison was under seventeen. Sir Richard's sister, Lady Boteler, lost her husband a little more than five weeks after the marriage in the engagement of 29 June, at Cropredy Bridge. Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl Clarendon, is specially mentioned on p. 352; it would have been interesting to have learned what the special connexion between him and Sir R. Fanshawe[2] was at this time, as the Council of the Prince of Wales, at which they must have constantly met later, was not appointed then. That they were acquainted before this time is clear from Lord Clarendon's statement in 1666 that he had known Sir Richard for nearly forty years. Sir Geoffrey Palmer, the King's Attorney, was neither knighted nor made Attorney-General till 1660, in June of which year he was also made Baronet. He was born in 1598, called to the Bar in 1623, was member of the Long Parliament for Carlton, Northants, moved two of the articles of impeachment against Lord Strafford, and was sent to the Tower for opposing Hampden's motion for the publication of the Grand Remonstrance. He was made D.C.L. at Oxford on 16 June, 1643, and was present at the surrender of that place, compounded for £580 in September, 1648, and was in the Tower again for a short time in 1655. He died at Hampstead in 1670. Clarendon records in his life that Geoffrey Palmer, John Maynard and Bulstrode Whitlock were his chief friends among the young lawyers of his time.

[1] *Of the old church only the tower remains now, a low structure of which the battlement is very little higher than the roof ridge. Inside the church is the monument of Sir John Walter, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and his two wives, which Lady Fanshawe may have noticed on her wedding day, and the bust of Colonel David Walter, gentleman of the chamber of Charles II, whom she and her husband may have known later.*

[2] *A portrait of Sir Richard Fanshawe, which is believed to be by Dobson, is said to have been painted at Oxford in 1644, and therefore about the time of his marriage. It represents him as a man of about thirty-five, with dark long locks and eyes, and open throat. He is dressed in blue and white, and a fine black-and-white greyhound reaches up towards him with its feet on his right thigh and side. Under the figure is a comic mask, and in the background under a tree is an old man holding an urn, doubtless the river god of the Alpheus, who is so figured in the opening of the original of the "Pastor Fido." Dobson resided in the High Street at Oxford, nearly opposite St. Mary's Church, and painted a number of pictures of Cavaliers there.*

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Page 26. *Paragraph* 2.

Sir Richard Fanshawe was baptized on 15 June, 1608, and his father died on 10 March, 1616, so that he was seven years and nine months old on the latter date. Of the famous schoolmaster Dr. Farnaby[1] we have a most interesting account in the life of Sir John Bramston, written of the year after Sir Richard left the school: "From him I came to Mr. Farnaby, who taught school in a garden house in Goldsmith's Alley" (behind Red Cross Street, which leads north from St. Giles, Cripplegate, to the Barbican), "a fine, airy place. He had joined two or three houses together, and had a great many board and town scholars, so many that he had two, sometimes three, ushers besides himself. I boarded with him, though my father then lived in Philip Lane near the school." The first task of his new pupil was, Bramston tells us, greeted by the master with the not very encouraging remark, "Oh, heavens! where hast thou been bred?" When he left, three years later, he records, "At parting he showed me my first and last themes, and said, 'Thus you came and thus you go. God speed you.'" Anthony Wood speaks of the school as containing three hundred scholars, and says that the school house was "a large brick building divided with several partitions, according to the distinctions of forms and classes, under the care and circumspection of the respective ushers allotted to attend them." Among these ushers were Charles Aleyn, who wrote a history of Henry VII; William Burton, the antiquarian; and Alex. Gill, later usher at St. Paul's, under his own father, at the time Milton was at that school in 1619–24. Perhaps he may have taught both the boys who became Latin Secretaries in after life.

From school Richard Fanshawe proceeded to Jesus College, Cambridge, where he was admitted on 12 November, 1623, at the age of fifteen and a half. The entry of admission is: "Mr. Richardus Fanshaw et Mr. Edwardus

[1] *In Mr. Shorthouse's story Eustace Inglesant is figured as a schoolfellow of Richard Fanshawe's, at Farnaby's. Dr. Farnaby was one of the most distinguished classical scholars of his day, and published editions of Juvenal and Persius, Martial, Lucan, Virgil, Terence, and other authors. He had led a wild youth, and had sailed with Drake and Hawkins, and in the wilder times that overtook his old age he fell into serious trouble. For being reported, in* 1643, *to have said at Synnocke (Seven Oaks), to which he had removed his school in* 1636, *that the King's forces would come suddenly to the assistance of the rebels there, and having on the* 28*th July "trifled and shuffled with the House in his answer," he was committed by the Commons to Newgate, and afterwards sent to Ely House, Holborn, where many political prisoners of the day were detained, and from which he petitioned on* 20 *September to be admitted to bail, or to be dealt with by the Committee of Prisoners in conference with the members for Kent. Presumably he was released some time before his death, on* 12 *June,* 1647, *as he is buried in the chancel of the church of Sevenoaks. His grandson was knighted by George I, and was made a baronet in* 1726.

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Weldon sunt admissi in superiores cominas (i.e. as fellow commoners) spondente Mr. Beale" (i.e. under the tutorship of Mr. Beale). Dr. William Beale, afterwards Master of St. John's College, was also a sufferer in the royal cause, as will be seen from the record of him on page 412. It may be noted that Richard Fanshawe's cousin, Sir Christopher (afterwards first Lord) Hatton, preceded him at Jesus College in 1619-22.

Of the undergraduate life of that day full details will be found in Mr. Masson's *Life of Milton*, Sir Simon D'Ewe's *Diary*, and Cooper's *Cambridge*. How totally it differed from that of the present time can be gathered from the following rules passed in December, 1625: "That for the future no woman of whatever age or condition dare either by herself, or being sent for be permitted by others, in any college, to make any one's bed in private chambers, or to go to the hall or kitchen or buttery to carry any one's commons bread or beer to any scholar's chamber within the limits of the college, unless she be sent for to nurse some sick infirm person." Ten years after Richard Fanshawe left the University Dr. Cosins and Dr. Sterne made a bitter complaint of the want of discipline, and especially of fellows avoiding chapel and hall, and of undergraduates not wearing the appointed gowns, "but gowns of any colour whatsoever, blue or green or red or mixed without any uniformity except hanging sleeves"; nay, worse, of their wearing "fair roses upon the shoe, long frizzled hair upon the head, broad spread bands upon the shoulders, and long large merchant's ruffs about the neck, with fair feminine cuffs at the wrist," and probably things were not very different in his day. Poor Jesus College suffered sadly in the troubles of the Civil War, the College Grove being cut down and a breastwork established at the end of Jesus Lane, while the chapel was purged of "the superstitions of Saints and Angels, one hundred and twenty at least": and it is not surprising that in December, 1663, the college turned to Sir Richard Fanshawe to assist it to restore the chapel from which "the furniture of the Lord's Table, hangings, wind organ, sacred books, windows, and all things which did not please the profane taste of their new masters," had been removed (Heathcote MSS., p. 133).

Among other persons whom Sir Richard Fanshawe may have seen at Cambridge were John Milton, who entered at Christ's one year later, and the notable local character Thomas Hobson, who died in 1631. There is no record of his having taken any degree, which he should have done in 1626; but in November of that year he was admitted to the Inner Temple, being described as the fourth son of Sir Henry Fanshawe, though his four elder brothers were all alive at that date. As his mother was buried on 3 June, 1631, he must have continued his legal studies for some four and a half years before he went abroad.

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Page 27. Line 10.

Of the companions of Richard Fanshawe in his first travels, Viscount Strangford was considerably older than the others named by Lady Fanshawe, having been born in 1599. He was son of Sir John Smythe (eldest son of Customer Smythe and eldest brother of Richard Fanshawe's mother), was made K.B. in 1625, and Viscount Strangford in 1628. He married Barbara Sydney, daughter of the first Earl of Leicester, in 1622, and left a son only sixteen months old at his death in 1635. This son Philip was the "now Lord Strangford" mentioned on page 8 of the *Memoirs*. He and his son sold Ostenhanger, and he lived till 1708.

Sir John Baker of Sissinghurst, Kent, was son of Sir Henry Baker, Bart., who married Catherine, the eldest daughter of Sir John Smythe (p. 279); and aunt, therefore, of the first Lord Strangford; while cousin Thornhill must have been either the son of Sir John Thornhill of Bromley, or a son of Sir Timothy Thornhill of Wye, Kent, both sons of Samuel Thornhill and his wife Jane White. She married as her second husband Sir Richard Smythe of Leeds Castle, whose daughter by his first wife married Sir T. Thornhill. Sir John Baker (born in the same year as Richard Fanshawe, died 1653) was a notable Royalist gentleman—M.P. for Hastings, 1640, and Sheriff of Kent, 1633–4—and was fined £3000 in 1644. The baronetcy became extinct with his son, who died in 1661. Besides the excellent advice upon travel abroad in the seventeenth century contained in Lord Bacon's essay on the subject, a most weighty letter on the same matter addressed by the Earl of Essex to the Earl of Rutland on 4 January, 1595, may be read with interest. One could wish that Richard Fanshawe had kept a diary of his travels, as Lord Bacon so strongly recommended, and that this diary were still extant.

At the time when he started he was twenty-three years old, the age at which Milton wrote of himself:

> "Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth
> That I to manhood am arrived so near;
> And inward ripeness doth much less appear,
> That some more timely-happy spirits endueth,
> Yet be it less or more, or soon or slow,
> It shall be still in strictest measure even
> To that same lot, however mean or high,
> Toward which Time leads me and the will of Heaven;
> All is, if I have grace to use it so,
> As ever in my great Task-master's eye."

Whether Sir Richard Fanshawe, like his brother poet, was unusually youthful in looks at this age we do not know; but we do know that his life also was throughout "even to the lot" to which he was led, and that by the general admission of his contemporaries he ever sought to live it as in the eye

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of his great Taskmaster. Indeed, the lives of the two, though strangely dissimilar in their general lines, had also not a few points in common. They were born in the same year—the Knight's son in June, and the Scrivener's in December. Richard Fanshawe must often have been in Warwick Lane as a boy, and while there and at Farnaby's school (1620–3) may have seen John Milton, whose father lived in the adjoining Bread Street, and who was at St. Paul's School in 1620–4. Fanshawe went to Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1623, and Milton to Christ's College in 1624; but while the former spent five to six years in London, the latter remained at the University till 1632, and later turned to country retreats. They were both abroad for some time, the former in 1632-8 and the latter in 1638–9; and probably Sir Richard, as well as Milton, visited Italy, as he must apparently have acquired his knowledge of Italian there, though Lady Fanshawe does not mention this in the *Memoirs*. Milton's first poems were written in 1626, Fanshawe's probably in 1628; but here all parallel ceases, as the "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity" (1629), "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" (1632), "Comus" (1634), and "Lycidas" (1637) at once placed Milton high among the poets of England. The younger poet married first in June, 1643, and the elder married his devoted wife in May of the following year. Milton was appointed Latin Secretary on 15 March, 1649, at the beginning of the regime of the Commonwealth, and Fanshawe succeeded to the post in 1660, under the restored monarchy. One would fain believe that the tenderness with which John Milton was treated by the Government in that year may have been advocated by Richard Fanshawe among others, though not then M.P. for the University to which they both belonged. "Paradise Lost" was published the year after the death of the older poet: the younger survived him eight years, dying in 1674.

Page 28. *Paragraph* 2.

From the Clarendon Papers in the Bodleian we know that the Earl of Carnarvon was at Madrid in February, 1635, and that Sir John, then Mr., Berkeley was to have accompanied Lord Aston there in November of that year. Sir Arthur Hopton wrote to Lord Cottington on 28 November, that though he would have been very glad of his company, and "My Lord Ambassador had conceived a good opinion of him; but," he adds, "it seems he thought another course[1] fitter for him, and God grant it so prove. In his room

[1] *This employment was probably the mission to Sweden, on which Mr. John Berkeley was sent in January*, 1637. *There was a connexion between the Aston and Fanshawe families, for Lord Aston's mother was the daughter of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, whose younger brother was married to the younger daughter of Henry Fanshawe, first Queen's Remembrancer* (*p.* 266). *His wife, the daughter of Sir Thos. Sadleir of Standon, Herts, had been ward of Sir Edward Coke and waiting-woman of Lady Hatton, who in* 1634 *described her as "a gentlewoman of good birth and well allied."*

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my Lord Ambassador hath brought a camarado of his, one Mr. Fanshawe, who is likely to prove a proper man, and begins to give his Lordship very good satisfaction." According to Lady Fanshawe, Sir Richard had returned to London after *several* years abroad (the MSS. wrongly gives *seven*) and there was plenty of time for him to do so between February and October; and of course Lord Carnarvon may have stayed on in Spain after his companion had left. Lord Aston sailed from Stokes Bay on 23 September, 1635, and reached Coruña on 1 October, where he was received the next day on landing with salutes from the ships and forts, and great volleys of shot from the garrison, as Sir Richard was himself thirty years later at Cadiz (*Memoirs*, p. 126). He had his audience with the King in Madrid on 17–27 November, after which he visited the Queen and the "sweet Prince," and saluted the ladies, and called on the Condesa Duquesa, wife of Olivares, just as his then secretary did afterwards in 1664.

Lady Fanshawe's account of her husband's time in Spain in 1635–8 is very brief; but happily it can be supplemented from the Clarendon Papers, and the Spanish records in the Public Record Office, to the latter of which Mrs. Lomas, editor of the Fanshawe Papers in the Heathcote MSS., most kindly drew my attention. From the former we learn that some time in July, 1636, Fanshawe was sent to England by Lord Aston, who refers to the papers carried by him in a letter dated the 24th of that month, and apparently he was detained there till January, 1637, as Secretary Windebank on 15 January excuses his silence by the long delay in Mr. Fanshawe's return. Indeed, as Lord Aston acknowledges a letter from Secretary Coke dated 16 February, brought by Fanshawe, who arrived on 1 March, *stilo loci*, it would seem he was detained till the middle of February. Among other letters he carried was one from Lord Arundel asking for assistance to purchase the ancient sculptures in the collection of the Duke of Lerma, uncle of the Conde Duque Olivares. On 9 May, 1637, Fanshawe was again sent to England, and Lord Aston begged he might be sent back with convenient speed "with such necessary instructions in all things as may concern His Majesty's affairs," and that he might be paid an hundred marks for his journey; and a reference in later public accounts shows he was paid £66 13s. 4d. on this occasion. (It is, by the way, quite clear from the correspondence of the day that both Sir A. Hopton and Lord Aston found it as difficult to obtain instructions and money from the officials of Charles I, as Sir Richard Fanshawe did later from those of Charles II). It must have been on this occasion that he saw, and wrote his poem on, "His Majesty's great ship lying almost finished in Woolwich Dock, Anno Dom. 1637, and afterwards called the Sovereign of the Seas," "the worst and most expensive ship," says a competent authority, ever built, which may still be seen in the picture of Phineas Pett in the National Portrait Gallery.

On 14 January, 1638, Fanshawe was once more in London and had access to the King that day, and delivered Lord Aston's letter of 28 December, asking for permission to return home for treatment for stone, from

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which he suffered grievously. This was probably the first meeting of Sir Richard with the King. Instead, however, of granting Lord Aston's request, it was decided to recall him, and to send out Sir Arthur Hopton again as Ambassador, and this was communicated to him by a letter from the secretary, Sir John Coke, dated 9 February, in which it was said, "If you come away before (Sir A. Hopton) shall arrive, his majesty is pleased that Mr. Fanshawe be left in the meantime to attend to such occasions as may happen in that court." Ten days later a special express was ordered to be sent to Lord Aston to warn him to be at the seaside when Sir A. Hopton arrived, Mr. Fanshawe being "unwilling to undertake this service." The Ambassador's emissary was, however, detained as usual, and did not reach Madrid again till 28 April, the letters he brought being dated 21 March. On 1–11 May, Fanshawe wrote to Secretary Coke that Lord Aston had been detained for his dispatches from the palace, and by the pain of his infirmity, that he himself had had an interview with the King on 6 May, and had presented his master's letter with the usual compliments, and that the King had "expressed great estimation of His Majesty's care of the good correspondence between the crowns, promising on his part all glad assistance towards preserving it." Poor Lord Aston naturally complained of his recall without further reference to him, and observed that this was much unexpected by him, "as also to find at Mr. Fanshaw's return that he came with a letter from His Majesty giving him a qualification" (that of Agent) "which I confess I understand not and much less desired. With this much I have thought fit to acquaint your honour that you may fully understand upon what ground I sued for Mr. Fanshaw's remaining here." A letter from Fanshawe to Secretary Coke on 18–28 May, shows Lord Aston had left Madrid the day before, and another of 16–26 June shows Sir A. Hopton was shortly expected, while a third of 1–10 July from Hopton to Coke shows Hopton had arrived and assumed the functions of Ambassador. In a letter of 7–17 July, Sir A. Hopton wrote to Coke: "My Lord Aston took great pains and did great matters for His Majesty's subjects. God grant I may do half as much; yet I perceive it was impossible to finish all business of that kind, although by his order Mr. Fanshaw hath since his departure laboured very effectually therein. He is now going towards the Groyne" (Coruña) "to return in His Majesty's ship" (under Captain Mynns), "of whom I cannot but certify that he is a very virtuous and understanding gentleman and well worthy, to my understanding, to be employed in his majesty's service." So the first two official commendations we have of Richard Fanshawe were both through Sir A. Hopton. Letters dated 3–13 August were sent by Fanshawe to London from Madrid, and letters dated 8–18 were sent after him to the care of Captain Mynns; and no doubt he reached England some time about the middle of September, 1638. The dates given above show that he was the King's Agent (chargé d'affaires) at Madrid for the short space of five or possibly six weeks between the departure and arrival of the two Ambassadors.

Lord Aston was Ambassador-in-Ordinary at Madrid during 1620–25, and

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therefore when the madcap visit of the Prince of Wales took place. He died in 1639 of the disease which caused his return from Spain.

It is "a modest thought" that Sir Richard Fanshawe translated Fletcher's charming play of "The Faithful Shepherdess" into Latin under the title of "La Fida Pastora," because the original was dedicated by the poet to Lord Aston, who was a special patron of Michael Drayton.

Sir Arthur Hopton remained in Spain from 1638 to 1649, and Sir Richard probably met him again in France or the Low Countries on his return from Spain in 1650. He was uncle of Sir Ralph, later Lord Hopton, and was named in the succession to that peerage; but both uncle and nephew died without heirs.

The Earl of Carnarvon, Robert Dormer, was born in 1609, and like Lord Falkland laid down his life for the King at the battle of Newbury on 20 September, 1643, at the early age of thirty-four. He was married to a daughter of Philip, Earl of Pembroke, sister of the friend to Sir R. Fanshawe, in 1658. She died at Oxford of small-pox three months before her husband. He had previously been distinguished on the Royalist side in Dorsetshire and at Lansdown and Roundway Down, and was among the noblest of the Cavalier leaders. Asked when he lay dying if he had any request to make of the King, he replied, "In an hour like this I have no prayer but to the King of Heaven." Clarendon's eulogy of him is hardly less striking than his tributes to Lord Falkland and Lord Arthur Capel. "He was a person with whose great parts and virtue the world was not enough acquainted. Before the war, though his education was adorned by travel and an exact observation of the manners of more nations than our common travellers use to visit (for he had after the view of Spain, France, and most parts of Italy, spent some time in Turkey and in those eastern countries), he seemed to be wholly delighted with those loose exercises of pleasure, hunting, hawking, and the like, in which the nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the trouble began, having command of the first or second regiment of horse that was raised for the King's service, he wholly gave himself up to the office and duty of a soldier, no man more diligently obeying or more dexterously commanding; for he was not only of a very keen courage in exposing his person, but an excellent discerner and pursuer of advantage upon his enemy, and he had a mind and understanding very present in the article of danger which is a rare benefit in that profession. Those infirmities and that licence which he had formerly indulged to himself he put off with severity, when others thought them excusable under the notion of a soldier. He was a great lover of justice and practised it then most deliberately when he had power to do wrong; and so strict in the observation of his word and promise as a commander that he could not be persuaded to remain in the West when he found it not in his power to perform the agreement he had made with Dorchester and Weymouth. If he had lived he would have proved a great ornament to that profession and an excellent soldier, and by his death the King found a sensible weakness in his army."

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My Lord of Bedford was William Russell, seventh Earl of Bedford, who in 1694 was created first Duke. He was born in 1613, and was therefore five years younger than Sir Richard Fanshawe; he succeeded in 1641 and died in 1700. In 1642 he accepted a command of Parliamentary horse, but in the following year he and Lord Holland joined the King at Oxford, and there no doubt Sir Richard Fanshawe met him again, and Lady Fanshawe perhaps knew him. He took an active part in the Restoration of 1660. His son William Lord Russell, who was executed in 1683, married Rachel, the daughter of the Earl of Southampton; and their son succeeded his grandfather as second Duke.

No doubt the fact that Sir John Berkeley also went to Spain at the same time as Sir Richard led first to his and then to his comrade's selection by Lord Aston to return there with that Ambassador. It may be noted that two sons of Secretary Windebank were in Madrid under Lord Aston and Sir Arthur Hopton at the same time as Fanshawe. One of these got into disgrace there, and perhaps the coldness of the Secretary of State towards Sir Richard was partly connected with circumstances of Madrid days.

Page 29. *Paragraph* 1.

By the terms of his mother's will Richard Fanshawe was to receive only £1000, like the other younger sons of Sir Henry Fanshawe. The allowance of £50 per annum was no doubt made to him by his eldest brother under the general provisions of their father's will: it is mentioned in the papers of his composition in 1647 (p. 369). Another instance of his heavy sleeping is mentioned on page 58 of the *Memoirs*, when, in spite of his wife's pullings and pinchings, he failed to wake up in time to see the Irish ghost!

Page 29. *Paragraph* 2.

The public records fortunately supply considerably more information regarding the life of Richard Fanshawe between 1638 and 1644 than his widow has noted. From them it has been ascertained that in April, 1640, i.e. about eighteen months after his return from Spain, he was Secretary to the Council of War in Ireland under the Earls of Strafford and Ormonde, and that on the 23rd of that month he furnished a list to the latter of "the field officers and staff of the new army in Ireland and of the regimental officers of corps raised and to be raised, as well in England as in the several Provinces of Ireland." Under the heading of the "Lord General's Trayne" appears the entry—

Secretary of the Council of Warr	Richard ffanshaw

and the return is signed in bold writing, Richard Fanshawe. The return was subsequently endorsed by Sir George Lane, later Earl Lanesborough: "This army was the 10,000 men raised for the expedition into Scotland, etc." In

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the same month a person of this name, who cannot reasonably be supposed to be any one else, was elected member of the Irish Parliament for the borough of Ballynakill, no doubt as a Court candidate put forward by the redoubtable Lord-Lieutenant. Strafford had left Ireland in September, 1639, never to return, and accordingly there is found among the papers one entitled "Heads of what hath been done and resolved by the Council of War since my Lo. Lieutenant General his departure for England," drawn up by Richard Fanshawe, and a letter dated 5 August, 1640, and addressed to the Earl of Ormonde, which runs as follows:—

"Your lordship may please to remember (having been then present) the making of the annexed order; whereof as I have since put the Council of war sometimes in mind, so especially I thought it my duty to do it yesterday, the time of transporting the army now approaching. Whereupon my Lord Deputy and the rest of their Honours commanded me to address myself this remembrance unto your Lordship as the person Commanding the army in chief in the absence of my Lord Lieutenant, and principally entrusted by his Lordship for the nominating of the Ensigns therein mentioned;—the which I humbly do, and when your lordship shall think fit to nominate them, and pleased to cause their names to be given unto me, I will immediately prepare such warrants for your lordship's signature as shall authorise them to take charge upon them."

Ten months later the army was disbanded, and in reporting this Ormonde wrote on 10 June, 1641, to Sir Henry Vane, then Secretary of State: "If anything touching the passage or state of this business shall be short in those letters to be sent from the Board, this gentleman Mr. Fanshaw (through whose hands the affairs of that army have passed with very successful diligence and singular abilities), will give you a most ready and ample account of anything you shall desire to be informed in." In replying on 26 June, Vane said:—

"It is from a letter of the Lord Justices I received an account of the happy and peaceful disbanding of the Irish Army before I received your Honour's letter by Mr. Fanshawe, by whom and those Lords I have evidences of your care and wisdom in the execution of your honourable part as a prudent and foreseeing general, for which His Majesty hath commended me to send his gracious acceptance and thanks."

This episode closed, Richard Fanshawe turned from arms to the gown, and being debarred, his wife alleges, at that time by the dislike of Secretary Windebank from employment at Court, was, after the flight of that official, by warrant of 5 August, 1641, appointed King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer, his cousin William Ayloff, son of Sir Benjamin (see p. 328), and after him Rowland Lytton, son of Sir William Lytton (p. 284), having reversion; the grant was made upon surrender of that of 1631 assigning the office to Sir Thomas and Simon Fanshawe and Sir George Sandys. Accordingly we find that the annual payment made to the Remembrancer for sending out the usual parchment registers which all Customs authorities, etc., were required to use,

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was made to Richard Fanshawe in January, 1642, and he is so designated in the Instructions given to him by the King at Hampton Court on 9 October, 1647. About this time, presumably, he was appointed Master of Ilford Hospital, a post which the Parliament deprived him of later, and there are extant letters written by him from Warwick Lane, where the Remembrancer's office was, in 1641 and 1642, that in the latter year being to Sir Philip Percival regarding the emoluments of the post of Commissary General of Ireland, and being signed by the writer as (late) Secretary to the Council of War (Egmont MSS.). In the spring of the next year, according to Lady Fanshawe, he went to Oxford;[1] and at the end of that year he was designated as envoy to Denmark, and a warrant was issued to the Exchequer on 18 December, 1643, to pay Richard Fanshaw, Remembrancer of the Court of Exchequer, £500 by way of advance and £3 per diem to transport himself to that country. Either the mission was abandoned or the money for sending the envoy was not forthcoming, as in the February following he was one of the two delegates—"two gentlemen . . . against whom no imaginable exception could be taken," writes Clarendon—whom the King desired to send to the Parliament at Westminster to pursue peace, and for whom the Earl of Forth (Brentford) requested a pass from the Earl of Essex—a mission which more unhappily was also abortive. "This year about the beginning thereof, as it seems," writes Anthony Wood in the *Fasti Oxonienses*, "was a proposal made by virtue of a letter sent to the Vice-Chancellor that Richard Fanshaw, Esq., servant to Prince Charles, should have the degree of Doctor of Civil Law conferred upon him, but whether admitted thereunto, though diplomated he might be, appears not in the public register." No record of any such degree or proposal to confer it is now forthcoming at Oxford; and as the honour must have been well known to Lady Fanshawe had it ever been conferred or even proposed, it is hardly possible that she could have omitted mention of it. The *Memoirs* record that Richard Fanshawe was appointed in the spring of 1644 to the same post under the Prince of Wales as he had formerly held under the Earl of Strafford, viz. that of Secretary of War—that he was married on 18 May in that year, and that he failed to obtain the post of Secretary to the Council of the Prince of Wales when that was created at the end of 1644. (Clarendon indicates that this took place between the King's return to Oxford on 20 November, 1644, and the conference of Uxbridge which opened on 29 January, 1645.) The members of the council are noticed below. According to the Instructions issued on 9 October, 1647, to Sir Richard by the King at Hampton Court, he was on 7 February, 1645, appointed Resident in Spain (Heathcote MSS., p. 1); but probably the Privy Seal of the employment was intended to be dormant so long as the Prince of Wales could maintain himself

[1] *Aubrey records mention of a debate before he took this step between Richard Fanshawe and the poet Thomas May, translator of "Lucan," and afterwards historian of the early years of the Long Parliament. One of Fanshawe's early Latin poems is in praise of May's translation of "Lucan."*

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in the West, and it seems more than probable that it was unknown to Lady Fanshawe.

Page 29. *End.*

Sir Francis Windebank (b. 1582) was at St. John's College, Oxford, with Laud, became Clerk of the Signet, and was made Secretary of State with Sir John Coke in 1632; afterwards as colleague of Cottington he was, with him and the Earl of Portland (Weston), one of the inner ring which directed Charles I up to 1640. In December of that year he fled to Calais, on being threatened with impeachment, and died in Paris in 1646. In a letter which he addressed to the Earl of Pembroke from Calais, on 11 January, 1641, he denied utterly that he was a Papist, or had ever encouraged any Papist tendencies. Two of his sons were with Sir Arthur Hopton and Lord Aston in Madrid while Richard Fanshawe was there. His second son, Francis, was shot at Oxford on 3 May, 1645, just before Lady Fanshawe left that place, for surrendering Blechenden House, near Islip, to the troops of Cromwell.

Page 30. § 2.

When originally constituted the council of the Prince of Wales included the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, as well as the members named in the *Memoirs;* but these lords remained at Oxford when Charles took his last leave of his father on 4 March, and departed for Bristol, and apparently the Earl of Brentford was added to the council at that time. The Duke of Richmond was James Stuart, younger son of the first Duke of Lennox. Born in 1612, he was made K.G. in 1633, and Duke of Richmond in 1641, in which year also he became Lord Steward of the Household. He was a devoted adherent to the King, and three of his brothers, Lord George Stuart, known as Lord Aubigny, Lord John Stuart, and Lord Bernard Stuart, all knighted at York on 18 April, 1642, with the Duke of York and the Earl of Carnarvon, were killed respectively at Edgehill, Alresford, and Rowton Heath. He himself survived to be a mourner of Charles I, and, dying in 1655, was buried in Westminster Abbey.

The fifth Earl of Southampton, Thomas Wriothesley, born in 1607, was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber of the King, and one of his most loyal servants. He represented the King at the conference of Uxbridge and Newport, and was with him in the Isle of Wight, where he delivered the "Eicon Basilike" to him. With the Duke of Richmond and the Earls of Holland and Hertford he offered his life for the King's, as also did Lord Capel; but once again it was to be, "Stone dead hath no fellow." He was with the King after his trial, and was one of the watchers of the dead man, when, according to credible tradition, Cromwell came to look upon his face, and one of the mourners at his burial. He compounded by a payment of £6400. On the Restoration he was invested with the Garter, and made Privy Councillor and Lord High Treasurer, Sir Philip Warwick being his secretary; according to Burnett the

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Earl left everything in the secretary's hands. Lady Fanshawe mentions (*Memoirs*, p. 203) the assistance she received from the Earl in her trouble in 1667. Clarendon describes him thus:—

"The Earl of Southampton was indeed a great man in all respects, and brought very much reputation to the King's cause. . . . He was a man of a great sharpness of judgement, a very quick apprehension, and that readiness of expression upon any sudden debate that no man delivered himself more advantageously and weightily, and more efficaciously to his hearers; so that no man gave them more trouble in his opposition, or drew so many to a concurrence with him in opinion. He had no relation to or dependence upon the court, or purpose to have any; but wholly pursued the public interest. . . . He went with the King to York: was most solicitous as hath been said for the offer of peace at Nottingham; and was then with him at Edgehill; and so came and stayed with him at Oxford to the end of the war, taking all opportunities to promote all motions towards peace; and as no man was more punctual in performing his own duty, so no man had more melancholy apprehensions of the issue of the war."

He built Southampton House on the north side of Bloomsbury Square, and through his daughter Rachel, wife of William Lord Russell, this property passed to the latter family. He died on 16 May, 1667.

The Earl of Berkshire was the Governor of the Prince, a post to which he was appointed in 1643 in place of the Earl of Hertford. He was the second son of the first Earl of Suffolk, and was born about 1590. He was Master of the Horse to Charles I as Prince of Wales, was made K.G. in 1625, and was created Earl of Berkshire the following year. He was made P.C., and Gentleman of the Bedchamber on the Restoration, and died nine years later.

Clarendon's character of him is very severe:—

"The Earl of Berkshire was of the council, but not yet at Oxford; having been about or before the setting up of the standard taken prisoner in Oxfordshire and committed to the Tower, upon an imagination that he had some purpose to have executed the commission of array in that country; but they afterwards set him at liberty as a man that could do them no harm anywhere; and then he came to Oxford with the title and pretences of a man who had been imprisoned for the King, and thereby merited more than his majesty had to give. His affection for the crown was good; his interest and reputation less than anything but his understanding."

The Earl's son, Sir Robert Howard, knighted after the battle of Cropredy Bridge (p. 373), was married to the sister of Dorothea *née* Kingsmill, the first wife of John Fanshawe of Parsloes (d. 1689).

The Earl of Brentford (Bradford, Lady Fanshawe calls him in the *Memoirs*, and Brandford or Brainford he and the place from which he took his title were commonly called then) was Patrick Ruthven, born about 1573, who had rendered long and distinguished service in the Swedish army, and had been knighted by Gustavus Adolphus, and made a Count of the German Empire. He returned to Scotland in 1638, and in the following year was created Lord

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Ruthven of Ettrick, and held Edinburgh Castle for the King against the Scots till September, 1640. In 1642 he was created Earl of Forth, and on 27 May, 1644, Earl of Brentford. According to Clarendon he was incapacitated by old age and the hard life he had led for active command, and at the end of 1644 he was superseded by Prince Rupert as General. He was Chamberlain of the Prince of Wales as well as member of his Council; but he does not appear to have taken active part in military, or, indeed, in any matters in the West in 1645–6. When the Prince went from Jersey to France the Earl of Brentford passed to Holland, and afterwards was Envoy in Sweden. Subsequently he went to Scotland with the Prince, and died at Dundee on 2 February, 1651. His wife, mentioned by Lady Fanshawe, who correctly calls him a soldier of fortune (p. 43), was Clara, daughter of John Berner, of Sackendorf, Mecklenburgh.[1]

Lord Capel of Hadham Parva, Herts, whose aunt was married to Sir Thomas Leventhorpe was born on 20 February, 1604, and succeeded to his grandfather in 1632. He was member for Herts county in 1639 and 1640, and was at first on the side of the moderate reformers of abuses; and as such on 21 December, 1640, presented to the House of Commons a petition from Watford, setting forth the burdens and oppressions of the people during the long intermission of Parliament in their consciences, liberties, and properties, and especially in the heavy tax of ship money. He was created Baron Capel on 5 August, 1641, and when the Civil War broke out was appointed Lieutenant-General in Shropshire and the adjoining country. As such he met the Queen at Walsall on 9 July, 1643: the King had already written to her of him: "There is one that doth not yet pretend but doth as well as any, I mean Capel." On his recall from that command the King, according to the Clarendon State Papers, gave him a patent of the Earldom of Essex, but he declined to make use of it until the times should be good and honest. He was knighted at Oxford on 14 January, 1645, and on the 27th of the same month was appointed Captain-General of the Guards of the Prince of Wales, the appointment being signed by Richard Fanshawe "by His Highnesse's command in Council." Lord Capel stood by Lord Hopton till the last in the West, and then joined the Prince of Wales in the Scilly Islands and accompanied him to Jersey. In October, 1646, he left that island to combat the Queen's insane idea of making it over to France, and in the following February he was permitted to return to England, but was confined to his own house; ultimately in July he was allowed to find sureties, like Sir Richard

[1] *She was godmother to Lady Fanshawe's daughter Ann, born in Jersey in 1646. Sir Philip Warwick in his Memoirs mentions the Earl of Brentford as "a Scot, an experienced commander, and a man of natural courage; purely a soldier and of a most loyal heart, which his countrymen remembered, for they used both him and his widow with all extremity afterwards." The number of the wound marks which the Earl bore is said to have been greater than the number of battles in which he was engaged.*

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Fanshawe in 1651. In the following month he visited the King at Hampton Court, and received his orders that all his friends should be prepared to assist in the Scotch war which the King expected to break out by an early date; and his blood therefore lies directly on the King's head. When the Earl of Norwich started the rising in Kent and crossed the Thames at Greenwich, Lord Capel, as Lord-Lieutenant of Essex for the King, at once joined him, and so proceeded to his doom through the siege of Colchester. He was among the bravest and coolest defenders of that place,[1] and on its fall was taken prisoner, and was executed in the Palace Yard at Westminster on 9 March, 1649. On the scaffold his last prayer was, "God Almighty bless all this people. God Almighty stanch this blood. God Almighty stanch, stanch, stanch this issue of blood." He lies buried in Hadham Parva Church under a black marble slab to the south of the altar. Lord Capel and Lord Clarendon were deeply attached to one another, and the eldest son of the latter married Theodosia, third daughter of the former. His character as recorded by the historian of the rebellion is perhaps next to that of Lucius Viscount Falkland, the most beautiful of all the portraits of that famous gallery:—

"He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could discover very few faults, and whom his friends could not wish better accomplished: whom Cromwell's own character[2] well described. . . . His memory all men loved and reverenced, though few followed his example. He had always lived in a state of great plenty and general estimation, having a very noble fortune of his own by descent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a lady of very worthy attraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had

[1] *During the siege Lord Capel and Sir Charles Lucas lived among the soldiers. On one occasion he shared in covering the retreat of a force which had made a sally, "standing to it with a pike." On another it was recorded in the Royalist account of the siege: "We brought up our seconds, amongst whom marched the brave Lord Capel in the head of the harberdiers (halberdiers), exposing himself to the utmost hazards with so resolved a presence that where he appeared the meanest spirits could apprehend no danger."*

[2] *This was in the debate in the Commons upon the petition of Lady Capel for her husband's life, when "Cromwell, who had known him very well, spoke so much good of him, and professed to have so much kindness and respect for him, that all men thought he was now safe, when he concluded that his affection to the public so much weighted down his private friendship, that he could not but tell them, that the question was now, whether they would preserve the most bitter and implacable enemy they had; that he knew the Lord Capel very well, and knew that he would be the last man in England that would forsake the royal interest; that he had great courage, industry, and generosity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that so long as he lived, in what condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides: and therefore, for the good of the Commonwealth, he should give his vote against the petition."*

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numerous progeny of both sexes, in which he took great joy and comfort: so that no man was more happy in all his domestic affairs, and so much the more happy in that he thought himself most beloved in them.

"But yet the King's honour was no sooner violated, and his just power invaded, than he threw all these blessings behind him; and having no other obligations to the Crown than those which his own honour and conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his person and his fortune from the beginning of the troubles, as many others did, in all actions and enterprises of the greatest hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one false step, as few others did, though he had once by the iniquity of a faction that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that might have excused him for some remission of his former warmth. But it made no impression upon him but to be quiet and contented whilst they would let him alone, and with the same cheerfulness to obey the first summons, when he was called out—which was quickly after. In a word, he was a man that whoever shall after him deserve best (of the) nation, shall never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear that his courage, virtue, and fidelity is laid in the balance with and compared to that of Lord Capel."

Dr. Morley, who attended him to the foot of the scaffold, wrote of him:—

"Thus died the truly noble, truly valiant, truly Christian, and every way most worthy and right honourable, the Lord Capel; a great example of virtue piety and loyalty in the midst of the most villainous profane and rebellious generation; a man whom the world never valued at his worth until it grew to be unworthy of him"; and Secretary Nicholas recorded in writing to Ormonde on 8 April, 1649: "The truly noble Lord Capel died like a person of honour and much carriage, as a good Christian and true-hearted Englishman, being much lamented by all worthy men."

The letter which Lord Capel addressed to Cromwell on 15 January, 1649 with the object of saving the life of the King, who had brought him to his fate, is very noble and touching. In the opening he writes: "I can hardly persuade myself into (I think) the too common opinion that the extraordinary success and felicity that hath constantly followed your attempts (who, as the saying is, seems to have hired fortune to serve you at day wages) hath dazzled that light of understanding that formerly was usual to you"; and at the end he concludes, "I would to God my life could be a sacrifice to preserve his! Could you make it an expedient to serve that end, truly I would pay you more thanks for it than you will allow yourself for all your other merits from those you have most obliged, and die your most affectionate friend." It was not till after the King's execution, viz. on 2 February, that Lord Capel made his escape from the Tower: he was recaptured two days later, tried on 10–13 February, condemned on 6 March, and executed on the 9th. Dr. Morley describes the parting interview of Lord Capel with his wife and eldest son as "the saddest sight that ever I saw." With reference to his vote for the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford, which weighed heavily with him, he said on the scaffold: "I did (it) against my conscience not out of any malice to the

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person of the man, but out of a base fear (these were his own words), and carried away with the violence of a prevailing faction." In his last letter to his wife he bade her bear up for the sake of their children, and especially of their daughter married to Lord Beauchamp in the June previous (*Memoirs*, p. 38), nobly adding, "Sorrow not unsoberly, unusually—God will be unto thee better than a husband, and to my children better than a father." She was the daughter of Sir Charles Morrison, of Cashiobury, and was married in 1630. She lived to see the Restoration, but not long enough to see her eldest son created Earl of Essex, and the second made Knight of the Bath.

Fortunately Lord Capel's interest in his estates was only a life one; and in consequence, though they were ordered to be sold to raise £50,000 for the war in Ireland, they were ultimately released from sequestration on the petitions of his wife and son, afterwards Earl of Essex, who died in the Tower in July, 1683.

Lord Culpeper, born in 1600, was a member of the Long Parliament and a famous opponent of monopolies in that assemblage. He was made Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1642, a Master of the Rolls in 1643, and created Baron Culpeper of Thoresway in October, 1644. He was generally believed to have had great influence with King Charles I, as from the character given him by Clarendon he was likely to have—("no man more gathered a general concurrence to his opinion than he"—he was of "universal understanding, quick comprehension, wonderful memory")—and was consequently hated by Prince Rupert; and according to the accounts given of him he must have had special qualifications for quarrelling with every one round him. He was sent to the Queen from Scilly two days after the Prince arrived there, and became her advocate with the Prince for his removal from Jersey to France, as noted by Lady Fanshawe (*Memoirs*, p. 43). He was on the fleet in the Thames in 1648, and as she states (*Memoirs*, p. 48) was blamed in this connexion, though certainly unjustly as far as suspicions of bribery went. He was afterwards shamefully assaulted in connexion with the post of Treasurer to Prince Rupert's fleet, which was finally given to Richard Fanshawe. He was sent as Ambassador to Russia by Charles II, and died a few weeks after the Restoration. He had the foresight to perceive on the death of Cromwell that General Monk held the key of the situation, and to counsel a policy of inaction until the General should declare himself. He purchased Leeds Castle in Kent (p. 280) from his cousin, who had purchased it from the Smythes.

Ralph, Lord Hopton of Stratton, was born about 1600, and served in the Thirty Years War. He was made K.B. at the coronation of Charles I in February, 1625, along with Sir Thomas Fanshawe and Sir Christopher, later first Lord, Hatton. He sat for Wells in the Long Parliament, and was at first on the popular side.[1] He was made Baron Hopton of Stratton on 4 September, 1643, and was compelled to capitulate at Truro on 14 March,

[1] *While on this side it fell to him to present the Grand Remembrance to the King at Hampton Court on 2 December*, 1641.

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1646. He died at Bruges in September, 1652. His wife, married in 1623, was a daughter of Sir A. Capel, and aunt of Lord Capel. Lord Clarendon had a deep regard for Lord Hopton, and speaks of him as a man who "had a good understanding, a clear courage, an industry not to be tired, and a generosity which was not to be exhausted: a virtue that none of the rest (of the Council of War in 1644) had; but in debates concerning the war he was longer in resolving and more apt to change his mind after he had resolved, than is agreeable to the office of a commander-in-chief." On another occasion he records: "There was only one man in the Council (of the fleet in 1648) of whom nobody spoke ill, nor laid anything to his charge; and that was the Lord Hopton."

Sir Edward Hyde, created Earl of Clarendon in 1660, was born on 18 February, 1609, and was thus eight months younger than Richard Fanshawe. He was at Oxford 1623–5, and was called to the Bar from the Middle Temple on 22 November, 1633. He was elected M.P. for Wotton Basset in the spring of 1640, and for Saltash in the Long Parliament; was knighted and made Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1643. He joined the King at York, and for a time was his principal adviser at Oxford, where the Parliament was summoned upon his suggestion. The parts he played in the West, in Jersey, and in Spain in 1650, are noticed by Lady Fanshawe. He began his famous *History of the Rebellion* in Scilly, and completed it as far as the end of the eighth book while in Jersey. Attempting to join the Prince and the fleet in 1648, under orders from the King communicated by Lord Capel, he was captured by Ostend privateers and suffered severely at their hands. On the escape of Charles II after Worcester, he joined the King in France and as Secretary of State, and from 1657 as Lord High Chancellor, was his chief adviser and the director of the movements by which the Restoration was brought about. The Clarendon correspondence gives a vivid picture of the sufferings and privations borne by him during his first exile. Upon the Restoration he was made first Baron Hyde and then Earl of Clarendon, and became father-in-law of the Heir-Apparent of the throne, the Duke of York. The Great Seal was taken from him on 30 August, 1667, in circumstances of great harshness, for he had just lost his wife, the daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury; and four months later, acting under treacherous advice sent to him from the King, he took refuge abroad for the second time, escaping by the kindly aid of Sir John Wolstenholme. In spite of pathetic letters requesting to be allowed to return after seven years' exile and "to die at home at last," he ended his life at Rouen on 19 December, 1674, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on 5 January following. Lady Fanshawe seems to have regarded him from a very early date as a jealous rival of her husband, though he was present at her marriage and was godfather to her daughter Ann, born in Jersey; but much official and private correspondence between 1645 and 1666 tends to show that this view was not shared by her husband, and it seems probable that Clarendon did seek to save him in the matter of the Spanish treaty of 1665 (see Appendix IV.). Many of the notes subsequent to this

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relate in part to Sir Edward Hyde and the Earl of Clarendon; and it is not necessary to add more here upon the events of his life. It seems difficult to account for the deep hatred which he incurred with all classes after the Restoration, which found such vigorous expression in Marvell's lines on Clarendon House:—

> "Here lie the sacred bones
> Of Paul beguiled of his stones;
> Here lie golden briberies,
> The price of ruined families;
> The Cavalier's debentor wall
> Fixed on an eccentric basis;
> Here's Dunkirk Town and Tangier Hall,
> The Queen's marriage, and all
> The Dutchman's Templum Pacis."

Sir Philip Warwick's character of him is interesting: "His natural parts were very forward and sound; his learning was very good and competent; he had a felicity of both tongue and pen, and his language and style were very suitable to business, if not a little redundant. . . . But a wise lord used to say, 'Our good pen will harm us.'"

Sir Robert Long, Secretary to the Prince's Council in the West, had been previously Surveyor of the Queen's lands. His place was taken for a second time by Richard Fanshawe in Scotland, when Long and many others of Charles' entourage were purged by the Kirk party. With Lord Culpeper he had been previously blamed for the failure of the Prince's fleet in the Thames, but probably the blame was in both cases unjust. On the accession of Charles II he was made a member of his Council, of which he remained Secretary. Like other leading Royalists in exile, he was accused of treachery, the old charge, to which Lady Fanshawe refers, of his having communicated with the Earl of Essex in 1645 being revived against him; and for a time he was suspended from all offices of trust. In turn he accused the Chancellor of having had personal communication with Cromwell. Upon the Restoration he was made a Baronet and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and two years later accepted the post of Auditor of the same office. He does not seem to have taken any active part in public affairs at that time, and died in 1673. On the death of the Queen-Mother, Charles II granted Nonsuch Park to Sir Robert Long for ninety-nine years. It is evident from the *Memoirs* that Lady Fanshawe viewed him also "with jealous eyes," due probably to the first disappointment of her married life, which she could never get over. Lord Clarendon does not record any detailed character of him, perhaps because he felt that in the circumstances of their relations to one another none written by him would be accepted as unbiassed; and contents himself with stating that Sir Robert Long was always the creature of the Queen and Lord Jermyn.

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Page 31. § 2.

As it has been necessary (p. 315) to point out the incorrectness of the attribution to Lady Fanshawe of the incident at Trinity College, Oxford, before July, 1643, so it is only proper to enter a protest here against the liberty taken with her character under the pseudonym of Lady Fentham by the late Mr. Shorthouse in *John Inglesant*. The incident which is there imagined at Newnham is placed between the death of Hampden, on 24 June, 1643, and the death of Lord Falkland at the battle of Newbury, on 20 September in that year, and does not therefore fall at all within the period of Lady Fanshawe's married life, which began on 18 May, 1644. Moreover, she expressly tells us in the *Memoirs* that the journey made by her husband in March, 1645, was the "first journey he left me behind him." It is to be regretted that Mr. Shorthouse should have gone out of his way to depict an unpleasant episode in the life of a real personage, whose memory is specially dear to the family of her husband, for which there is not the least foundation in fact, and which, with reference to well-known dates, is an utter impossibility. Lady Fanshawe's character was scandalously and basely aspersed by Mrs. Manley within thirty years of her death; but the libel of the *New Atlantis* is so utterly gross that it needs no refutation. It might have been expected, however, that in the nineteenth century, after the publication of her *Memoirs*, her character as a pure-minded woman and devoted wife would have been allowed to remain without further imputations.

Page 31. § 2.

The Prince of Wales left Oxford for the West on 4 or 5 March, 1644—Clarendon gives the one date, Rushworth the other—and was never to see his father again. Lord Hopton had been sent ahead to make arrangements against his arrival in Bristol, and two other members of the Council, the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Southampton, remained behind with the King. Lady Fanshawe's first child, Harrison, was born on 23 February; and as according to her it died two days after her husband left, having lived fifteen days, it would seem as if he remained in Oxford for a short time after the Prince and his Council had left. This is possible, though as a matter of fact he wrote a letter on 8 March from Bath to Lord Goring, saying the Prince would be at Bristol on the Monday (10th), and desired then to receive an account of his condition and plans. Sir William Parkhurst (knighted on 19 July, 1619), who brought the letter and gold from her husband, was of East Lenham Manor, in Kent, and had been with the King from the first at York. He was fined £436 at one-tenth of his estate on compounding in 1646, and after the Restoration was made Master of the Mint, and died in 1666. "Parecust," as his name is rendered in the MSS. of the *Memoirs*, is one of the most wonderful misspellings in the whole book.

The Sunday on which this incident occurred, reckoning back to the Thursday previous (when Lady Fanshawe left Oxford) from Tuesday, 20 May, when she reached Bristol, must have been 11 May.

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Page 32. *Line* 22.

As Lady Fanshawe mentions only her father and sister, the former could not have been married to his second wife at this time. The mound in St. John's College garden still exists in the north-east angle of the walls, and no doubt a road then ran outside the north wall as it still does below the east one. Many of the colleges had mounds in their gardens in the seventeenth century, and several exist still, besides that in St. John's garden. Sir Charles Lee, one of whose men so nearly ended Lady Fanshawe's life, was of Billesley, in Warwickshire, near Stratford-on-Avon, and was knighted subsequently to this incident, viz. on 25 December, 1645, being one of the last knights created by Charles I.

Page 33. *End.*

Sir Marmaduke Rawdon (generally spelt Royden in the correspondence of the day, as in the *Memoirs*), of Hoddesdon, Hertfordshire, was M.P. for Aldborough in 1628, and till the outbreak of the Civil War was a London merchant, dealing in Canary wines. He then took up arms for the King, and was knighted 28 December, 1643, at Oxford, and received an honourable augmentation of arms for the part which he took in the early defence of Basing House. He was made Governor of Farringdon[1] in May, 1645, according to the Weekly Account of 16 May, and so could not have been very long there when Lady Fanshawe's party passed; he died and was buried there in April, 1646. His nephew, who visited Farringdon in 1665, on returning to England from La Laguna, in Teneriffe, records that he found there an old woman who had nursed Sir Marmaduke in his last illness, and who informed him that his end "was so full of pious ejaculations to God, with penitent prayers for the pardon of his sins, with honest and earnest exhortations to his soldiers to continue their loyalty in the defence of the place, and things of this nature, such as might be expected from so good a Christian towards God, and from so loyal a subject to his King." Sir Marmaduke had been called upon by the Committee for the Advance of Money to pay a contribution of £300, and for this his property in All Hallows, Barking, and in Milk Street was attached; also the ship "The Marmaduke," in which he had a share. The fate of this vessel is a good illustration of the difficulties of the time: first it could not earn anything because it was attached, then it was requisitioned by the Earl of Warwick, Admiral of the Parliament, and finally it was attacked in the Straits by Prince Rupert, the impartial plunderer of all English ships, and many of its crew slain. The family of Sir Marmaduke Rawdon would no doubt, from its residence close by, have been acquainted with that of Sir John Harrison while living in the parish of St. Olave, Hart Street, as well as in Hertfordshire.

[1] *The stages by Farringdon from Oxford to Bristol were—Farringdon* 16 *miles, Malmesbury* 25 *miles, Bristol* 25 *miles.*

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Page 34. § 3.

Lady Rivers, who, according to Lady Fanshawe, was first cousin of her grandmother, was the daughter of Thomas Darcey, created Earl Rivers in 1626, with reversion to *her* heirs male by her husband Sir Thomas Savage, created Viscount Savage in 1626. Her husband having died in 1635, she was created Countess of Rivers in her own right in 1641; and in August in the following year, after the house of Sir Thomas Lucas, in Colchester, had been sacked, her residence at St. Osyth, ten miles south-east of the former place, was also attacked, and she was compelled to fly, first to Long Melford, which was also plundered, and then to Bury, where she was at first refused admittance. Royalist accounts put her loss at £120,000 and Clarendon put it at £40,000; it was no doubt as great as any loss in the Civil War, in which it was the *first* public outrage. A picture of her represents her as in semi-Elizabethan dress with a full hooped skirt, and a ruff round the neck. She died in 1651, and was buried at St. Osyth.

Lady Aubigny was daughter of the Earl of Suffolk and widow of George, Lord Aubigny,[1] brother of the Duke of Richmond, who was killed at Edgehill. David Lloyd's *Memoirs of Lives, Actions, and Sufferings of Royalists*, 1637–66, contains the following touching passage in a letter from her to Archbishop Laud of the date of 2 January, 1643: "I confess I cannot as yet be so much myself as to overcome my passion, though I know my Lord died in a just and honourable action, and that I hope his soul finds, which consideration is the only satisfaction of your Grace's humble servant, KATH. AUBIGNY." Lord Aubigny was buried in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, on 13 January, 1643, and his brother, Lord John Stuart, in April of the following year. She had become famous for the feat of carrying to London the King's warrant for what was known as Waller's Plot in May, 1643; when this was discovered she took refuge with the French Ambassador, but was removed by Parliament from his residence. Ultimately Parliament considered it wisest not to prosecute or punish her, and she compounded, under the Oxford Articles, by a payment of £200 for having lived in the King's quarters. She subsequently married the Earl of Newburgh, and plotted to effect the King's escape from Bagshot during his removal from Hurst Castle to London in December, 1648, but the plan devised failed. After the King's execution she retired to the Hague, and died there in 1651. Her daughter Elizabeth married Robert Delaval, and to her Elkanah Settle dedicated his "Pastor Fido," stolen from the translation of Fanshawe. Clarendon wrote of Lady Aubigny: "This lady was a woman of very great wit, and most trusted and conversant in those intrigues which at that time could best be managed and carried on by ladies, who with less jealousy could be seen in all countries. . . . Both Lord and Lady were of known duty and affection to the King." She was assigned a prominent place in Henry Neville's *Parliament of Ladies*, published in 1647, as was

[1] *The name is spelt Obeney in the MSS. of the "Memoirs."*

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Lady Isabella Thynne, the daughter of Henry Rich, Earl of Holland (that vacillating nobleman who was finally executed for his loyalty on 9 March, 1649), and Isabel, daughter of Sir Walter Cope, of Kensington. She was married to Sir James Thynne, who succeeded his elder brother as master of Longleat, and was the principal heroine of the story told by Aubrey of an encounter with Dr. Kettle, Master of Trinity College, Oxford, with which Lady Fanshawe has been wrongly connected (see p. 315). In that story Aubrey says of her: "Cuncta alia illi adfuere præter animum honestum"; and Dorothy Osborne, writing of her sister Lady Diana Rich, who was her bosom friend, adds about Lady Isabella:—

"But my Lady Isabella that speaks and looks and sings and plays all so prettily, why cannot I say she is free from faults as her sister believes her? . . . She had better have married a beggar than that beast with all his estate. . . . I remember she was the first woman that I ever took notice of for extremely handsome; and in earnest then she was the loveliest lady that could be looked on, I think. But what has she to do with beauty now? Were I she, I should hide myself from all the world; I should think that all people that looked on me read it in my face and despised me in their hearts."

Waller's poem "On My Lady Isabella Playing on the Lute" is addressed to her. Her husband had to pay some £4000 to compound under the Exeter Articles. His mother was the daughter of Sir Rowland Hayward and Katherine Smythe, and therefore a first cousin of Richard Fanshawe. He died without heirs in 1670. She was abroad in 1650–56, and apparently in distress, as Hyde wrote to Dr. Morley that his heart ached for her, and various payments were made to her about this time by Charles II. She plays the most prominent part in the episode in *John Inglesant*, into which Lady Fentham (Fanshawe) is so unkindly introduced by Mr. Shorthouse (see p. 354).

Page 37.

Nothing in the whole Civil War is more melancholy from the Royalist point of view than Clarendon's account of the wilful misbehaviour of the Cavalier leaders of the army in the West during 1645, under the unhappy Prince of Wales, then a boy of fifteen only. Probably the unfortunate appointment of the Prince's Council by the King had much to say to the difficulties which arose; but the conduct of Lord Goring and Sir Richard Grenvile was such that one can only wonder why the Council did not order them both to be shot; and the condemnation recorded by the historian of the rebellion is not a whit too severe when he says it was—

"A time in which the whole stock of affection, loyalty, and courage, which at first alone engaged men in the quarrel, seemed to be quite spent, and to be succeeded by negligence, laziness, inadvertency, and dejection of spirit, contrary to the national temper, vivacity, and constancy of the nation: and in which they who pretended most public-heartedness, and did really wish the king all the greatness he desired to preserve for himself, did sacrifice

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the public peace, and the security of their master, to their ambition and animosities against each other, without the least design of treachery or damage towards his majesty; a time in which want of discretion and mere folly produced as much mischief as the most barefaced villainy could have done."

This may be compared with the following extract from Echard's *History*:—

"The West was the Residence of the Prince of Wales where there was once a considerable Army, which if actuated by united councils might have made a brave stand, if not turn'd the Scale; but the King's affairs there were not only disturb'd but made desperate by the jealousies and animosities of particular persons and indeed by the intolerable pride of incorrigible faction. . . . All affairs of those parts were too much under the influence and sway of two men, the Lord Goring and Sir Richard Grenvile, persons most exorbitant in their practices, tho' very different in their dispositions. The former showed an extravagant ambition to be Lt.-Genl. of all the west, spoke despicably of the Prince and his Council and sometimes of the King himself, led a riotous and scandalous life amidst the greatest dangers, encourag'd the most abominable licentiousness among his horse, who in all parts committed such intolerable insolencies and disorders as alienated the hearts of those who were best affected to the King's service. The other Sir Richard Grenvile was the most violent oppressor and tyrannical Governor that had ever been felt in those parts, seizing the estates and imprisoning and hanging up the persons of Delinquents without any process or regard to justice; and tho' contrary to Goring he restrained his soldiers from plundering, yet he himself was the greatest plunderer in the war, having gained more by his contributions and his other arts and extortions than the King had bestowed upon all his General Commanders of Armies, and upon all his officers of State since the beginning of the Rebellion to that time."

To add to the difficulties of the situation there were dissensions in the Council, the Earl of Berkshire, according to Clarendon, being wrought on by certain people who "got so much interest in him that he always passed whatever passed in Council to them"; and at the end it became known that the King had ordered the Prince to quit the country if ever he was in visible hazard of falling into the hands of the Parliamentary forces, and it was not to be supposed that the countrymen in the West would continue to struggle on behalf of a leader who was prepared to desert them. That Richard Fanshawe had his full share of the troubles of the times appears from many papers issued under his signature. One early order dated Bristol, 19 March, was addressed to the Sheriffs and Mayors of South Wales, commanding them to give passage to two hundred foot-soldiers and their firelocks, coming from the Marquis of Ormonde to be the Prince's Life Guards—the said troops not to stop more than two nights in one place, and to behave themselves in an orderly manner: and the proceedings of the meeting of the gentlemen of Somerset and a few of Devon and Cornwall at Bridgewater Town Hall, on 24 April, 1646, by which it was arranged that eight thousand men should be raised by the Grand Committees of these associated counties,

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KING CHARLES II WHILE PRINCE OF WALES

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are endorsed, "Examined per Richard Fanshawe" as Secretary for War. Another and a very interesting one is an order issued to Lord Goring from Barnstaple on 15 June, with reference to the petition of the club men presented to the Prince at Dunster Castle, about 5 June, in which it was ordered that "your Lordship having informed us of your prohibiting the levying any money by your soldiers in that country, as indeed the condition thereof requires—will take such course that the poor people who pay their contribution assist that army with provisions, and do all other duties very cheerfully, may not be discouraged by such usage. And we desire your lordship to direct some examination to be taken what prisoners remain in the hands of any of your soldiers taken from their houses for no reason but to compel them to redeem themselves for money, all of whom we doubt not but your lordship will cause speedily to be set at liberty." No doubt the Secretary was witness of the conduct of Lord Goring at Barnstaple, though Lady Fanshawe somewhat curiously does not refer to his presence in the West, of which Clarendon gives the following description: "When he was at Barnstaple he gave himself his usual licence of drinking and then inveighing against the Prince's Council, and said he would justify they had been the cause of losing the West, inveighing likewise in an unpardonable dialect against the person of the King." And when Lord Goring was not there, Sir R. Grenvile took his place in thwarting and insulting the Council. On 29 June he demanded of the Secretary to be tried by court martial, and a few days later, Clarendon records, he returned to the Secretary (Mr. Fanshawe) his commission of field marshal given him by the Prince without any letter, and followed it up by another very insolent one to the lords of the Council, complaining of many undeserved abuses offered him. Meanwhile the gentlemen of Devon had complained bitterly of his "exhorbitances and strange acts of tyranny . . . . and that his troopers had committed such outrages in the country that they had been compelled in open session to declare against him, and to authorise the country in case he should send his troops in such manner to rise and beat them." Well might Lord Culpeper, writing later in the year from Barnstaple to Lord Digby, say: "Our courage is (to return to your lordship's own word) enervated by a lary licentiousness; and good men are so scandalised at the horrid impiety of our armies that they will not believe God can bless any cause in such hands." At Barnstaple must have been received the news of the fatal loss of the battle of Naseby on 14 June.

The Prince left that place about the middle of July, and the Secretary for War was no doubt with him in August at Launceston, at Padstow (which seems curiously off the route, but from which letters were issued at the end of that month), and at Bodmin; in September at Exeter, where Charles met the infant sister (his tender love for whom in later years is almost the sole redeeming trait in his miserably selfish life), where too he must have learnt the news of the fall of Bristol, on 11 September . . . and from where the Secretary wrote to Sir Peter Osborne (p. 296), urging him to hold out in Cornet Castle, Guernsey; at Launceston again in September, October, and November; at

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Bodmin and Truro in November and December; at Tavistock, and at Launceston yet again in January; and, finally, in February at Pendennis Castle, the last retreat to which the Prince could fall back.

From Tavistock on 29 December, issued a last despairing proclamation, signed by the Secretary to the Council, calling upon all persons in Devon able to bear arms to repair to the Prince "now advancing in person to meet the rebels in order to expel them from the country," and directing a general supplication to be held on 4 January. The state of things in the West at the end of the year can be well imagined from Secretary Nicholas' summary of them then:—

"In the West there are about 5–6000 horse and foot, but there are so great divisions between the chief officers and the Council that attend the Prince (that) for want of conduct these forces are disunited, and the country so disaffected to them by reason of the soldiers' rape and oppression, (that it) rises against them whensoever they come into any place not in a body, and the country is so wasted (that) it cannot feed them when they lie together in a body. Besides the Cornish will not be drawn further than Devonshire. Exeter is so close besieged that very little or no provisions can pass into it, and it is not supplied for many months . . . and the King hath in Devon now no port but Dartmouth, and there are likewise forces marched thither to block it up. The siege of Plymouth is so weakly prosecuted for want of force, that they have lately released themselves and burnt some of our quarters near it."

Again, in Truro, Sir Richard Grenvile sent a most improper letter to the Secretary; but the turn of the latter came when by order of the Council on 21 January, 1646, he issued a warrant to Sir Arthur Bassett to arrest this general, and convey him to the Mount, he having positively refused to obey orders to serve under Lord Hopton. Two months previously Goring had withdrawn to France without permission, in the hope of obtaining a high command in the French army, believed to be preparing there to assist Charles the First. Unfortunately he left in command an ancient even more scandalous than himself, Lord Wentworth, of whom Clarendon writes that he refused to receive orders from any one except the Prince, "the which he often repeated afterwards in Council; and in the debate of quartering talked very imperiously and very disrespectfully, and one day, after he had been drinking, very offensively to some of the Council in the presence of the Prince." And so it went on to the very end, which came in February, 1646, when at a meeting of Council, at which the Earls of Berkshire and Brentford were present, as well as Lord Culpeper and Sir Edward Hyde, it was determined (apparently after the defeat of Lord Hopton at Torrington on 15 February) to send the Secretary to that General and Lord Capel for their opinion whether the Prince should remain at Pendennis or not. These councillors answered that it was not fit to adventure so, and that the Prince should withdraw to Scilly or Jersey, "which upon Mr. Fanshawe's report was unanimously consented to by the whole Council" (Clarendon's *History*, IX, 148), a decision probably hastened by

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a belief that there was a design on foot to seize the Prince and make him over to the Parliamentary leaders, but based mainly on the insistent orders of the King, who went so far as to place his curse on his son's head should he disobey them. Accordingly the Prince and the Council sailed from Pendennis Castle in the *Phœnix*, a small vessel of four guns only, at 10 p.m. on Wednesday, 2 March, and after touching next day at Land's End, according to Lady Fanshawe, reached St. Mary's Isle, Scilly, on the 4th idem.

Page 37. *Paragraph* 2.

As will be seen from the preceeding note, Sir Edward Hyde describes Sir Richard Fanshawe as Secretary to the Council, when Sir Richard Grenvile returned his commission early in July. This would mean that Mr. Long had left before that date; but as a letter signed by him on 21 July, at Liskeard, is still extant, Sir Edward Hyde was probably mistaken in referring to Sir Richard as Secretary to the Council instead of as Secretary at War. The exact date when Mr. Long abandoned his post, and Richard Fanshawe took up the duties of it, does not appear from the correspondence of the time.

Page 37. *Paragraph* 3.

At the end of May, 1645, the newspapers noticed that there were one hundred and twenty plague cases a week in Bristol, and that most of the gentry and gallants had removed from the place. Lady Fanshawe is wrong in referring the Prince's removal to Barnstaple, which she calls Barstaple, to about July, as he was there before 20 June. Sir Edward Hyde, writing from Exeter on 21 May, and about to rejoin the Prince, says: "I would he were in these parts for I hear the plague hath driven him from Bristol." Like her, Hyde wrote in praise of Barnstaple to Prince Rupert on 27 May, 1645: "In truth tho' I expected very much from Barnstaple it exceeded far even that expectation, and considering all circumstances is the most miraculously fortified place that I know, and I am confident is the best provided to receive an enemy, especially in a magazine of victuals, of any town in England"; and again he wrote to Sir Edward Nicholas on 27 June: "The Prince is much delighted with this place, and indeed it is a very fine sweet town, as ever I saw."

Mr. Palmer[1] was Mayor of Barnstaple in 1643, and was concerned with the

[1] *It appears from the local records that Mr. Palmer and all the members of the Town Council, except Mr. Thomas Dennis (afterwards removed from the post and mayor in* 1652) *and two others, were on the popular side; and the sojourn of the Prince of Wales could not have been very agreeable to the townsmen, who had already suffered greatly under Ship Money exactions, Palmer and his partner Penrose each paid £24, and now suffered still more at the hands of the Royalist troops and of the Governor, Sir Allen Apsley. Mr. Palmer's will was proved in* 1654.

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surrender of the town to the Parliament on 2 September. He was the friend of Mr. Penrose, whose picturesque almshouses are a charming feature of the place. His house in it was situated in Cross Street; the site of it is now occupied by the bank of Messrs. Fox and Flower. On the opposite side of the same street still stands a fine old timbered house of the seventeenth century, with an extremely handsome ceiling composed of moulded representations of animals, and fruits, and the zodiac signs, and some scriptural scenes. So far as can be ascertained the Palmer parrot is no longer alive. The massard cherry is the *prunus avium*, a small black cherry—every one will remember its mention in connexion with the description of Amyas Leigh in *Westward Ho!*: "he had no ambition whatsoever beyond getting by honest means the maximum of massard cherries."

Page 38. *Line* 2.

Mary, the eldest daughter of Lord and Lady Capel (see p. 351), married in June, 1648, Henry Beauchamp, entitled Lord Beauchamp, third son of the Marquis of Hertford, created second Duke of Somerset in 1660: their son William became third Duke of Somerset in the same year. Letters from Charles II to the Marquis of Hertford and to Lady Capel, upon the death of Lord Beauchamp in 1654, are still extant. She married as her second husband in 1657, Henry Somerset (son of the well-known Earl of Glamorgan, subsequently second Marquis of Worcester), third Marquis of Worcester, created Duke of Beaufort in 1682. He died in 1699, and she in 1715 at the age of eighty-five. Her son Henry, by her second husband, succeeded as second Duke of Beaufort.

Sir Allan Apsley, Governor of Barnstaple, and previously Lieutenant-Governor of Exeter, was member of an old Sussex family, son of the Lieutenant of the Tower, and brother of Lucy, the sweet wife of Colonel Hutchinson. The father was also a Commissioner of the Navy with Sir John Wolstenholme. The younger Sir Allan was at Trinity College, Cambridge. He compounded under the Barnstaple Articles for £434, General Fairfax certifying in 1653 that he had been comprised in the articles of surrender, and ought to have the benefit of them. After the Restoration he became Treasurer to the Duke of York and Falconer to the King. Pepys records in July, 1663, that Sir Allan[1] showed the Duke the Lisbon gazette in Spanish, with the account of the victory of Evora (*Memoirs*, p. 82) "to the great honour of the English beyond all measure." He also records his scandalous behaviour in 1666 in the House of Commons, where he sat for Thetford; and as M.P. he and Sir Allan Brothwick are placed together in Marvell's *Instructions to a Painter*, while in the *Flagellum Parliamentarium* Marvell mentions him as having received £40,000 since the Restoration—not a very likely story. He died in 1683, in St. James's Square.

[1] *Sir Allan's brother, Colonel Apsley, was one of the principal commanders of the English troops in Portugal, and we find Sir Allan writing about him to Sir Richard Fanshawe on* 6 *July*, 1663 (Heathcote MSS., p 124).

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Sir John Berkeley records in his narrative that when he was sent by the Queen from France, in 1647, to attempt the rescue of Charles I, he met Sir Allan near Tunbridge Wells, and was posted by him with the latest details of the movements of the Cavaliers who were still prepared to run all risks for the King's sake.

Page 38. § 2.

Of all the various places visited by the Prince and his Council during the latter half of 1645 (see pp. 359-60), Lady Fanshaw was only at Barnstaple, Launceston, and Truro; she must therefore have been a good deal separated from her husband. There is but little left at Truro of buildings of the seventeenth century; but the grand old Norman keep of Launceston still rises finely above the little town, and Lady Fanshawe's eyes must often have fallen with interest on the quaintly carved exterior of the fifteenth-century parish church (in which the feathers of the Prince of Wales bear a prominent part), and the large, crouching figure of the Magdalen under the east window. Truro is forty miles distant from Launceston, not twenty miles as stated in the *Memoirs*. The Governor of Pendennis Castle at this time was Sir John Arundell of Trerice, near Newlyn (knighted at Boconnock in August, 1644), whose son, Colonel Richard Arundell, married the widow of Sir Nicholas Slanning, was made Lord Arundell in 1664, and died in 1687.

The castle held out under its governor till 17 August, 1646, when famine compelled surrender, the Prince being unable to furnish it with supplies either from France or Jersey. There is extant a brief correspondence in 1651 between Sir John Arundell and Oliver Cromwell which is markedly creditable to both soldiers. Sir John wrote protesting that the sum of £10,000 put on him meant utter ruin to him, and continued, "I do rather take this boldness on me to present you this in regard that you and the army's honour may therein suffer as well as myself (if I am silent at this time). I crave nothing but justice, which by your lordship's means I may yet find—whereby you will preserve me and my family, which hath had the honour to have some near relation of friendship or kindred with your noble house." And Cromwell in forwarding this to Parliament from Glasgow on 25 April, 1651, wrote: "Receiving this enclosed and finding the contents of it to expostulate for justice and faith keeping, and the direction not improper to myself from the party interested, in as much as it is the word and faith of the army engaged unto a performance; and understanding by what steps it hath proceeded, which this enclosed letter of the gentleman will make manifest unto you, I make bold humbly to present the business to the Parliament." Sir Nicholas Slanning had been Governor of Pendennis Castle from 1635 to 1643, but previous to that the post had been held by members of the Killigrew[1] family for nearly two hundred years.

[1] *A grateful letter of Charles I from Oxford, on* 12 *January*, 1643, *to "Will. Killigrew," acknowledges his affection to the royal service in asking that his reversion of the post of Governor of Pendennis Castle might be conferred upon "Mr. Arundell of Trerice his eldest son," and promises to recompense and reward him in better kind.*

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Sir Nicholas Slanning of Maristow, or Mary Stow, near Tavistock, Devon, was knighted at Nonsuch on 24 August, 1632, and sent as a member for Penryn in the Long Parliament, in which he voted against the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford. He distinguished himself greatly at the battle of Lansdown on 5 July, 1643, and died at the early age of twenty-eight of wounds received on the 26th of the same month in the attack on Bristol, while the King was in that place composing the quarrel between Prince Rupert and the Earl of Hertford over the appointment by the latter of Lord Hopton to be Governor. His widow compounded for her son in 1650, urging that the estate had been sequestered for four years, and much timber on it had been felled: the fine imposed stood, nevertheless, at the large sum of £1197. On the Restoration the son was created a baronet; but the honour became extinct with the second baronet in 1700.

Page 39. *Line* 7

Sir John Grenvile (usually spelt Greenvil in the correspondence of the day) was the youthful son of Sir Bevil Grenvile, one of the noblest of all the Cavaliers, who was killed at the battle of Lansdown on 5 July, 1643. The son, who was only a boy of fifteen at the time, fought in his father's regiment, and was knighted by the King at Bristol on 3 August. As noted in the *Memoirs*, he became a Gentleman of the Bedchamber of the Prince in 1645;[1] and after returning from Jersey to the Scilly Islands, defended them till 2 June, 1651. Subsequently he remained with the King during his exile, and was one of the principal agents used by him to smooth the way for the Restoration, owing to his relationship with General Monk. Thereupon he was made Keeper of the Wardrobe, and Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall, and was created Earl of Bath on 20 April, 1661. He was also placed in the reversion of the Dukedom of Albemarle (General Monk being nephew of his mother), and the Earldom of Glamorgan, in the event of the failure of heirs male to these honours, but such failure did not take place. He died in 1701, one of the last, probably, of those who took actual part in the fighting of the Civil War. His uncle, the younger brother of Sir Bevil Grenvile, was the notorious Sir Richard Grenvile, whose conduct in the West has been narrated above (pp. 359–60). Probably Lady Fanshawe's absences from her husband prevented her knowing much about this conduct, else she would scarcely have passed

[1] *The King, writing to the Queen from Droitwitch on* 14 *May*, 1645, *said*: "*Now I must make a complaint to thee of my son Charles: It is this that he hath sent to desire me that Sir John Greenfield* (*sic*) *may be sworn gentleman of his Bedchamber, but* (*he has*) *already so publickly engaged in it that the refusal would be a great disgrace both to my son and to the young gentleman to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste, especially now, considering his father's merits* (*and*) *his own hopefulness, besides the great power that family has in the West. Yet I have refused the admitting of him until I shall hear from thee.*"

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him over with the remark that he was too severe a commander. When the Parliamentary forces advanced on Mount St. Michael, where he was confined, he was released to prevent his falling into their hands (as was also the Duke of Hamilton, who had been sent from Pendennis Castle to the Mount), and escaped to Brest. In 1650, he bestirred himself to send supplies to Guernsey and to his nephew in the Sorlinges (Scilly) Islands, and provided the Duke of York with £700. In 1653 he accused Hyde of treason, and was forbidden the Court; and in January, 1654, he published a defence of his conduct in the West. Apparently that was not more violent than his behaviour as a younger man had been, for he then treated his wife most barbarously, and was confined for sixteen months in the Fleet for calling Lord Suffolk "a base lord." He had previously served in the Palatinate, at Cadiz and at Rhé; and after this he served abroad from 1633 to 1639, when Christopher Monk was under both him and General Goring. He was in Ireland, where Richard Fanshawe probably knew him, in 1641–3. He undertook to raise a regiment for the Parliament, but carried the money given to him for this purpose to Oxford, whereupon the Parliament proclaimed him as a "traitor, rogue, villain, and skellum"! He died in 1658, and was buried at Ghent, where a tombstone once bore the inscription: "Sir Richard Grenvile, the King's General in the West." He was five years younger than his brother Sir Bevil Grenvile. Their father, Sir Bernard, who died in 1636, was the son of the famous Sir Richard Grenvile of the *Revenge* (d. 1591); and his grandfather was Roger Grenvile, who, as all readers of *Westward Ho!* know, perished in the *Mary Rose* in 1545.

Page 39. *Paragraph* 2.

The *Memoirs* record a detail which is not to be found in the other accounts of the Prince's removal to the Scilly Islands, and regarding which Lady Fanshawe cannot have been mistaken, viz. that the vessels conveying him and his followers from Pendennis touched the next day (3 March) at the Land's End, and took on board there certain members of the Royalist party who had been residing at Penzance. The distance by sea to Land's End from Pendennis is fifty miles, and from Land's End to St. Mary's Isle thirty-five miles. The *Memoirs* appear to be wrong, however, in referring to Sir *Francis* Bassett, as he died on 19 September, 1645, and was succeeded by his brother, Sir Arthur, as Governor of the Mount, and it was Sir Arthur who was directed to remove the Duke of Hamilton from Pendennis Castle, and to arrest Sir Richard Grenvile. The two brothers and a third, Sir Thomas Bassett, were members of the well-known family of Tehidy, near Camborne. Sir Francis was Sheriff and Vice-Admiral of Cornwall on the outbreak of the Civil War, and M.P. for St. Ives, and was knighted at Crediton on 30 July, 1644. He was married to a daughter of Sir Jon. Trelawney; their son was obliged to sell the Mount to the St. Aubyn family, just as the son of the first Lord Fanshawe was obliged to sell Ware Park. Sir Thomas Bassett was Major-General of Ordnance to Prince Maurice, and Governor of St. Mary's

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Castle in the Scilly Isles, and commanded a division at the battle of Stratton. It appears from the papers of the Committee for Compounding that the house near Pendennis belonging to the wife of a Captain Bluett, Lady Jane Killigrew, was burnt down by the Royalist troops; so perhaps his excuse had more in it than Lady Fanshawe was prepared to admit. What a sad loss that of all her combs and gloves and ribbons must have been to the young wife. The facts of his whole life must be held to clear Sir Nicholas Crispe from want of skill or honesty, and no doubt the seamen, being deeply in arrears for wages, simply helped themselves on this opportunity, as the soldiers in the West had done on land from the first. Sir Nicholas was not only distinguished for loyalty and for honesty in his dealings, so that King Charles the First called him his "little old faithfull Farmer," but he also signally proved his courage on various occasions, and particularly on one of a night attack at Cirencester; and he maintained a fleet of privateers which brought in considerable resources to the King. Dr. Lloyd says of him in his *Worthies:* "All succours the King had from the Queen and others beyond the sea, especially from Holland, came through his hands, and most of the relief he had at home was managed through his conveyance; neither was he less valiant than prudent, his heart being as good as his head."[1] He made his fortune by two very different methods—the one, the invention or adoption of the modern way of brick-making, and the other the development of the Guinea Coast[2] trade, including the traffic of "nigers." He was knighted at Whitehall on 1 January, 1642, nearly a year after he had been expelled from the Long Parliament (in which he sat for Winchelsea), for being a monopolist. He was allowed to compound under the Exeter Articles in 1648, on admission that he had been in the King's quarters in Oxford, Exeter, and France. He went to Oxford in 1643, probably at much the same time as Sir John Harrison, having with Sir Marmaduke Rawdon and others been one of the persons in London to whom the King's Commission of Array, carried by Lady Aubigny, was addressed in May, 1643; in view of this and

[1] *Lord Jermyn, writing to Lord Digby on* 19 *May,* 1645, *says:* "*Her Majesty having been served by Sir Nicholas Crispe at her coming out of England with affection and diligence is desirous to make him some return; and therefore entreats you to assist him in his affairs, as he shall present them to you, especially for the transportation of some wools, the proceeds of which he undertakes to return in ammunition. He is also a suitor to the Queen for her recommendation to the King to be Collector of Customs in the West, in which he had formerly a promise*"; *and on the* 27*th of the following month Daniel O'Neal was directed by the King to* "*forthwith repair unto our ports of Dartmouth and Falmouth where you are to confer with Sir Nicholas Crispe and with Captain Hasebrouk and any other owners of ships and frigates in our service, and arrange with them for the vessels to be sent to Ireland to serve there under the orders of the Marquis of Ormonde.*"

[2] *He himself built Castle Cormantino on this coast.*

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the fact that he was excepted from pardon by the Parliament in 1644, in which year his house in Bread Street was sold, he seems to have got off very cheaply with a fine of £346, though, like Sir John Harrison and Sir John Wolstenholme (with whom he was a sharer in the £253,000 due from the King (p. 327), he was a ruined man for the time being. It has been noted already how he petitioned for repayment of that sum after the Restoration, and how Pepys met him and the other Farmers of the Customs in 1660. Pepys had previously noted Sir Nicholas Crispe's loyal demeanour on 11 February in that year, when "in Cheapside there was a great many bonfires, and Bow bells and all the bells in the churches as we went home were a ringing"; and he was one of the members deputed from the City to welcome Charles II home. On the Restoration he also was replaced in his post as Farmer of the Customs, and his son became a collector of the Customs of London Port. He was made a baronet on 16 April, 1665; on 25 February, 1666, he died, and was buried in St. Mildred's Church, Bread Street, London. His heart, in accordance with the terms of his will, was enclosed in a white marble urn and placed on a black marble pillar below a bronze bust of King Charles I in St. Paul's Church, Hammersmith, "near my pew, the place I so dearly loved," and there it may still be seen, a touching memorial of devoted loyalty. His bones also rest in that church since 1898. His great house at Hammersmith, sold to Prince Rupert in 1673, and known in the last century as Brandenburgh House, disappeared only a few years back. The baronetcy granted to him became extinct in 1740. Sir Nicholas seems to have been before his age in the conception of a great "sasse" or dock at Deptford, a project which caused Evelyn no little alarm on behalf of his beloved home at Sayes Court.

Page 41. *Line* 1.

The Prince was lodged in St. Mary's (or Star) Castle, in the principal of the Scilly Islands, which is so named. His father had stayed in it on his return from Spain twenty-two years previously. Lady Fanshawe, of course, had quarters in Hugh Town, at the east foot of the Castle Hill. In the account of these, published by R. Heath in 1750, it is stated that owing to the capital, Hugh Town lying on a low spit between two bays, the sea used to come into some of the dwellers' yards and houses at spring tides, to their great inconvenience, and even at the present day, on the occurrence of a storm with unusually high tides, it finds its way into some of the yards below the houses. Star Castle was built by Sir Francis Godolphin in 1593; and this date and the large initials E.R. may still be read over the entrance gate, as when Prince Charles and Lady Fanshawe saw them. The grey, star-shaped stronghold on the west, and the little town which stretches across the spit between two beautiful bays to the north and south of it, up to the eastern slope on which the old church rises, must present now, in 1907, very much the same outlines as they did in 1646. The view of the islands from the castle in

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their sea setting of true Mediterranean blue, fringed all round by the brilliant breakers of the Atlantic waves, is extraordinarily beautiful.

Lord Culpeper was sent from St. Mary's to France two days after the Prince's arrival on 4 March; and owing to contrary winds, which no doubt prevented supplies from coming from the mainland, Lords Capel and Hopton were unable to join the Prince till 11 April, five days before he sailed to Jersey in *Le Prou d'Aigle Noir*, having spent six weeks all but one day on the island, not three weeks and odd days as stated in the *Memoirs*. The reason of the sudden departure from St. Mary's was that the island, which had been summoned by a trumpeter who accompanied the two lords, had been surrounded by the Parliament fleet of twenty vessels on Sunday, 12 April, and opportunity was at once taken of their having to put out to sea again under stress of "a blessed storm," to convey the Prince to a safer place of refuge.

Page 41. *End.*

Jersey was reached by the Prince on Friday, 17 April, after a very favourable voyage, the distance of 200 miles being accomplished in a little more than thirty hours. (Letter of Sir Edward Hyde to Colonel Richard Arundell, dated Jersey, 15 May, 1646.) Besides the *Prou d'Aigle Noir*, in which he himself sailed, the *Dogger Bank*, of Captain Hasdronck, and another small vessel, probably the *Phœnix* of the *Memoirs*, brought over some of the Prince's party, which consisted of three hundred persons in all, among them "Mr. Fanshawe, Secretary to the Prince"[1] (see Mr. Hoskyn's *Charles the Second and the Channel Islands*, based on the diary of a Mons. Chevalier). The Prince, as Lady Fanshawe notes, resided in the castle—not St. Mary (which was a slip of her memory back to the Scilly Islands), but St. Elizabeth,[2] and from there, on 19 April, issued a proclamation in French, signed "de part le Prince et son conseil, Richard Fanshawe," informing the inhabitants of the island that in case of any wrong done to them they should represent this to the Chevalier George de Carteret, Lieutenant-Governor, and that "justice exemplaire selon l'exigence du fait" would be made on proof of such wrongdoing.

As Lady Fanshawe says quite correctly, Sir George Carteret, whose name she spells Cartwright, as did Pepys, had been bred to a sea life, and had been second in command in an expedition against the Sallee rovers in 1637. He became Bailiff of Jersey in 1643, was probably knighted in January, 1645,

[1] *Among them also was Dr. Richard Wiseman, surgeon, of whom Richard Fanshawe must have seen a good deal later, as he was with the King in Scotland in* 1650-51, *and was captured at Worcester. Chevalier mentions him in Jersey as Doctor Woisement, medicin. On the Restoration he was made Surgeon to the King, and died in* 1676. *He was connected with the Wisemans of Rivenhall, Essex* (*p.* 272).

[2] *The other castle is Castle Orgeuil.*

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and was made a baronet on 9 May in that year; he made a long defence of the island against the Parliament, but in the end he was compelled to surrender on 12 December, 1651. He then entered the naval service of France, was Vice-Admiral under the Duke of Vendome, and in 1657 was imprisoned for a time in the Bastille. By reputation he was "undoubtedly as good (as any) if not the best seaman of England." He was married to his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Philip Carteret (knighted in 1616); their son married the daughter of the Earl of Sandwich—the Lady Jem of Pepys' *Memoirs*—and perished with his father-in-law in the battle of Solebay, in 1674. On the Restoration, Sir George Carteret was made a Privy Councillor and Treasurer of the Navy from 1660–70, and amassed a great fortune in this post. Marvell puts this at £300,000—equivalent to a million of present money. He was also Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, 1660–70, and M.P. for Portsmouth 1661–79. He died in the same month as Lady Fanshawe—January, 1680—at the age of about seventy. Lady Fanshawe and Lady Carteret seem to have fallen out later in life, as Pepys records on 30 June, 1662: "Told my Lady Carteret how my Lady Fanshawe is fallen out with her (only) for speaking in behalf of the French, which my Lady[1] wonders at, they having been formerly like sisters." Lady Carteret was, indeed, godmother to Lady Fanshawe's eldest daughter, Ann, born in Jersey. Lord St. Jermyn (he was not made Earl of St. Albans till 1660) had been appointed Governor of Jersey in 1644, the year after his elevation to the peerage. He does not appear to have ever exercised any authority in the island, of which his father was Governor before him.

Mr. Lempriere, Bailiff of Jersey after the surrender to Parliament, mentions that Sir George Carteret had returned the Sigillum Insulæ de Jersey from Brittany and some of the records, but not all; and proposed to remove all jurats "who by their foul and enormous offences of extortions and pillages and adherences to Captain, alias Sir George, Carteret, in all his tyrannies and plunders upon the poor inhabitants of this isle, disabled themselves ever to bear any office in this place."

Like Lady Fanshawe, Sir Edward Hyde again admired Jersey and its defences, and wrote of it "as a most pleasant island and (truly I think) the strongest in the world." In it the Prince remained till 25 June, 1646, having been turned back in one attempt to reach France, distracted between the advice of the majority of his Council to stay there, and the pressure of the Queen's delegates, Lords Jermyn and Digby, and of Lord Culpeper, to join his mother in Paris, which she most persistently pressed him to do in obedience to the commands of his father. The Earls of Berkshire and Brentford (spelt by Chevalier, Brayntford), the Lords Capel and Hopton, and Sir Edward Hyde, were resolutely opposed to this; but the specious argument that the presence of the Prince was needed to secure the dispatch of a French army,

[1] *At this time both ladies and the Countess of Sandwich were living in Lincoln's Inn Fields.*

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which some of the King's party desired in their madness for his aid, at last prevailed, and the Prince left the island for Paris. Cotainville (p. 41) lies seven miles distant from Coutances, which is thirty-three miles east-south-east of Jersey, and seventeen miles north-north-east of Granville. Lords Capel and Hopton and Sir Edward Hyde remained behind in Jersey; but the Council of the Prince now ceased to exist, and the other members scattered elsewhere. The Secretary also remained in the island, probably for the moment by reason of the birth of his first daughter on 7 June; and on his behalf the Prince wrote to the Marquis of Ormonde the following letter on 23 June, after he had been turned back from his first attempt to reach France:—

"My Lord,

"How the affairs stand here my Lord Digby will fully inform you, which I hope will fully satisfy you of the great value and estimation I have of your great (services). I shall therefore only make a request to you on behalf of a person (not unknown to your Lordship) who hath served me with great affection, and is in himself of extraordinary integrity, and parts fit for any trust, Mr. Fanshawe, that if your lordship can find any opportunity to employ him you will upon my recommendation receive him into your particular favour. He was appointed by my father (before he came to my service) to be his resident with the King of Spain, and stands still qualified for that employment, and whether the passing may be of use to the Kingdom of Ireland, or whether your Lordship shall dispose him to any other service, I shall refer wholly to you, who will I hope look upon him as a man in particular care of

"Your lordship's very affectionate friend,

"CHARLES P."

This letter did not bear fruit at the time, but was destined to do so later. The appointment of Sir Richard Fanshawe to be Resident in Spain previous to this date—June, 1646—cannot be traced; but in the Instructions given him by King Charles I, "at our honor of Hampton Court," on 9th October in the following year, reference is made to a Privy Seal warrant bearing date the seventh day of February "in the twentieth year of our reign" (that is, February, 16(44-)45, which was just before Sir Richard left Oxford with the Prince of Wales), granting him payment for his ordinary entertainment of 20s. per diem (which the King in the Instructions promised to raise to the usual rate of 30s.), and this presupposes an appointment as stated by the Prince of Wales in his letter (Heathcote MSS., p. 1).

Page 44. End.

Lady Fanshawe put the date of the Prince's departure from Jersey, which took place on 25 June, a little late in saying it was in the beginning of July, unless she is speaking according to the foreign reckoning of time, ten days

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later than the old style. According to Monsieur Chevalier's[1] record, she and her husband did not leave the island till 19 September, but she states that they left early in August, and that she was in England at the end of that month. Her husband, we know from a letter of Sir Edward Hyde's, was still in Caen at the close of September; and though Hyde did not know where he was in January, 1647, we know that he was in London then. Before leaving, he had been charged with a letter from Lords Capel and Hopton and Hyde himself to the King, explaining their action with reference to the Prince's removal from Jersey, and this he presumably forwarded to England through some Royalist friend. The journey from Jersey to Caen would probably be by Coutances, involving a land journey of fifty miles, and it would not therefore be very excessive to spend four days *en route;* the distance from Caen to Cowes is about ninety miles.

The record of the compounding of Richard Fanshawe contains the following petition endorsed as "Received this 14th Jan., 164(7)."

"To the Hon^ble^ the Committee sitting at Goldsmiths Hall for compounding with delinquents.

"The humble peticion of Richard Fanshawe, Esq., showeth that the peticioner in the time of the late unhappy warr did forsake his abode in London and reside in his majesty's quarters, and thereby became a delinquent to the parliament.

"Now forasmuch as he is returned hither out of France by vertue of Mr. Speaker's pass to come from thence to endeavour and prosecute his composition with the parliament, and thereupon hath presented himself and given an accompt of himself to the said Mr. Speaker whoe hath referred him to the Committee for the endeavouring and prosecution of the said composition according to the course in such case directed,

"His humble request is that he may be restored to his Estate upon such moderate composition as the same will beare, whereof he is very ready to give in his particulars."

These particulars, dated the previous day, comprised (1) "The freehold for life of the office of King's Remembrancer in the Court of Exchequer worth while he enjoyed the same £600." (2) "An annuity payable out of the estate of his brother Sir Thomas Fanshawe in the county of Essex, £50. Total during life, £650."

He further prayed for allowance for a debt of £1173 which was secured before the late unhappy war out of the profits of the said office.

The actual fine which the delinquent was sentenced to pay is not recorded; but as the post of Remembrancer was not restored to him it is incredible that it should have been £300 per annum, as stated by Lady Fanshawe. When

[1] *This enthusiastic Jersey gentleman describes Lady Fanshawe's sister Margaret as a "belle jeune demoiselle à la fleur de son âge, mais en âge de marrier."*

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he was later deprived of the mastership[1] of Ilford Hospital, the income of £50 from that post was devoted to maintain a lecturer at that place.

Mr. East, watchmaker of Pall Mall and Fleet Street[2] (in 1690 he is described as "at the Sun outside Temple Bar"), was Master of the Clockmakers' Company in 1640 and in 1682, and lived till after 1693. He was a worthy successor to David Ramsay (*confer* the *Fortunes of Nigel*), and was one of the assistants of the latter when made First Master of the Company in 1631. King Charles gave Sir Thomas Herbert a silver alarm watch by East, and the Parliamentary Committee for Public Revenue paid East £40 in 1649 for another watch supplied to the King by order of the Earl of Pembroke.

Who the wife of Colonel Christopher Copley was has not been discovered. The Colonel was the son of Sir Wm. Copley of Spotborough, near Doncaster, and member of a devoted Republican family bound up in the iron industry of that neighbourhood. In a petition of his to the Parliament in 1640, published in *The Life of the Marquis of Worcester*, he states that he had raised a troop in 1642 and a regiment of horse in 1644, and had been elected Colonel of the West Riding Regiment in 1645, and kept as Colonel of one of the regiments retained in 1647; he had also supplied iron and bullets for the army, and his ironworks had been plundered by the Earl of Newcastle. He had since been persecuted by "Lieutenant-General Cromwell finding the said Colonel Copley would not become subservient to his ambitious ends," and his regiment had been given to Colonel Lambert. What redress he may have received for these bold words does not appear; but he was one of the 143 members of the Long Parliament excluded by Colonel Pride's purge on 6 December, 1648. His chief military exploit was the defeat of Lord Digby at Sherburn on 15 October, 1645, no doubt at the head of the West Riding Regiment. He was apparently a close friend in later life of the Marquis of Worcester, who wrote to him in November, 1656, "I underwritten do confess and acknowledge to have received of Colonel Christopher Copley so great civilities and obligations, as that I do take him into so strict bonds of kindness, as if at any time the adventure of my life and fortune may bestead him, I do upon the word of a gentleman and faith of a Christian engage myself not to stick thereat, but cheerfully to run the same fortune with him." Colonel Copley died in 1664. Clarendon, in referring to him in connexion with Pride's Purge, says he was one of the most active members of the Presbyterian party, and one who had advanced the service of Parliament against the King as much as any man of his rank; he is mentioned as being Commissary General then.

[1] *The record of this in* 1653 *is "sequestered for delinquency of Richard Fanshawe, former master, who has since been legally ousted."*

[2] *These details are taken from Mr. F. T. Brittan's "Old Clocks and Watches and their Makers."*

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Page 45. § 1.

Sir William Boteler, of Teston, Kent, married Joan Fanshawe, elder sister of Richard Fanshawe, on 1 May, 1631, and was present with his wife at the marriage of his brother-in-law at Wolvercote on 18 May, 1644. He was killed six weeks afterwards at the blundering cavalry engagement fought on 29 June near Cropredy[1] Bridge, over the Cherwell, five miles north of Banbury, between the horse of Sir William Waller and the Earl of Cleveland.[2] Sir William Clerke, of Kent, also fell the same day. According to one contemporary account (Symonds' *Diary*), Sir William Boteler was accidentally shot by his own troopers. Sir Edmund Walker writes of the encounter that in it were lost "two colonels who were persons of singular merit and courage and both shot in this charge, Sir William Boteler falling first (after he had by his forward and courageous charging given ours the best assurance of victory), and presently afterwards his friend and countryman Sir William Clerke, at the head of his Regt." His widow married, after three years of widowhood, Sir Philip Warwick, whose own account of the fight is as follows: "How it came about most men were ignorant, but the Lord Wilmot, then General of the Horse, was that day twice taken prisoner, and Sir William Boteler (a gentleman of extraordinary zeal in his Majesty's service) and Sir William Clerke his countryman (of the same affections) by extraordinary service that day signalised their deaths."

Sir William Boteler was the son of Sir Oliver Boteler, who moved to Kent from Sharnbrook, Beds, on marrying the daughter of Thomas Barham, and settled at Barham Court, Teston Honor, in Teston, near Maidstone. He was born four or five years before Sir Richard Fanshawe, and was at Jesus College, Cambridge, much the same time, no doubt before him. He was admitted to Gray's Inn on 22 May, 1622, while Sir Richard entered the Inner Temple in November, 1626. He was member for Bedford in the Long Parliament, was made a baronet in 1641, and was committed to the Fleet in April, 1642, for presenting Deering's petitions to the House of Commons after the House had decided to impeach the petitioner, who questioned the validity of the Militia Ordinance. After seven weeks' imprisonment he was released on bail of £20,000, and allowed to go to his place in Kent. While he was temporarily absent at Tunbridge Wells, it was pillaged by a force sent there by the Parliament, an outrage among the first of the Civil War. As he was one of the Gentlemen Pensioners of the King, with whom he had been at York earlier in the year, Sir William thereupon decided to proceed to the North; but he was again arrested by the Parliament and kept in the Gate House at Westminster for six months. He then escaped, and joined the King at Oxford. His body was brought there from where he fell, and was,

[1] *Lady Fanshawe calls it Cropley; locally it is named Cropedy.*

[2] *Sir Robert Howard, son of the Earl of Berkshire and brother-in-law of John Fanshawe of Parsloes (d.* 1689), *was knighted after the battle for capturing General Wemys, commandant of the artillery of the Parliamentary army.*

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Anthony Wood records, "buried in the south aisle adjoining to the choir of the Cathedral of Christ Church (at the upper end) on Thursday, 4th July, 1644," seven weeks after the marriage of Lady Fanshawe. Doubtless Richard Fanshawe and his brothers, Sir Thomas and Sir Simon, were present at the funeral of their sister's husband. No memorial tablet marks the last resting-place of this gallant soldier. Among the names of many other gentlemen, his name is found in Ashburnham's accounts as having twice lent a sum of £200 to the King at Oxford. The interests of his son, Sir Oliver, were protected by his widow, who, on 24 August, 1646, claimed to compound on his behalf, stating her husband "being imprisoned and his state sequestered for his appearing in Kent about a petition to Parliament, he afterwards went into the King's quarters at Oxford, where he died two years ago. She could not earlier than March bring her son from thence." Composition was permitted on a payment of £2700 at one-tenth of the value of the estate; and subsequently, in November, 1650, the boy's mother and Sir Philip Warwick paid an additional fine of £229 for omissions in compounding for the estate. Lady Boteler, like Lady Harrison in the case of Balls Park, had previously petitioned to be allowed to take possession of the mansion house at Teston, which was untenanted and getting into decay. Sir Oliver was succeeded by his son Sir Philip, and he by a son of the same name; and the baronetcy became extinct for want of heirs male in 1772.

Sir Philip Warwick was the son of the organist of Westminster Abbey, and was educated at Eton and Christ Church. He was born a year after Richard Fanshawe, and married his sister Joan in 1647. He was secretary first to Lord Goring, later Earl of Norwich, then to Bishop Juxon while Lord Treasurer, and finally to the King at Hampton Court and in the Isle of Wight. He sat as member for New Romney in the Long Parliament, voted against Strafford's attainder, and was expelled from the House in February, 1644, having previously joined the King at Oxford, where he was one of the commissioners who negotiated the surrender of that place on 24 June, 1646. For some time afterwards he was at Sir Capel Bedell's house at Hamerton (p. 379).

He compounded under the Oxford Articles in August following, the fine of £477 originally put on him being reduced to £441. In connexion with the proceedings he begged for the return of his papers, then in the custody of Mr. John Selden. His Memoirs form one of the most interesting records of the last years of Charles I, and perhaps the most pathetic of all. "I never saw him," writes the secretary, "shed tears but once, and he turned presently his head away; for he was then dictating to me somewhat in a window, and he was loath to be discovered . . . but I can safely take my oath they were the biggest drops I ever saw fall from an eye, but he recollected himself and soon stifled them"; and the day before his death the King said to Bishop Juxon of Sir Philip: "My lord, I must remember one that hath had relation to you and myself: tell Charles (for so he was pleased to call the Prince) he hath been a useful and honest man unto me."

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The descriptions in the *Memoirs* of Strafford and of his sour and haughty temper, and of the personal appearance and youth of Oliver Cromwell are well known; the following description of the execution of the King is perhaps less known than deserves to be: "A gentleman of my acquaintance that had so placed himself in Wallingford House that he could easily discern all that was done upon the scaffold, protested to me he saw him come from the Banqueting House on the scaffold with the same unconcernedness and motion that he usually had when he entered into it on a Masque night; and another gentleman on the scaffold observed him very majestic and steady."

"He nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable scene."

On the Restoration, Sir Philip Warwick was returned to Parliament as Member for Westminster, and made Secretary to the Earl of Southampton, Lord High Treasurer. This post he held till 1667 (*Memoirs*, p. 207) when he retired, and was succeeded by Sir George Downing; it was during this period that Pepys became acquainted with him and conceived a high regard for him. "I honour the man with all my heart, and think him to be a very able and right honest man"[1] (24 November, 1606). Pepys also mentions his wife. She was godmother to Lady Fanshawe's first son and also to her daughter Ann, born in 1655, and Sir Philip was godfather to the second son Henry. He was on the committee for the restoration of St. Paul's, and was visited by Evelyn on 17 August, 1675, at Frogpool, now known as Frognal, where one of Lady Fanshawe's infant daughters was buried and another was christened. She was buried on 16 May, 1672; he died in January, 1683, and is buried with his second wife and his son Philip, who died on the way home to see his father, in the church at Chislehurst. The epitaph on his tomb runs as follows:—

"Here lies in expectation of a joyful resurrection through Jesus Christ our Saviour, the only mortal part of Sir Philip Warwick Knight who departed this life the 15th day of January, 1682-83, in the 74th year of his age. He was an acceptable servant to King Charles I in all his extremities, and a faithful one to King Charles II. Here also with his body lies that of his dear wife Joan Fanshaw of Ware Park, and lady of a sincere virtue and piety, first married to Sir Wm. Boteler, Bart. With whom is interred the body of Philip Warwick, Esq., the only son of the said Sir Philip Warwick who died an Envoy 1682, from the King of Great Britain to the King of Sweden, having served both Crowns with great honour and fidelity."

[1] *Denham classified him, however, with certain high officials of the day, some of whom were admittedly corrupt, in the following lines:—*

"*Muscovy sells us pitch and hemp and tar,*
Iron and copper Sweden, Munster war;
Ashley prize, Warwick custom, Carteret pay;
But Coventry doth sell the fleet away."

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Sir Philip left Frogpool to his sister Joice, wife of Sir Christopher Turnor, the brother of Sir Edmund Turnor (p. 479), for her life. She died in 1707, at the age of 101.

Richard Harrison, the half-brother of Lady Fanshawe, was said on his tomb in All Saints Church, Hertford, to have been in his eighty-first year when he died in January, 1725. This would place his birth in October, 1644; but that is impossible, as the *Memoirs* show that Sir John Harrison was not remarried before he left Oxford in May, 1645 (p. 355), and that he was remarried when he left Penzance in February, 1646 (*Memoirs*, p. 39, where Lady Fanshawe writes: "My father's *new* wife which he had *then* married out of that family" (the Fanshawes)); and his sister must be right in the date which she gives.

Page 45. § 2.

This paragraph was added by Lady Fanshawe to the faired copy of the *Memoirs*; and in it the birth of her son Henry was wrongly given as 30 *July*, instead of 30 *May* (see *Memoirs*, p. 215). Portugal Row was the row of houses built on the south side of Lincoln's Inn Fields; and this side is still backed by Portugal Street. After the Restoration Lady Fanshawe lived here again (*Memoirs*, p. 95); later, upon her husband's death, she lived on the north side of the Fields, in a house in Newman's or Holborn Row, called the Pine Apples. On the west side was the Arched Row, of which some of the old houses still stand, including Lindsey House, subsequently Lancaster House, then owned by the Earl of Lindsey, brother-in-law of Sir Thomas Fanshawe, K.B., first Viscount Fanshawe. Upon the west face of the old south archway to Sardinia Street on this side is the inscription "Duke St., 1648," on which Lady Fanshawe's eyes may have rested. No doubt she must have passed many times through the fine brick gateway of 1518 (rebuilt, but on the old lines exactly), leading from Chancery Lane into Lincoln's Inn. In 1640–60 the Fields were not far removed from the open country, and had not long been enclosed and divided by roads. For many years after this time they were dangerous to cross at night.

Page 45. §§ 1 *and* 3.

According to Lady Fanshawe, her husband kept very quiet in England during the year 1647; as late Secretary to the Prince of Wales, he was no doubt specially suspected and watched, and he must have realized that it was only by keeping perfectly quiet that he would be left in a position to render assistance to the captive King should any opportunity for doing so arise. Monsieur Chevalier, of Jersey, notes that he returned to the island for a week in the end of July, probably to consult with Sir Edward Hyde, as we find the latter writing the following interesting letter to the King on the 27th of that month from Castle Elizabeth (Clarendon State Papers, Vol. II):—

"This gentleman who has served your Majesty with great ability and

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integrity throughout those affairs in which I have been trusted since I had the honour to see you, hath some confidence that he will be permitted to kiss your hand; and therefore I thought it agreeable to my duty by this or any other possible occasion to cast myself at your Majesty's feet. . . . In the meantime I flatter myself with an opinion that I am doing your Majesty some service here whilst I am preparing the story of your sufferings, that posterity may know by whose fault the nation was even overwhelmed with calamities, and by whose virtue it was redeemed. What progress I have made in this unequal task and what method I preserve in it this gentleman will likewise humbly inform your Majesty. . . . I beseech your Majesty give Mr. Fanshawe leave to give you an account of the state and condition of this excellent island and of the other of Guernsey where the castle is still kept for your Majesty and hath been hitherto preserved by the activity and vigilance of Sir George Carteret, who is like to find it more difficult than it hath been."

Lady Fanshawe was no doubt judiciously kept in the dark by her husband as to the deeper motives of his visits to the King, which must have taken place before the middle of October, as they returned to France about then, and subsequently to Hyde's letter of 27 July. The supplementary Instructions given him for his mission to Spain, which Lady Fanshawe calls credentials, are dated 9 October, 1647 (Heathcote MSS., p. 1), and direct him to endeavour to negotiate peace between the two crowns and the free enjoyment of trade, and give him leave to return to England when he should think proper in the King's interest, "or for the better settling of your own private concernments in reference to your pay for the said employment, or to your proper estate at home, now suffering amongst others under the success of the late unhappy war."[1] The parting of the King with this faithful servant and his wife is one of the most touching scenes of all those recorded in these sad times; how it must have recurred to them both when they visited Hampton Court again in 1663 after the marriage of Catherine of Braganza (*Memoirs*, p. 99). Possibly about the same time (for it was on 10 October) John Evelyn also visited the King at Hampton Court, "where I had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand, and give him an account of the several things I had in charge, he being now in the power of those execrable villains, who not long after murdered him." Charles' life was spared for sixteen months after Lady Fanshawe parted from him at Hampton Court, not a few months only as recorded in the *Memoirs*.

That the King fled from Hampton Court because he feared for his life is beyond doubt; but the allegation that Cromwell was concerned in inspiring this fear is groundless, and it seems probable that but for the Scots' invasion and the rekindling of the Civil War in the following year, the

[1] *In these instructions it is recited that whereas the Privy Seal issued on 7 February, 1645, fixed the ordinary entertainment of the Resident at £2 per diem, the King was now pleased to increase that sum to the usual amount of £3.*

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King's weakness in adopting this course of action would not have done him any serious harm. Sir John Berkeley[1] and Mr. John Ashburnham both wrote defences of their conduct between 1650 and 1660, and it seems certain that the King forced the idea of escape on *them*, and that it was not suggested by them to him. Sir John Berkeley, already mentioned at page 379, was the youngest son of Sir Maurice Berkeley; he was born in February, 1607, and was knighted in July, 1638, and it is noteworthy that all the sons of Sir Maurice attained to the honour of knighthood. In 1643 he was Commander in Devon; he failed before Taunton, where he took over the command upon Sir R. Grenvile being wounded, and was obliged to surrender Exeter on 13 April, 1646. He then went to the Queen[2] at Paris, and was sent by her to the King at Hampton Court, and was unfortunately taken into council regarding the King's escape on the suggestion of Ashburnham that he ought to be consulted as the Queen's envoy. His rash approach of Colonel Hammond, and failure to act with firmness in the subsequent developments of this transaction, cost the King his liberty again; but there is no reason to suppose that anything worse should be laid to his charge. In his narrative Sir John Berkeley sought to put the whole blame of failure on Ashburnham, and it would seem to lie mainly on the shoulders of the latter. After this failure he returned again to France and became Governor of the Duke of York, with whom he served under Turenne. He proposed to the Countess of Morton (p. 385), but she refused to marry him under Sir Edward Hyde's advice. In 1658 he was made Lord Berkeley of Stratton, at the battle of which place he had distinguished himself; after the Restoration he became Master of the Ordnance and member of the Privy Council, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1670–2, and plenipotentiary at Nimeguen in 1676–7. He died in 1678, and the peerage became extinct in 1773.

John Ashburnham, Groom of the Chamber to Charles I and Treasurer of his army, was best known for his conduct in managing the escape of the King from Oxford, after which he was obliged to flee from Newcastle to the Queen in May, 1646. "From the time his majesty went last from London to the time he left Oxford to go to the Scots army," he writes in his narrative, "I will confidently assert I lived as painful and servile a life as any (who ever he was) of the meanest degree." A year later he returned to England under a pass of General Fairfax, and joined the King at Woburn Latimers, and was with him at Oatlands and Hampton Court. According to his narrative he was first in favour of the King's taking refuge in London, and upon the rejection of this plan, he suggested Sir John Oglander's house in the Isle of Wight, both because Colonel Hammond, the Governor, had protested against the army breaking word with the King, and because Lady Isabella Thynne had commended him. He admits in that narrative that he refused to stay at

[1] *In the MSS. the name is spelt Bartly.*

[2] *He was a great favourite with her, and she refers to him in correspondence as "Jack Barkely."*

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Carisbrook, when, according to him, Sir John Berkeley let out that the King was near, and that he accepted the Governor's proposal that all three should go together to the King; and Sir Philip Warwick records that the King said to him of this gentleman, "I do no way believe he was unfaithful to me; but I think he wanted courage at that time (which I interpreted His Majesty meant his not staying with the Governor) whom I never knew wanted it before." It seems probable that the plans for escape miscarried partly because of the urgency of the King's fears and partly because of the incompetence of his agents to make businesslike arrangements for it. In 1648 Ashburnham was removed from attendance on the King, and in May he was imprisoned in Windsor Castle. He remained in England during the Commonwealth, as he was married to the Dowager Lady Paulett. On the Restoration he was made Groom of the Bedchamber again, and became M.P. for Sussex, and was used as the agent to induce Secretary Nicholas to retire. He and Colonel Legge, the third servant of the King concerned in the escape from Hampton Court, remained friends of the Earl of Clarendon after his fall, and are specially mentioned as such by Evelyn. He died in 1671. His grandson was raised to the peerage in 1689 by King William III.

Page 47. § 2.

According to the *Memoirs*, Lady Fanshawe and her husband were in France again from November, 1647, to April, 1648, when they returned for the marriage of the eldest son of Sir Thomas Fanshawe (who succeeded his father as second viscount) with Katherine Ferrers, daughter of the wife of Sir Simon Fanshawe. This lady had died in 1642 (p. 296), and after her death the daughter, who was only fifteen years old at the time of her marriage, was brought up by Lady Capel Bedell, at Hamerton.[1] This place lies eight miles north-north-west of Huntingdon, which in turn is eight miles north of St. Neots. The latter, which would be on the road from Hamerton to London, was surprised by the Parliamentary forces on the morning of 10 July, 1648. The Earl of Holland and the Duke of Buckingham had rendezvoused between Ewell and Nonsuch Park on 4 July, hoping to make a diversion in favour of the besieged Royalists at Colchester, and had retreated north to St. Neots on the 8th, having lost Lord Francis Villiers at a skirmish near Kingston on the 7th, "when being too far engaged by his mettlesome courage (he) was taken prisoner, and refusing rebel's quarter, was basely killed by a mean rude hand" (Heath's *Chronicle*). He was remarkable for his beauty, and Vandyck's picture of the two handsome brothers as youths is among the most brilliant of

[1] *By her account Lady Fanshawe left her son Henry at nurse when only seven weeks old, as she had left her daughter Ann in Jersey at much the same age. This was the common practice of the day: as an instance of it may be quoted the case of the Duke of Ormonde, whose early years were spent under the care of a carpenter's wife at Hatfield.*

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all his English portraits. Among those killed on the Royalist side at St. Neots was a son of Sir Kenelm Digby (see p. 387). The Duke of Buckingham escaped during the confusion of the attack: but the Earl of Holland was captured and was executed at Palace Yard, Westminster, on 9 February, 1649, the same day as the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Capel. Hinchinbrook, the residence of Colonel Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich (see p. 547), lies close to Huntingdon on the west, and this fact probably accounts for his prompt appearance at St. Neots, from which he subsequently took his title as Baron Montagu.

To judge from Lady Fanshawe's account, her husband was not with her on this occasion. Presumably he had returned to France after his nephew's marriage, and apparently it was from France that he joined the Prince's fleet in the following month. How he reconciled this action with the oaths taken by him to the then Government at the time of compounding is difficult to see. Probably, like many other Royalists, he simply obeyed the fatal and perfidious orders of the King without question.

Page 48. § 2.

The adventures of the Prince of Wales with the portion of the fleet which deserted to him from the Parliament and was afterwards joined by Sir William Batten, whom he knighted, form a very romantic episode in the Civil War. Six ships in the Downs came over to the King's side on 27 May, 1648, and by their means the castles of Deal, Sandown, and Walmer were secured. Later they proceeded to Goree, in Holland, and were there joined by the Duke of York, and subsequently by the Prince of Wales. The latter was in Yarmouth Roads and the Downs at the end of July, with the idea of relieving the siege of Colchester, but soon returned south, and captured several rich London prizes. On 27 July a declaration on his behalf was issued from the fleet, signed by Lords Willoughby, Hopton, and Culpeper, and two days later a letter was addressed by the Prince to the Lord Mayor and citizens of London. Lord Lauderdale, who was also on the fleet, had come as an emissary to the Prince from the more moderate party in Scotland. Presumably Richard Fanshawe joined the Prince in August, and not in September, as Lady Fanshawe states, for the fleet finally left the Thames on the 31st of that month. It would have been interesting to have learnt how he managed to get on board the Prince's vessel if he did not sail with him from Goree. From an original paper in the Clarendon MSS., in the Bodleian, it appears that on 26 August the Prince's fleet was in the Downs expecting the Parliament fleet under the Earl of Warwick, to come out of the river. The next day his advisers wished to fall back to Holland, as the supplies of food and drink on board were utterly exhausted, but the seamen refused to follow the Prince's ship on this course, and he ultimately turned back. On 28 August the fleet made Long Sand Head, and the next day stood into the river, the Earl of Warwick falling back before it. By the evening it was within three

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miles of his ships, and the Prince sent a ketch with a message inviting him to desert the side of the Parliament. On the 30th both fleets weighed with the flood, and proceeded westwards as far as the mouth of the Medway, when the van of the Prince's fleet under Vice-Admiral Jordan got near the enemy and prepared to engage; but the wind suddenly changed to the north-west and blew with great violence, and both fleets were compelled to anchor at once. "This sudden storm," says the writer, "did demonstrate to us that God was unwilling to have any blood spilt." The next day the wind still blew strongly from the north-west, and as it was impossible to get at the Earl's fleet, though it was then only a mile distant, the Prince was compelled to retreat. There was on his ship at the time only one barrel of beer and no water, and there was an increasing chance of the Portsmouth fleet entering the river behind him and closing the way for escape. On the afternoon of the following day he landed once more at Goree, and Richard Fanshawe, no doubt, with him. Dr. Steward, who was on the fleet, wrote on the 17th September that the wind made the Earl of Warwick master of the situation throughout, and that none of his vessels offered to desert, as was expected: his fleet consisted of fifteen or sixteen vessels, and the Prince's of eleven, mounting 274 guns.

The writer of the account day by day records of the Prince that he "never saw a man more ready or willing to engage his person than he was; and when Sir William Batten and others came to him desiring him to go down, his answer was that he would never agree to, it being not for his honour; so that a resolution was taken if they came to engage to have carried him down by force." One cannot help wondering if King Charles II thought of this brave episode in the shameful month of June, 1667, when the Dutch guns at the mouth of the Medway were heard at Greenwich, and the flagship, the *Royal Charles*, was carried off by the victorious enemy.

Low is mentioned by Clarendon as a very voluble person, who was trusted by the Presbyterian party, and who came on a deputation from the City of London regarding the captured ships of that port. It was rumoured that he had brought money with him into the cabins of Lord Culpeper, Sir R. Long, and Sir W. Batten; but there seems to have been no solid foundation for the allegation of bribery, and it was quite clear that the fleet was obliged to fall back from absolute want of supplies.

Page 49. § 2.

If Lady Fanshawe left Paris for Holland at Christmas time, after spending six weeks there, she must have gone to the French capital in November and not in December, as stated in the *Memoirs*. But, as will be seen below, her recollection of dates connected with her husband's movements at this time was unusually defective, and it seems doubtful if she went to Holland at all. The reference to the *King*, then in Holland, is, of course, a slip for the *Prince of Wales* at the date given, viz. December, 1648.

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Queen Henrietta Maria, whom Lady Fanshawe mentions here for the first time as being acquainted with her—(she must, no doubt, have been presented to the Queen at Oxford in 1643-4; but perhaps the latter was then still no friend (*Memoirs*, p. 30) to Sir Richard)—was the youngest child of Henry IV of France by his wife Mary de Medici, and was born 25 November, 1609, seventeen months after Lady Fanshawe's husband. She was married to Charles I in June, 1625; left England for France in April, 1642; returned to England, landing at Bridlington, in the same month of the following year; arrived at Oxford on 14 July, 1643 (see p. 334), and left again, parting with her husband for the last time, on 17 April, 1644. On 16 June she gave birth to her daughter Henrietta Ann at Exeter, and leaving her baby there in the charge of Lady Dalkeith, she sailed from Falmouth on 14 July, and landed near Brest after a perilous voyage. The Sheriff of Cornwall, Sir Francis Basset, writing to his wife of her at the time of her departure, recorded: "Here is the woefullest spectacle my eyes ever yet looked on, the most worn pitiful creature in the world, the poor queen shifting for one hour's life longer."

The Queen's successful efforts to induce the Prince of Wales to quit Jersey for France have been noticed at page 372, and her letter commending Richard Fanshawe to the Marquis of Ormonde is given on page 389. Another point of connexion between her and the Fanshawe family during her exile was the reception by Lord Hatton, Sir Richard's first cousin, of the Duke of Gloucester, when his mother so harshly drove him from her house, in 1654, upon his courageous refusal to break his promise to his father and adopt the Roman Catholic religion.

Lady Fanshawe met the Queen-Mother abroad for a second time, two years later (*Memoirs*, p. 74), on her return from Spain, a third time at Colombes, nine years later, again in November, 1659 (*Memoirs*, p. 92), and, finally, at Chaillot in November, 1666 (*Memoirs*, p. 201). She and Sir Richard also waited on the Queen in Somerset House in the autumn and winter of 1663-4 (*Memoirs*, pp. 121, 122). Henrietta Maria had returned to England in October, 1660, and left again in January, 1661, for the marriage of her daughter to the Duke of Orleans; going back once more, for the last time, in July, 1662, she left finally on 24, June, 1665, on account of the plague. On the first occasion Pepys, writing of her under the date of 22 November, 1660, noted: "The Queen (is) a very little plain old woman and nothing more in her presence in any respect or garb than an ordinary woman. The Princess Henrietta very pretty, but much below my expectation; and her dressing of herself with her hair frizzed short to her ears did make her seem so much the less to me." How changed the mother must have been from the youthful Queen of whom Howell wrote: "A lovely and lasting complexion, a dark brown; she hath eyes that sparkle like stars; and for her physiognomy she may be said to be a mirror of perfection."

In his lines upon her repairing to Somerset House, her private secretary, Abraham Cowley, wrote of the structure:—

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"My front looks down
On all the Pride and Business of the Town.
. . . . . .
My other fair and more majestic face
(Who can the fair to more advantage place?)
For ever gazes on its self below
In the best mirror that the world can show."

The Queen-Mother died at Colombes on 10 September, 1669, from the effects of a dose of opium.[1] As a child of the Grand Henri she was buried at St. Denys, her heart being deposited at Chaillot, where, on 16 November, Bossuet preached his famous funeral sermon upon her, in which he summed up her life as follows: "Combien de fois a-t-elle en ce lieu (au couvent de Chaillot) remercié Dieu humblement de deux graces—l'une de l'avoir faite Chrétienne, l'autre—messieurs qu'attendez vous? Peut-être d'avoir retabli les affaires du Roi son fils. Non, c'est de l'avoir faite Reine malheureuse."[2] And Mademoiselle de Motteville recorded: "La dernière fois que j'ai eu l'honneur de la voir, elle nous dit qu'elle allait s'établir à Chaillot pour y mourir."

It is somewhat curious that so ardent a Royalist as Lady Fanshawe should not have mentioned the death of either the Queen-Mother or of her daughter, the Duchess of Orleans (d. 15 June, 1670) in her *Memoirs*, but neither does she mention those of the Princess of Orange and Duke of Gloucester of small-pox at Whitehall in the winter of 1660.

The Princess Henrietta Ann was born on 16 June, 1644, in Exeter, and was[3] baptized in the Cathedral there on 21 July. It may be assumed that Sir Richard Fanshawe saw her there in the summer of 1645, when he visited Exeter with her brother, the Prince of Wales. She was two years older than Lady Fanshawe's daughter Nan, and was four and a half years of age in December, 1648. On the surrender of Exeter in April, 1646, she was taken to Oatlands by Lady Dalkeith, and from thence conveyed to France at

[1] *An epigrammatist wrote at the time of her, of her husband, and of her father:—*

"Tous trois sont morts par assassin,
Ravaillac, Cromwell, et médécin."

[2] *At an earlier date Cowley had written of her in his "Ode on the Restoration":—*

"God has a bright example made of thee
To show that womankind may be
Above that sex which her superior seems
In wisely managing the wide extremes
Of great affliction, great felicity."

[3] *The quaint Thomas Fuller was appointed Chaplain to the Princess, and dedicated his "Good Thoughts in Bad Times" to the Countess of Morton (Lady Dalkeith).*

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the end of July. The Princess came with her mother to London in October, 1660, and returned to France in January, 1661, and was married at the chapel of the Palais Royal to the Duke of Orleans on 30 March following, after which she was known as Madame. She came to Dover again eight and a half months after her mother's death, and there completed the Treaty named after that place on 1 June, 1670: her picture, which was presented to the city of Exeter, and still hangs in the ancient Town Hall there, was painted on this occasion, when Charles II also gave his sister two thousand crowns to erect a chapel to the memory of their mother at Chaillot. On the last day of the same month she was poisoned in Paris: of the cause of her death there is not the least doubt, though her husband is considered by historians to be free from guilt in connexion with it. "Vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas" was the text of Bossuet's funeral sermon preached on 21 August, and never did that text apply more aptly to any case. The love of her brother Charles II for her was one of the few bright features of a life of selfishness and heartlessness.

Lady Morton, who as Lady Dalkeith was governess of the Princess Henrietta from the time of her birth in Exeter, and who at the end of July, 1646, conveyed her little charge from Oatlands to the Queen—carrying her on her back all the way to Dover in the disguise, much resented by the child, of a beggar brat[1]—was the daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, half-brother of the first Duke of Buckingham, and was married to Lord Dalkeith, son of the eighth Earl of Morton, who became ninth earl upon his father's death in August, 1648. He died in November of the following year, whereupon Lady Morton's eldest son became tenth earl; the second son was subsequently Master of the Horse to the Princess Henrietta. The above facts explain the following allusions in Waller's very graceful "Ode for New-Year's Day addressed to my Lady Morton":—

> "Madam, new years may well expect to find
> Welcome from you to whom they are so kind.
> . . . . .
> To the fair Villiers we Dalkeith prefer,
> And fairest Morton is much like to her.
> . . . . .
> When thro' the guards, the river and the sea,
> Faith, beauty, wit and courage made their way."

Lady Dalkeith met with but little consideration at the hands of the Queen, who having herself deserted her baby when only a few weeks old, was out-

[1] *Sir R. Browne, writing on 17 August, 1646, from Paris, records: "I was yesterday at St. Germain to kiss the sweet little Princess Henrietta's hands; the manner of Lady Dalkeith's bringing Her Highness from Oatlands is a pretty romance."*

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rageously angry with her guardian for not having escaped[1] from Exeter before that place was surrendered, and who did her best, and made her little daughter also do her best, to induce this faithful servant to change her religion. In this persecution she was greatly supported by the counsels of Sir Edward Hyde, who was deeply attached to her, and who was anxious that Lord Hopton should marry her daughter. Lady Morton left the Queen in 1651, and died in December, 1654, in Scotland. Sir Edward Hyde wrote her many delightful letters, in which both appear in a very charming light, and several full of resentment against compounding Royalists. He recorded of her in May, 1647, that she was "the best woman living, whose friendship I am more proud to be admitted to than I can be of any other good fortune (that) can befall me; and to whom if my friendship hath not been perfect, it hath been for want of virtue, for the little store I had I gave entirely to it." Evelyn mentions visits to Lady Morton on 7 October, 1649, and 1 November, 1650. In the editions of the *Memoirs* published in 1829–30, Lady Morton is called Lady Norton, and Lady Denbigh Lady Danby; and the sentence "My eldest daughter—many toys" is omitted.

Lady Denbigh was the wife of William Fielding, first Earl Denbigh, whom she married in 1607, and youngest sister of the first Duke of Buckingham. The Earl served in Prince Rupert's Regiment, and died of wounds received in an attack on Birmingham in April, 1643; he was with the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Buckingham in Madrid, and served in the unlucky expeditions against Cadiz and Rhé. He also visited India in 1631—a rare feat for an English nobleman in those days. His son fell at the second battle of Newbury. Lady Denbigh became a Roman Catholic in 1651, and died about 1655. She was patroness of the poet Crashaw, and in her care Margaret Godolphin, the close friend of John Evelyn, was brought up after the death of her mother. Her third daughter married Viscount Kynalmeakey, second son of the first Earl of Cork, and in July, 1660, was created Countess of Guildford; she died in 1667. In the previous year Lady Fanshawe had received through Lady Guildford passes procured by the Queen-Mother for her on her husband's death to enable her to travel through France (*Memoirs*, p. 200).

Mr. Waller, the poet and parliamentary orator, had been in exile in France ever since the miscarriage of the Waller Plot in May, 1643, for which he nearly lost his life, saving it only by abject submission, and turning traitor to the Royalist cause; his escape, and the permission which he obtained to return to England in 1651, are believed to have been largely due to the interest of Cromwell, with whom he was connected through Hampden.

Evelyn notes at Eastertide, 1644, in Venice, that he had met the Earl of Arundel and Mr. Waller, "the celebrated poet, now newly gotten out of England, after the Parliament had extremely worried him for attempting

[1] *She was detained there by the Prince of Wales' Council, who rightly felt that the people of Exeter could not be expected to prolong the struggle for the Royal cause if deserted by all the Royal Family.*

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to put into execution the commission of array, and for which the rest of his colleagues were hanged by the rebels."

He sat in the House of Commons at the age of seventeen, was Member for St. Ives in the Long Parliament, in which he voted against the attainder of Strafford, and for Hastings in 1661. His poems were first published in 1645, but they had been widely known long previously. He was only two years older than Richard Fanshawe, and died in 1687 at the age of eighty-one. Lady Fanshawe mentions on page 77 the christening of a daughter of his at Paris. Clarendon writes most severely of him:—

"His excellent wit and pleasant conversation were enough to cover a world of faults, viz. a narrowness in his nature to the lowest degree; an abjectness and want of courage to support him in any undertaking; an insinuation and servile flattery to the highest the vainest and most imperious nature could be contented with; that it pressed and won his life from those who were most resolved to take it, and in an occasion in which he ought to have been ambitious to have lost it, and then preserved him again from the reproach and contempt that was due to him for so preserving it and vindicating it at such a price; that it had the power to reconcile him to those whom he had most offended and provoked; and continuing to his age with that rare felicity that his company was acceptable where his spirit was odious, and he was at least pitiful where he was most detested."

His lines on the death of Oliver Cromwell are well known. Some of those in the "Panegyrick on the Protector" are very fine, as

> "Ours is the harvest where the Indians mow,
> We plough the deep and reap what others sow."

His verses on the death of Charles Cavendish, brother of the Marquis of Newcastle, are also very noble lines.

Page 50. § 2.

The Earl of Strafford was William, second Earl, born 1626, who left England after the execution of his father, and remained abroad until 1652 (see p. 427). The letter addressed by the first Earl to his son on the eve of his death is remarkable for its nobility of tone. Richard Fanshawe had probably first made the acquaintance of the latter when serving under his father in Ireland in 1640. The son was restored to all his estates and rights on the Restoration, and was made K.G. in 1661, and dying in 1696 was buried in York minster.

Sir Kenelm Digby was perhaps the most extraordinary enigma of his age, and equally so in war and love, in religion and studies. Evelyn considered him an arrant quack, and noted that he was "a teller of strange things." Son of one of the conspirators of Gunpowder Plot, he was bred a Roman Catholic, and having been at Madrid with Prince Charles was made Master of the Horse to Queen Henrietta Maria, and at her request he was released by

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Parliament from imprisonment in 1643. After being sent as delegate to Rome in 1645–7, and employed to obtain favourable conditions for the Roman Catholics, he was allowed to return to England in 1654, and became intimate with Oliver Cromwell. He went abroad again in 1655 and remained there till the Restoration, when he was again made Chancellor to the Queen Dowager. He died in 1665. He had applied to the Speaker of the House of Commons on 30 September, 1648, for permission to return from abroad on the grounds of the age of his mother and his distracted affairs, and possibly he was awaiting the result of this application in Calais.[1] He did enter England in August, 1649, but had to leave again immediately. Clarendon writes of him :—

"Sir Kenelm Digby was a person very eminent and notorious throughout the whole course of his life from his cradle to his grave; of an ancient family and noble extraction; and inherited a fair and plentiful fortune notwithstanding the attainder of his father. He was a man of a very extraordinary person and presence . . . a wonderful, graceful behaviour, a flowing courtesy and civility, and such a volubility of language as surprised and delighted. . . . He had a fair reputation in arms. . . . In a word he had all the advantages that nature and art and an excellent education could give him, which with a great confidence and presentness of mind buoyed him up against all those prejudices and disadvantages which would have oppressed or sunk any other man, but never clouded or eclipsed him from appearing in the best places and the best company with the best estimation and satisfaction."

That he kept up his interest in pseudo-scientific favourites after the Restoration is proved by a letter of Sir Richard Fanshawe to him from Lisbon dated 21–31 March, 1663, in which the ambassador regrets that he cannot send him the seed pearls or honey from Algarves desired by him.

The belief regarding the birth of the barnacle goose from the limpet of that name was common in the seventeenth century. Sir Thomas Browne mentions it in his *Vulgar Errors* as one requiring further investigation; but Du Bartas in his *Divine Works*, Gerard in his *Herbal* (A.D. 1597), and a paper published by the Royal Society in 1678, refer seriously to the alleged fact. (See Saunders, *Illustrated Manual of British Birds*, 1889, p. 398.) Whether Butler's allusion to it in the following lines in *Hudibras* is serious, may perhaps be doubted :—

[1] *It is possible also that this meeting with Sir Kenelm Digby may have been on the occasion of his going to England mentioned by Mr. Julian Corbett in his "Life of Monk" (page 56), when Dr. Winstead, a Roman Catholic residing at Rouen, discovered from his conversation that there was an idea of the Catholics in Ireland conspiring with the Independents to sacrifice the King's cause in return for religious toleration. The news of this was at once sent to Secretary Nicholas, and a warning was forwarded to the Marquis of Ormonde. If so, Sir Kenelm Digby must have talked wildly during this ourney upon other subjects than those of natural history.*

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"For saints in Place degenerate
And dwindle down to reprobate—
And from the most refin'd of Saints
As naturally grow miscreants,
As Barnacles turn Soland Geese
I the' islands of the Orcades."

Part III, c. II, l. 643.

Page 51. § 1.

Lady Fanshawe was nearly as unlucky in her voyages as the unfortunate Henrietta Maria. She was very ill and sick on her way to the Scilly Islands in 1646,—was like to be cast away on this occasion in 1648,—had a very hazardous voyage to Ireland five months later,—was in danger of capture by a Sallee Rover when escaping from Ireland to Spain (*Memoirs*, p. 64)—nearly foundered, and was shipwrecked in coming from St. Sebastian to Nantes (p. 70),—was detained by bad weather for fourteen days at Tor Bay on her way to Spain in 1664 (p. 125), and had a dangerous passage from Bilbao to Bayonne in October, 1666, on leaving Spain for the last time (p. 200).

A hoy was a small vessel rigged as a sloop and employed in carrying passengers and goods, particularly in short distances on the sea-coast. It acquired its name from stopping when called to from the shore to take up goods and passengers. In Holland the hoy had two masts, in England but one, where the mainsail is sometimes extended by a boom, and is sometimes without it. (Admiral W. H. Smyth's *Sailor's Word Book*.)

The Prince of Orange was born eight days after the death of his father, on 4 November, 1650, or nearly two years after the date indicated by Lady Fanshawe. Perhaps the inclusion of this notice here was a mistake on the part of the transcriber of the MSS., which was not detected by the authoress.

It would seem probable from the narrative of the *Memoirs* at this point that Lady Fanshawe was in England, and perhaps therefore in London at the time of the execution of the King, as she does not mention being abroad between December, 1648, when she left Paris, and May, 1649, when she arrived at Youghall.

Page 51. § 3.

The Ormonde Papers in the Carte Collection, both published and in MSS., in the Bodleian, fortunately supply fuller details of Richard Fanshawe's employment in Ireland from the end of 1648 to the beginning of 1650, the early part of which is strangely passed over by Lady Fanshawe. From these we learn that he was sent to Ireland in November, 1648, and arrived there between the 17th and 27th. The Marquis of Ormonde had landed at Cork on 29 September, 1648, and on 10 October the Prince of Wales wrote thus to him from the Hague:—

"I have now sent this gentleman Mr. Fanshawe fully instructed in all things I have to say to you (whom I have expressly chosen for this employ-

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ment as a person well known to you, and in whom I know you have a particular confidence). He will acquaint you that I mean to send the whole fleet into Munster as soon as it can be victualled and fitted for the voyage. . . . In all other things I entreat you to give credit to Mr. Fanshawe and to direct him in all that he is to do by his instructions for His Majesty's Service in that Kingdom. And so wishing you all happiness and good success,

"I remain etc.,

"CHARLES P."

On 13 October the Prince wrote a second and autograph letter to the Marquis:—

"My Lord, you will understand the condition I am in and all my affairs by this bearer and this (*sic*) despatches which are so full that I shall not need to give myselfe or you much more troble (*sic*) by this, than only to recomend to you this bearer as a persone of whose fidellities and parts I have had good experence, and that I may not lose any opportunity to tell you what a confidence I have in your affection and service to the King and my selfe, and how justly therefore I am, my Lord, your most affectionate friend, CHARLES P.— (Carte Papers, Vol. XXII, p. 376.)

Sir Edward Nicholas, Sir George Radcliffe, and Sir Edward Hyde writing to Ormonde a few days later, anticipated the early departure of Mr. Fanshawe, but for some reason this was delayed, and on 25 October the following interesting letter regarding him was written by the Queen-Mother from Paris to the Marquis and Lord Lieutenant (Carte Papers, Vol. XXII, p. 434.) (The phonetic spelling of the Queen's French is truly wonderful).

"Mon cousin ce porteur Sir Wilham (*sic*) Fanshaw vous allant trouver de la part de mon fils, et pasant par ysy je ne hay voulu lesser aller sans vous dire que jay commandé a jermin (Lord Jermyn) de vous écrire au long tout ce que jay envoyé a mon fils dans une despeche sept jour quoi je me remembrai ahey. Seulement je vous diray que nous navons plus desperance que dans Hirlande et jespere que les premieres nouvelles que joray (j'aurai) de vous seront une bonne conclusion là. Je suis assurée que vous y aporterez tout ce qui despend de vous, et que je nora point de ma faulte, comme je vous prie de croyre quil niora (n'aura) jamais de la mienne, de vous faire paroitre en toutes occasions comne je suis avec toutes sortes de sincerite votre tres bonne et affectione cousine, HENRIETTE MARIE R."

This letter shows that Fanshawe was in Paris at the end of October, and must have left early in November, as Secretary Nicholas, writing to Ormonde on 12 November, states he was about to sail from St. Malo for Wexford. On 27 November the Marquis of Ormonde, writing to the Prince of Wales from Cork, refers to Mr. Fanshawe as having come; and in pressing on the Prince the importance of the early arrival of the fleet, "and if it be possible, of your personal presence here likewise," adds that Mr. Fanshawe has been

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instructed to allege that the fleet will come directly with the Duke of York, and he believes with the Prince of Wales. In December, Fanshawe had been sent by the Marquis to Lord Inchiquin, and the former was expecting him at Kilkenny. On 29 January, 1649, the fleet under Prince Rupert reached Kinsale, and Fanshawe, who had been appointed Treasurer at War to it, went to that place. Sir E. Hyde, writing to him from the Hague on 21 January, 1649, attributed its sailing to Prince Rupert's efforts, and added, "I know I need not charge you to perform all offices towards preserving a right understanding between his Highness and the Lord Lieutenant." But besides his duty with the fleet, Fanshawe was soon afterwards charged by the Marquis of Ormonde to return to the Prince of Wales, and we find him writing[1] from Kinsale, on 13 February, in reply to the letter of the latter (in which it was said, "it is a most sad and confirmed truth that our great and good King hath suffered death under the tyranny and inhumanity of his traitorous vassals") that he was disposing himself to go to Holland. On 14 February he wrote again from Kinsale to George Lane, Ormonde's secretary, and on the 20th again to the Marquis saying he had sent a full account of the state of things in Ireland to the young King through England.[2] On 21 February the Marquis, writing from Carrick, addressed a letter to the King upon his succession, concluding, "To which end together with my most humble and hearty acknowledgment of your Majesty's succession, I offer at your feet my life and the utmost of my endeavours. The bearer, Mr. Fanshawe, will inform your Majesty in the state of affairs here, and offer unto you the desires and humble opinion of your Majesty's etc., ORMONDE." On 2 March Fanshawe wrote to Ormonde from Kinsale, "I propose to embark to-morrow with a squadron of the fleet from this port taking my chance to meet ships at sea to give us intelligence where his Majesty is" (Council Book of the Corporation of Kinsale); and on 5 March Ormonde wrote to Nicholas:—

"I have by Mr. Fanshawe (who I hope is before now gone towards the King from Kinsale) offered to His Majesty some of these conceptions and also besought him that the government of this kingdom (by what Governor or council he sees fit) may be speedily settled." The memoranda which the Marquis addressed to the King on 21 February will be found at page 264 of Vol. VII of Gilbert's *History of the Confederation and War in Ireland*, 1646–9. They throw so important a light upon the then existing state of things in Ireland as to deserve reproduction here:—

"Particulars recommended unto Mr. Fanshawe to be presented to His Majesty:

"1. His Majesty's approbation and confirmation of the peace, together with

[1] *The seal used by Fanshawe on nearly all his letters in Ireland was that of the plain Fanshawe coat of arms, of three fleur de lys and a plain chevron, with a martlet at the apex of the chevron for difference, and the simple dragon crest.*

[2] *On the news of the tragic end of the King reaching Kinsale all the fleet went into mourning, "and displayed black-jacks, ensigns and pendants."*

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an assurance that all the articles thereof shall be performed for matter and time as the same is undertaken, and as there shall be possibility for it; this to be by letter to the chief governor for the time being.

"2. That His Majesty shall declare his pleasure touching the government of this kingdom, and that he be pleased to settle the same by authentic authorities to a chief governor, to appoint a settled council, with all other necessary officers of State, of judicature, and ministerial officers, in all which His Majesty may be pleased to take into consideration the articles of peace, and the obligation thereby on His Majesty to advance some of the Roman Catholics. And that His Majesty please to think of a proclamation requiring all officers whatsoever depending upon this state, by a time certain to repair to some place in this kingdom under His Majesty's obedience. And in case they fail by that time to appear and make their application to the chief governor, that in such case their places will be disposed of, the good government of the kingdom and His Majesty's service necessarily requiring the same.

"3. That a great seal of this kingdom, a sword and maces, be immediately made and sent hither, and that a Chancellor[1] or commissioners of the great seal be chosen.

"4. That His Majesty would accompany his authority for the government with full instructions for the same to the chief governor and council jointly.

"5. That His Majesty would be pleased by positive instructions to regulate all matters of the sea, giving the chief governor what authority he shall judge fit to employ such of His Majesty's ships as shall be upon this coast for the service upon occasion, as in all times hath been accustomed, either by his immediate authority or by direction for the Admiral in England.

"6. That His Majesty, having regard to the articles of peace, be pleased authenticly to settle an orderly court of admiralty, and to declare his pleasure touching His Majesty's dues out of prizes brought in and adjudged in this kingdom, whether the same shall not be understood to be part of his casual revenue of this kingdom, and accordingly to be brought into His Majesty's receipts thereof, to be disposed of by like warrant, and for the same uses of His Majesty's service, as the rest of like revenue is to be, and whether custom is to be paid out of prizes or no, and whether prizes taken by ships set forth by merchantmen having commission shall pay as the king's ships do or no.

"7. That His Majesty would be pleased not to engage himself in promises of places honours or estates here until he receive information as well of the merits of these his father's ancient servants having interest in this kingdom or having served in it, as well as of the value of the things desired; and that His Majesty would be pleased to remember that I was by him, as well as by his late Majesty, authorised to undertake for such kinds of rewards to such as I should find

[1] *This would seem to show that the Earl of Roscommon* ("*Memoirs*," *p.* 56) *was made Chancellor between* 21 *February and November*, 1649.

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useful for the bringing the peace to pass, by which means the same was much advanced. And I remain obliged in some particulars, which I trust His Majesty will be graciously pleased to ratify; and it is possible that for the gaining of other persons and places yet in opposition to His Majesty's authority, it may be necessary to make further promises of like rewards.

"8. That His Majesty would be pleased to get sent over three or four good common lawyers, whereof as many as may be of such as are acquainted with this kingdom."

Nicholas, writing from Havre on 19 April to Ormonde, says he has no news of Mr. Fanshawe's arrival in Holland; but this must have been due to defective sources of information, as the King, writing to the Marquis from the Hague on 12 April, says: "I have no more to say to you of the publick; but I have a particular to command to you, that you will have a care of Fanshawe who is a very honest man, and an able man, of whom I need say little because he is so well known to you. I would be glad if you could find somewhat in the kingdom to bestow upon him. Be assured you do not more desire to have me with you, than I to be there" (Carte's *Letters of Ormonde*, Vol. I, p. 266). When Fanshawe reached Ireland again is not quite clear; but the Marquis of Ormonde addressed a letter to him on 30 April directing him to put Prince Rupert in mind that the Lord Lieutenant was to receive a sum of money, and saying he would take goods and stores if money was not forthcoming, so he must have been back by then; and in a letter of May Secretary Nicholas forwarded an extract of a London newspaper of the date of 22 April, stating, "Mr. Fanshawe is Treasurer at War." His wife and family arrived at Youghall early in May, as a letter to Lord Inchiquin of the 7th of that month forwarded an enclosure from Robert Southwell to the effect that, "Yesterday my father came from Youghall where John Pym arrived the night before in a small vessel from Bristol with about 100 passengers, the Lady Butler, Mrs. Fanshawe, and Mrs. Mordake" (Council Book of the Corporation of Kinsale, p. xlii). In May, July, September, and October, various letters were addressed by Fanshawe to Ormonde from Youghall, Cork, and Kinsale, the Treasurer being actively engaged in seeking to provision and man the fleet so as to enable it to put to sea. All his efforts, however, proved fruitless, and Prince Rupert absolutely declined to make any effort to prevent troops being passed from England to Dublin, where Cromwell arrived with the last of large reinforcements on 15 August, having set sail from Milford two days previously. According to Hugh Peters, the General suffered most unheroically from severe sea-sickness—an incident which would doubtless have gladdened the heart of Lady Fanshawe! A few days after that date, viz. on 20–30 August, a letter from Mr. Robert Long at St. Germains forwarded an order from the King that Mr. Fanshawe should "repair at once to San Sebastian there to meet Lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde Ambassadors to the Court of Spain and to obey their instructions." These orders, however, did not reach him till after a long interval; though they must have come into his hands before the revolt of Cork on 16 October, which is the time of

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their arrival indicated by Lady Fanshawe (*Memoirs*, p. 56), and apparently he then felt bound to complete his duties in connexion with the fleet before considering himself at liberty to act upon them. This brings the narrative down to the revolt of Cork, nearly six months after Lady Fanshawe had landed in Ireland.

Page 51. § 3.

Where the £300 a year which Lady Fanshawe sold to Judge Archer came from is not clear. Her husband had no such income after losing the post of Remembrancer, and her father was overwhelmed with debts, and her dowry would seem not to have been paid at this time (*Memoirs*, p. 26). Judge Archer, who was M.P. for Essex in Cromwell's Parliament in 1656, was made a judge in 1659, and reappointed a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in November, 1663. In 1672 he was forbidden to sit as Judge (!), and ten years later he died.

Page 52. § 2.

Lady Fanshawe resided in the confiscated religious house of the Red Abbey of Cork presumably from the middle of May, 1649, to 16 October, when the garrison rose in favour of Parliament. The abbey lay outside the limits of the city at that time, about two hundred yards from the south branch of the river Lee. The tower of the church, reproduced from a photograph by Messrs. Guy, is the only part of the abbey which now remains; it rises in Red Abbey Street on the east side of Mary Street, which leads south from Parliament Bridge. The abbey, which was an Augustinian house, was founded by Patrick Courcey, Baron of Kinsale, in 1420.

Michael Boyle (who after the Restoration was made Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, next in 1663 Archbishop of Dublin, and finally in 1673 Archbishop of Armagh) was in 1649 Dean of Cloyne and Chaplain-General to the British army in Munster. He was son of the Archbishop of Tuam and nephew of the Bishop of Waterford, and he was married to a sister of Lord Inchiquin. He was employed in negotiating with Cromwell terms for the Protestants under his brother-in-law, and incurred the anger of Ormonde by presuming to procure for him a pass to leave the country. He was made Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1665, and retained that office till 1685. He died in 1702 at the great age of ninety-three. The second Lord Clarendon, writing as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, spoke of him in 1685 as follows: "No one is perfect, but every one here who is acquainted with the affairs of this country must own him to be an able man and to have done the crown good service in the worst of times." His eldest son was created Lord Blessington in 1673.

Lord Inchiquin, Murrough O'Brien, known as Murrough of the Burnings from his great cruelties, was born in 1614, and was therefore six years younger than Richard Fanshawe. He married the daughter of Sir William Leger,

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President of Munster, was Vice-President under him, and became President himself in 1642. As such he defeated General Barry, and upon the armistice of 1643 several of his regiments were sent to England for the King's service. Neglected by the Court when he visited Oxford in 1644, he went over to the Parliament side, and held Munster for that side in 1647–8. His storm of the Rock of Cashel in September, 1647, branded him for ever with his countrymen; in November of the same year he utterly defeated Lord Taafe, and followed up the defeat by a ruthless massacre. In April of the latter year he rejoined the Royal cause; but he had come to be detested by the Irish Roman Catholics, and was distrusted by the English Protestants, and in spite of his ability and energy he seems to have proved one of the principal causes of Ormonde's failure in Ireland. In July, 1649, he captured Dundalk; in November he made a gallant attempt to cut off a convoy of Cromwell's in the Arklow Hills, and later on suffered a severe repulse in an attack on Carrick-on-Suir. At the end of the year and early in 1650 he was at Kilmallock and in Kerry; in December he left Ireland with the Marquis of Ormonde and went to France. He was added to the King's Council in 1652, and made Earl of Inchiquin in 1654; he became a Lieutenant-General in the French service, and as such was Governor of Catalonia, then held by the French, in 1655–7. During this service he became a Roman Catholic. In 1659 he was captured by Sallee Rovers off Lisbon, whither he was proceeding to take command of the Portuguese troops against the Spaniards. He was shortly released by the intervention of the Dey of Algiers; but his son was detained as a hostage, and a ransom of 7500 dollars was demanded for him, and was paid by the English Government. On the Restoration he had been made High Steward to Queen Henrietta Maria, and Pepys, who saw him in December, 1660, describes him as "a very fine person." In July, 1662, he went to Portugal in command of the troops lent by Charles II to his brother-in-law, and there Lady Fanshawe met him again (*Memoirs*, p. 105.) While there he fell under the suspicion of designing to transfer these troops to the Spanish service, and he returned to England in 1663. An interesting letter dated 29 February in that year, from him to Sir R. Fanshawe, who writes of him as Lord Insiquin, will be found at page 127 of the Heathcote MSS., Historical MSS. Commission, 1899. His brother, General O'Brien, was put under arrest on the charge of tampering with the English troops, and was for a time in custody in the Tower of Belem. His religion prevented his being reappointed President of Munster, but he lived there in amity with his old rival, Lord Broghill, residing at Rostellan Castle on the east side of Queenstown harbour till his death in 1674, two years before these *Memoirs* were faired. His son, who was Governor of Tangier for the five years preceding its surrender, must have had many opportunities of further close acquaintance with Sallee Rovers. The daughter, to whom Lady Fanshawe stood sponsor, died young, and is not named in the family pedigree. Her name appears to have been Ellena. In the MSS. of the *Memoirs* it reads Elhena, and in the publication of 1829–30 it was given as Elkena.

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Page 53. § 1.

The flagship and six frigates of the fleet of Prince Rupert escaped from Kinsale, where it was long blockaded by the ships of Colonel Robert Blake on 29 October, according to Colonel Deane's letter below, and on 24 October according to Heath's *Chronicle*, the Parliamentary vessels being compelled by a storm to quit their station. Richard Fanshawe had reported from Cork to the Marquis of Ormonde, on 8 October, that the Prince was hastening to sea. Two vessels of the Royalist fleet were left behind without guns; but this still leaves three to be accounted for out of the list of twelve at Kinsale in June. The Prince made his way to Lisbon and was blockaded again there by his redoubtable opponent, and did not make his final escape till a year later. He then went to Toulon and afterwards to the Azores and Barbados, conducting himself everywhere as a common pirate. This he proposed to do before leaving Kinsale; as writing to the Marquis of Ormonde on 11 September—the day after the fall of Drogheda—he said that he would be prepared to bring the King within a fortnight, and added, "if the King has no other service for us, we must follow our trade." No doubt the Prince's difficulties with the fleet were very great; but it would seem as if he might at least have supplied the Marquis of Ormonde with some funds, of which he stood in the direst need.

Prince Maurice and several vessels of the fugitive fleet were lost off the Virgin Isles on 14 September, 1652. For some years after the Restoration there were rumours that he had escaped drowning, and fruitless search was made for him and members of his crews. Certain papers in this connexion will be found among the Heathcote Papers, so often referred to in these notes.

It is curious that Lady Fanshawe never mentions Prince Rupert after the Restoration, when he returned to England in October, 1660. He was only six years older than she was, and was but twenty-three when the Civil War opened, twenty-five at the time of his defeat at Marston Moor, and now twenty-nine when in command of the Royalist fleet at Kinsale; and he was still well under fifty when he commanded against the Dutch in 1665. His mother, in sending him to his uncle, spoke of him as Robert[1] Le Diable, and his animosities with many of the leading Royalists probably tended more to the detriment of the King's cause than his gallant bearing and soldierly abilities benefited it. Sir Richard Fanshawe must have known him well at Oxford and on the fleet in 1648, as well as at Kinsale; and Sir Simon Fanshawe was in his company at Newark in 1645. The Parliament refused him a pass to go abroad then; but this was granted after the fall of Oxford, and he left Dover on 5 July, 1646.

[1] *Lady Fanshawe refers to him as Prince Robert, and this is a common form of his name in the papers of the day. The papers of the popular side called him Prince Robber.*

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Page 53. § 1.

Well might Lady Fanshawe say that Cromwell marched hotly over Ireland, and justly might Dryden record of his victorious progresses in the Heroic Stanzas on his death :—

> Swift and resistless thro' the land he past,
> Like that bold Greek who did the East subdue,
> And made to battle such heroic haste,
> As if on wings of victory he flew.

Arrived at Dublin on 15 August, the Lord-General reviewed his troops on the 31st, started the next day for Drogheda with a force of 10,000 men, appeared before that place on 3 September, began the bombardment of it on the 9th, and took it the next day with awful slaughter. After the fall of Drogheda, Ormonde wrote to the King :—

"It is not to be imagined how great the terror is that these successes and the power of the Rebels have struck into the people, which though they know themselves designed at first to the loss of all they have . . . are yet so stupefied that it is with great difficulty I can persuade them to act anything like men towards their own preservation. . . . What we conceive is best for him (Cromwell) to do . . . is to advance towards Kilkenny as to the place of greatest reputation, or else to Wexford, Ross, and Duncannon Fort, which are seaports to which he may transport his substance. He cannot but know that none of all these places are able to hold out by their own strength, without the countenance of an army that may fight him upon the passages . . . with whatever I can make, I shall be forced to hazard a day with him in the most advantageous place I can light on, else all the places he shall but appear before will yield on the first summons ; and if he be allowed to advance towards Cork and other places held by those formerly under Lord Inchiquin's command, he will find them as weak as any, and I doubt more willingly ready to submit to him."

From which it may be seen that if the Marquis of Ormonde was, owing to the hopeless position in which he was placed, unable to effect anything to really check the great General's progress, he saw very clearly what he ought to attempt to do, and what would happen if he failed to do it.

Marching again from Dublin on 23 September, Cromwell took Arklow on the 28th, encamped before Wexford on 1 October, and took the place, in spite of Ormonde's efforts outside it, with another terrible slaughter, on the 11th. On the 15th, the day before the successful revolt of Cork and Lady Fanshawe's retreat to Kinsale, he left Wexford, and on the 16th he received the surrender of Ross. There and in the neighbourhood he was detained some time, and appeared before Waterford on 24 November. That place standing on its defence owing to the Lord Lieutenant's encouragement, he fell back on Youghall, where the garrison had revolted, about the end of October, and settled there on 5 December. In Youghall, General Jones,

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who had defended Dublin so successfully against the Marquis of Ormonde, died, and was buried in the vault of the Earl of Cork. From Youghall, Cromwell visited Cork and Kinsale, from which Lady Fanshawe and her husband had retired north. On 29 January, 1650, while they were still in Galway he broke up his winter quarters, took Fethard on 2 February, then Callan' and Cahir, the latter on 24[1] February; besieged Kilkenny on 22 March, and received the surrender of it on the 28th; besieged Clonmell on 27 April, and received its surrender on 18 May; and sailed from Youghall on the 29th for England, after an absence of nine and a half months, leaving the work he had to do in Ireland practically accomplished except in the extreme west.

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The revolt of the garrison of Cork, which was anticipated by the Marquis of Ormonde, took place on 16 October, 1649, not early in November as recorded by Lady Fanshawe. It was arranged by a few officers of the army, of whom Colonel Gifford, who was under arrest there for attemping to promote a revolt in Youghall, was the most prominent; and Professor Firth has kindly pointed out to me that the Colonel Jeffreys of the *Memoirs* was no doubt Colonel Gifford. In the depositions of the revolters his name is spelt Jefford, from which it is an easy transition to Jeffreys. Colonel Jeffreys, afterwards owner of Blarney Castle, who has been identified as this officer, was not in Ireland at that time. The Red Abbey being outside the walls explains how the Irish sufferers came to state they were turned out of the town: they had once already been subjected to this treatment in 1644 by the Earl of Inchiquin. Lady Fanshawe had therefore to enter the place in order to secure her pass, which was necessary, no doubt, in case she should be pursued on the way to Kinsale. The market in 1649 lay near the Water Gate in the east wall of the town and west of the present Market Street, so she must have traversed nearly the whole city[2] from the south gate, situated near the south end of the present South Main Street, to the north-east angle. Her passage through the wild crowd and soldiery would form a fine subject for a picture. The large sum of cash secured by her must have included a considerable amount of public money. The distance from Cork to Kinsale is nearly fourteen miles as the crow flies, and the little party of refugees, including Lady Fanshawe's sister, must have taken at least four hours to perform it, and probably did not reach Kinsale till nearly midday. Among others who narrowly escaped from Cork was Bishop Bramhall, the Irish

[1] *By this time Fanshawe and his wife had left Galway for Spain.*

[2] *The city of Cork, which in the middle of the seventeenth century was inferior to Galway, Limerick, and Waterford in importance, was contained in a narrow rectangular walled enclosure of which the short sides rested on the two branches of the Lee, the west side occupying the line of Gratton Street, and the east facing that of Market Street and the Grand Parade.*

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Canterbury, as Cromwell called him, whose flight was as much regretted by the General as that of Mr. Fanshawe. Kinsale was surrendered to Colonel Gifford on 12 November, and had probably been quitted by the Fanshawes some time about 20 October. We find Hyde writing to Sir Edward Nicholas on 11 July, 1653 (Vol. III, Clarendon State Papers, p. 178): "That Gifford was the chief officer who kept the King out of Hull; afterwards he seemed in Ireland to have repented it, and was forward in His Majesty's service; but as soon as we had ill-fortune there again he was one of those who betrayed the Lord Inchiquin, so that it is no great matter what becomes of him." Lord Broghill, writing on 22 November of the revolt of Cork, mentions Colonel Gifford as "a very active and forward instrument in this business," and in that of the revolt of Youghall, and Cromwell had already done this in a letter of 14 November, 1649. The following account of the revolt of Cork, written to Parliament by Colonel Deane from the fleet at Milford Haven on 8 November, 1649, will be found interesting as supplementing the narrative of Lady Fanshawe; it will be seen that in it Colonel Gifford is called Colonel Gilford.

"MR. SPEAKER,

"Having this day received certaine intelligence from my Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and Coll. *Blake*, of *Corke* declaring for the Parliament of *England*, and turning out Major Generall *Starling*, and the Irish (of which I believe my partner Collonell Blake hath given the Councell of State an account) and now having had a clear narrative of it, by one that was an Actor in the whole businesse, I thought myself obliged to give you this account of it.

"The sixteenth of *October* at night, Collonell *Townsend*, Collonell *Warden*, and Collonell *Gilford* (being there prisoners for the businesse of Youghall) were ordered to be disposed into three severall Castles, next day. Some of the Officers in the Towne, came to these Gentlemen that night, and told them they were undone unlesse they would stand by them, for they should else be slaves to the Irish.

"Upon which the three Collonells replied, that if they would fetch for each of them a sword and pistols, they would live and dye with them, which was done.

"And the Guards perceiving them comming down staires armed, cryed, we are for you too: and from thence they marched to the Maine Guard, and they immediately declared with them, upon this generall consent crying, *Out with all the* Irish, *in with all the Townesmen that were English*, and the soldiers unanimously agreed, and put it presently in execution.

"They put out the next morning their Major Generall Starling, and those few that dissented.

"*And since that* Youghall *hath done the same, as this Gentleman informes me* (*who came from* Corke *but two dayes since*) *and that those of* Youghall *had writ to Collonell* Gilford (*the present Governour of* Cork) *to send Collonell*

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Warden *with a hundred horse to their assistance, for they had seized on* Sir Piercy Smith *their Governor and* Johnson *which had betrayed them formerly, and some others, and had secured them in the Castle.*

. . . . . .

"Rupert, three dayes *after Corke's declaring* for the Parliament, in great haste sailed from Kingsale, with seven saile of ships.

"Your Honours humble servant,

"MILFORD HAVEN, "RICHARD DEANE."

"*November the* 8, 1649."

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The King's commands, dated St. Germain, 20–30 August, 1649, required Mr. Fanshawe to "immediately repair to St. Sebastians to meet my Lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde, our ambassadors extraordinary to Spain," . . . "provided that your absence from Ireland be dispensed with by the Marquis of Ormonde, whose leave you are to have, and govern yourself entirely in this matter according to such directions as you shall receive from him" (Heathcote MSS., p. 3.) These commands had reached the Treasurer before 2 October, as he wrote to the Lord Lieutenant about them from Cork on that date; and the Marquis of Ormonde wrote as follows in reply from Waterford on the 17th of that month (the day after that of the revolt of Cork, and on which Cromwell summoned Ross):—

"I know not the importance your service may be to His Majesty in the Spanish negotiation: but I have found it so very useful here that I must presume wherever you shall be designed your industry and affection will improve any subject you shall have to work to the utmost it will be capable of, and certainly the King and those employed by him into Spain have desired your going that way upon like experience, and upon consideration of the weightiness of that part of the business allotted to your management. For these reasons and for that your charge here may be supplied by Deputy, I humbly submit to be deprived of the satisfaction I promised myself from your company this winter. If you have sent the acquittances you desire I should sign—[these were sent in the letter of 2 October]—they are betwixt George Lane and I mislaid, but I think they were not sent. If you send or leave them they shall be signed and delivered to whom you shall direct. I desire you before your going out of the kingdom to give me a particular of anything that concerns your interest, or you think fit to aim at as such, and it shall appear unto you that I am really and shall continue constantly your faithful friend and servant,

ORMOND."

This letter, which must have brought deserved joy into the hearts of himself and his wife, was acknowledged by Richard Fanshawe from Mallow on 30 October, 1649, and further to George Lane, secretary to the Marquis, on the 31st. Writing to the former, he said:—

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"I received yesterday your Excellency's of the 17th instant, wherein determining the question of my going into Spain as seemed best to your wisdom, you have been pleased to accompany your directions in that particular with such expressions as are only suitable to the nobleness of your Excellency's nature and your accustomed favours to your servant," and after requesting a formal pass for Spain, added: "When I have placed my family in Limerick and put my transportation into a way, I hope I shall have time personally to attend upon your Excellency before my embarkation to express in some measure how much I am your servant."

On this letter the Marquis of Ormonde ordered: "Let certain papers which Richard Fanshawe, Esqr., desires to publish in vindication of his integrity in his management of his office of His Majesty's Treasurer of his Navy (occasioned by a late aspersion on him by some mutinying sailors at Kinsale) be printed to the end that thereby all other men may receive that full satisfaction of the said Mr. Fanshawe which we have without reading the same upon many years' knowledge and observation of him and his deportment in this and other trusts of several natures."

The Fanshawes must, therefore, have passed through Macroom between 20 and 30 October; the latter place is twenty-two miles north-west of Kinsale, and twenty miles south-east of Mallow. The old castle at Macroom, standing high above the Sullane, an affluent of the Lee, is extremely picturesque as seen from the bridge. Six months after Lady Fanshawe was in it, Lord Broghill hung the Bishop of Ross outside it. The nobleman, called the Earl of Clancarty in the *Memoirs*, was Donough Macarty, at that time Viscount Muskerry, one of the leading and most active among the minor Royalist leaders in Ireland; indeed, Clarendon calls him the most powerful person and of the greatest interest in Munster. Born in 1594, he succeeded his father the first Viscount in 1640, married Eleanor, the sister of the first Marquis and Duke of Ormonde, was compelled to surrender at Ross Castle (which now forms so beautiful a ruin on the Lake of Killarney) with the last of the Royalist troops to General Ludlow on 27 June, 1652, and was subsequently tried for his life in Dublin on the charge of having been responsible for the murder of certain English "between his house at Mackroom and the City of Cork" (Ludlow's *Memoirs*). He was acquitted of all personal liability in the murders, and went to Spain, where, however, he was badly received because of his opposition to the Papal Nuncio in Ireland. He was made Earl of Clancarty in November, 1658, and died in 1665. His mother was daughter of the fourth Earl of Thomond, and he was thus connected with Lady Honora O'Brien (see below) and Sir Thomas Fanshawe.

Among the letters appended to Carte's *Life of Ormonde* are two very touching ones written to his sister upon the deaths of her son, Lord Muskerry, who was killed in the sea fight of 3 June, 1665, and of her husband, Lord Clancarty, who passed away in the following month. To the latter the Duke paid the noble tribute that he was "the only person in the world from whom I never did nor ever would have concealed the

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greatest and most important secret of my soul." (Other pathetically tender letters were written by the same brother to his sister upon the death of the daughter of the former and the mother of them both.) The earldom of Clancarty became extinct in 1691 upon the attainder of the grandson of the original grantee, who with his uncle, the Earl of Mount Cashel, received James II at Kinsale in March, 1689.

A bezoar stone (besel stone in the MSS.) was a calcareous stone formed round some extraneous matter in the stomachs of ruminants, believed in unscientific times, and still believed in the East, to possess the virtues of an antidote to poison—whence the original Persian name bád (expelling) zahr (poison) A besel also meant the bevelled facets of a jewel, and may have been used of a jewel itself by Lady Fanshawe.

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From Mallow Richard Fanshawe and his family probably proceeded direct to Limerick, distant forty miles, as the first letters written by him to[1] George Lane and the Marquis of Ormonde upon the accident to the Earl of Roscommon are dated 6 November, and refer to that as having happened the previous evening (Carte Papers, Vol. XXVI, p. 110). The account in the letter to the Lord Lieutenant is as follows:—

"Since my arrival an unhappy accident fell out yesterday at a lodging where my Lord Roscommon, the Bishop of Derry and Clonfort, and myself had met together about two hours writing and discoursing; after which it growing dark my Lord Roscommon led the way to his lodging, and after his accustomed over much civility hastening down stairs (which may be imagined steep and slippery enough, as indeed they were), for fear of being lighted down, at the very top his lordship's feet slipped from him and he stayed not till the bottom, where he fell upon his head, and in that posture we that followed took him up without speech and with little life."

Mr. Fanshawe had at once informed the Mayor and Recorder, "to prevent busy and evil tongues," though the doctors thought the Earl would do well, and now felt it his duty to inform the Lord-Lieutenant, as he believed the Earl had an extraordinary trust for His Excellency at this time. In spite of the hopes of the doctors, however, the Earl of Roscommon died on 8 November, and Fanshawe made a list of his papers on the following day. The Bishop of Londonderry, writing on the 13th to the Marquis of Ormonde, says (Vol. XXVI, p. 208): "The last expression of affection or any judgment which he made was to myself upon Thursday at night. When I would have taken my

[1] *In his letter to the former, Fanshawe wrote: "I never rejoiced in anything more in my life, nor apprehended a better omen of success from anything, than at the seasonable right the King hath done himself in sending the Garter at this time to His Excellency, which God give him many years of happiness to enjoy."*

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leave of him he put both his hands out of bed and held mine fast and laid it upon his breast, and there held it until I promised to pray with him. So I did until he fell asleep . . . and so to the time of his death he was a senseless corpse. Still in that condition he was through his servants absolved, reconciled, enoiled, and habited." On 19 November Fanshawe reported to the Lord-Lieutenant that he had taken possession of the seal, and asked for orders to whom he should transfer it if he should find this desirable, as "the conditions of the times and some other passages that I have observed make me think it very possible that it may be necessary to shift it into some other hand more out of reach than mine."

The Earl of Roscommon was James Dillon, third earl of that title, who, as Lord Kilkenny West, had married in 1636 Elizabeth Wentworth, youngest sister of the Earl of Strafford, and had succeeded his father in 1642. His son, Wentworth Dillon, the author of the Essay on Translated Verse, is reported by Aubrey to have exclaimed in Caen, while playing games in an excited way, just at the time of his father's death, "My father is dead"—a story which would doubtless have interested Lady Fanshawe. Aubrey professes to have had it from the boy's tutor, Mr. Knolles, afterwards secretary to Earl Strafford. A pathetic letter from the Countess of Roscommon to the Marquis of Ormonde, dated Caen, 30 March, 1650, thanks him for the only account of the misfortune which is to her unparalleled, sent by the Marquis with so much compassion and sympathy, and expresses the hope that the young Earl, her "poor child not yet sensible of anything," may live to serve under the Marquis. With the latter, Bishop Bramhall and Lords Inchiquin and Muskerry, the Earl of Roscommon was exempted from pardon for life and estate in August, 1652; but on the Restoration this sentence of attainder was reversed in favour of his son.

John Bramhall, Bishop of Londonderry, usually called Bramble in the literature of the day, and much be-punned in consequence, was born in 1594, and became a graduate of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, taking his degree of M.A. in 1616, and of D.D. in 1630. From being a vicar in Yorkshire he became chaplain of Strafford in Ireland, and was made Archdeacon of Meath, and in 1634 consecrated Bishop of Londonderry by Archbishop Ussher, and distinguished himself in recovering Church property.

Laud's opinion of him, expressed to Strafford in 1633, was, "I think with your lordship's direction and countenance he will be able to do any service that can be put upon him." He was impeached in 1641, and boldly faced his accusers in Dublin: he was in custody till 1642, and Archbishop Ussher records that "my Lord Strafford the very night before his suffering (which was most Christian and magnanimous *ad stuporem usque*) sent me to the King, giving me charge among other particulars to put him in mind of you and two lords that are under the same pressure." Finding troubles growing on his head after his release, Bramhall joined the Marquis of Newcastle abroad, but returned to Ireland in 1648. Cowley, writing to Bennet (afterwards Lord Arlington) on 28 May, 1650, says:—

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"The Bishop of Londonderry arrived lately at Breda out of Ireland. He says that by reason of the jealousy of the Catholics (which has been the ruin of that kingdom) my Lord of Ormonde is retired to a private house in Connaught, and has left to my Lord Castelhaven the command of the army and to my Lord Clanricarde the precedence in civil affairs. Mr. O'Neile writes that he himself is coming away, and he believes my Lord Ormonde, Lord Inchiquin and divers others will suddenly follow."

During the exile of the King the Bishop wrote a number of polemical works, and acted as prize agent for the King's ships at Flushing; on 2 November, 1652, Hyde wrote to Secretary Nicholas, "The Bishop of Derry has read Hyde such a lecture as he has never heard about the delays in fitting out privateers." Sir Richard Grenvile cited him as a witness against Hyde for receiving a pension from Cromwell; but the Bishop asserted that when Grenvile had told him this, he had merely said that others had told him it also. He was made Archbishop of Armagh on 18 January, 1660, and after the Restoration he consecrated two archbishops and ten bishops on one day. He had already had a stroke in September, 1659, and died of a third stroke on 25 June, 1663. On his monument in Dublin there is an epitaph of fifty lines! During the last three years of his life he was more highly honoured than any man in Ireland for his large-hearted tolerance and moderation. In preaching his funeral sermon, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, of Dromore, said of him: "To sum up all, he was a wise prelate, a learned doctor, a just man, a true friend, a great benefactor to others, a thankful beneficiary where he was obliged himself. He was a faithful servant to his Master, a loyal subject to the King, a zealous asserter of his religion against Popery on the one side and fanaticism on the other. . . . It will be hard to find his equal in all things" (see *Lives of Bishop Bramhall*, by Bishop Vesey and Mr. Wm. Edward Collins).

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Richard Fanshawe seems to have formed a special friendship with Mr. Stackpoole, the Recorder of Limerick, and before leaving Ireland requested George Lane to forward the business of the latter with the Lord-Lieutenant. He also made over to him as Deputy the office of Treasurer of the Fleet. The Mayor, Mr. Nicholas Comyn, was knighted by the Marquis of Ormonde in January, 1650. The roll of freemen of the city in the seventeenth century is no longer forthcoming, and the date on which Richard Fanshawe was admitted cannot now be ascertained.

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James, thirteenth Earl, first Marquis (30 August, 1642), and first Duke of Ormonde (in the Irish Peerage, 30 March, 1661; in the English Peerage, 9 November, 1682), is too well known to need any lengthy notice; but reference may be made to certain facts of his life so far as Sir Richard Fanshawe was connected with them. He was two years younger than the

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latter, and in 1629 married his wife (born on 25 July, 1615, in the same room as Lady Fanshawe was born in ten years later—*Memoirs*, p. 48) when she was only fourteen years old. On the Earl of Strafford quitting Ireland in April, 1640, Ormonde was left to levy the new Irish army, and on the outbreak of the Irish rebellion in the following year he was made Lieutenant-General in that kingdom at the age of thirty-one. In 1644 he became Lord-Lieutenant in place of Lord Leicester, and in July, 1647, by the King's order, surrendered Dublin to the Commissioners of the Parliament. The next month he visited the King at Hampton Court, but shortly afterwards he was compelled to make his escape from London to Paris. Two years later he sailed from Havre, and landed at Cork on 29 September, 1648, leaving his family in Brittany; and for twenty-six months he maintained an unequal struggle in Ireland without aid, without arms, without money, and practically without encouragement, except that he was made a K.G. on 18 September, 1649. Sir Richard Fanshawe's notice of this honour, and the letter of the Queen to him through that gentleman in 1648, have been noticed above. He retreated once more to France on 6 December, 1650, landing at St. Malo. Evelyn notes in his Diary on 29 January, 1651, "My Lord Marquis Ormonde and Inchiquin come newly out of Ireland were this day at chapel" in Sir R. Browne's house in Paris, where service for the English exiles was maintained until the Restoration, Dr. Steward, Dr. Cosin, Dr. Morley, and Dr. Earle conducting the service at different times. The straits to which he and his family were at one time reduced in exile were very great. Hyde, writing in the summer of 1654, notes, "The Marquis of Ormonde hath not a pistole in the world"; and when in December, 1654, the Queen drove the Duke of Gloucester from her house, Ormonde was driven to sell his last jewel, that of his George, in order to provide funds to remove him elsewhere. He visited London secretly in 1658, and his presence there was betrayed by Sir R. Willis, and went with the King to Fontarabia in 1659. On the Restoration he was made Lord Steward of the King's Household, and on 4 November, 1661, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; on 27 July, 1662, he once more touched that soil after an absence of ten and a half years. He was recalled in 1669, but was Lord-Lieutenant again from August, 1677, to October, 1685. He lost his gallant son Lord Ossory, so distinguished in the naval fights of the day, on 30 July, 1680, and his wife on 21 July, 1684. He himself passed away peacefully just four years after her, and was buried with her in Westminster Abbey.

"Barzillai crown'd with honours and with years.
Long since the rising rebels he withstood
In regions waste beyond the Jordan's flood:
Unfortunately brave to buoy the State,
But sinking underneath his master's fate;
In exile with his godlike prince he mourn'd,
For him he suffered, and with him returned.
. . . . . .

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His eldest hope with every grace adorned
By me, as Heav'n will have it, always mourn'd,
And always honour'd, snatch'd in manhood's prime,
By the unequal fates and providence's crime.

. . . . . .

Oh, ancient honour! Oh, unconquer'd hand
Whom foes unpunished never could withstand!
But Israel was unworthy of his name;
Short is the date of all immoderate fame."

Page 57. § 1.

Fanshawe and his wife no doubt stayed with Lord Inchiquin at Kilmallock, which he had seized and was occupying about this time. It lies eighteen miles due south of Limerick. Lady Fanshawe is, of course, quite wrong in saying the Marquis of Ormonde had left Ireland "by this time," though his army certainly was "quite dispersed." He did not sail from Galway till 6 December, 1650, and then went to France, not to Holland, landing at St. Malo early in January, 1651.

Page 57. § 2.

The story of the apparition to Lady Fanshawe is an often quoted one. It is much to be regretted that she could not, by all her pulling and pinching, awake her husband, so that he might have been able to confirm her testimony. In the edition of 1829–30 the word "Ahone" is printed "A horse"! The Lady Honora O'Brien was fifth daughter of Henry, fifth Earl of Thomond, and was married in 1656 to Sir Francis Englefield, and in 1665 to Sir Robert Howard, whose first wife was the daughter of Sir Richard Kingsmill, of Malshanger, and sister of the first wife of John Fanshawe, of Parsloes (p. 15). By her second husband she had one son; and it is to be regretted that Lady Fanshawe should have recorded against her the scandal contained in the text. Other sisters of hers were married to Viscount Cullen (brother of Eliz. Cockayne, second wife of Sir Thomas, afterwards first Viscount Fanshawe, of Dromore, which may have been the reason why Lady Fanshawe and her husband stayed with her), to Lord Glamorgan, later Marquis of Worcester, and to Lord Gerard (Professor Frith's *Ludlow's Memoirs*). The lady was in trouble with General Ireton only ten days before his death in the November of the next year, "for protecting goods and cattle of the enemy under pretence that they belonged to her." But the versatile Irishwoman was more than a match for the stern commander, and after she had burst into tears and besought General Ludlow to intercede for her, and promised she would never do the like again, Ireton confessed to his Achates, "Cynic as I am, the tears of this woman moved me"! It may be surmised that the lady was residing at Lemaneagh, near Lake Inchiquin, an old castle of the

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O'Briens. Ludlow's narrative shows that her interview with the general took place either at Clare Castle or somewhere between Clare Castle and Bunratty, after they had left Lemaneagh; but doubtless she had good reasons for not appearing before the General there, and very possibly she was required to appear before him because of what he discovered there. Lemaneagh lies thirty miles north-west of Limerick, and was therefore easily reached from Kilmallock.

Page 59. § 2.

It does not appear certain from the *Memoirs* whether Richard Fanshawe returned to Kilmallock to make the Chancellor's seal over to Lord Inchiquin, or if the latter came to Lemaneagh to receive it; but the second alternative seems the more probable in view of the escort towards Galway, which is only forty-three miles from Lemaneagh. The Ormonde Papers happily help us again with dates here, as the *Memoirs* are a month wrong in saying Galway was reached at the end of February, an error corrected, however, by Lady Fanshawe's later statement that Galway was quitted early in February. Writing from Kilcolgan, in the south-east corner of Galway Bay, five miles south of Oranmore, on 26 January, 1650, to George Lane, he says: "I write this near my ship, hoping to sail to-morrow to Malaga. It is a somewhat long passage, but the vessel in which I go, being of Middlebrough, is the most commodious conveyance in divers regards that I could hope for. I carry this discomfort only along with me, that I miss the happiness of a few hours of your company before leaving the kingdom." On 4 February Fanshawe again wrote to Lane from Renville, on the north-east coast of the same bay, regarding his appointment of the Recorder of Limerick as his Deputy in the post of Treasurer of the Navy, and speaking of his wife, says she was in good general health, though "she was terribly alarmed in Cork when the revolt was, and a little before that broke her arm from a horse, and ever since that has been harassed and met by a hundred inconveniences, and at this present is harassed by a lamentable toothache"![1] Writing to the Marquis of Ormonde on the same date, Fanshawe states that he had been in great danger the day after Prince Rupert left Kinsale, and that his goods (perhaps some of those which escaped pillaging in Cork) were plundered by a rabble of seamen, "who thought I did them great injury that I paid them not presently." "And that all this should be done unto one whom His Highness (Prince Rupert) during the whole of his residence in Ireland was observed to be not only very punctually just but extraordinarily favourable to likewise, and to express a good opinion and confidence of beyond others more deserving in His Majesty's service," appeared hard measure to the Treasurer to the Navy. And so the second and last Irish episode in Richard Fanshawe's life closes.

[1] *We hear again of poor Lady Fanshawe suffering from toothache in* 1668.

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Page 60.

For its size Galway is still distinguished by the neatness of its buildings, which include several of a date anterior to 1650. The open square by the seaside, or rather along the Galway river from Lough Corrib, still contains fragments of the old walls and arcades which surrounded it, and several of the towers of the town walls are still standing. The story of the alarm of plague caused by flea bites does not appear in the 1828–9 editions of the *Memoirs*. Perhaps it was considered to lack the refinement thought necessary in that fastidious age. The sentence (p. 57, line 17) "which we did by force and not by choice, for the plague had been so hot in that city," appeared in these editions in the nonsensical form "which he did not by choice, but the plague had been so hot," etc.; while "in this rage I left them" (page 62, line 14), was there rendered "in this case I left them."

Page 61.

The late Marquis of Worcester was the well-known Lord Herbert, of Raglan, created Earl of Glamorgan in April, 1644, and eldest son of the first Marquis of Worcester, whom he succeeded in 1646. His first wife was sister of the first Earl of Carnarvon (page 342); his second was daughter of Henry O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, and sister of Lady Honora O'Brien. It was this latter circumstance which led King Charles to send him to Ireland in December, 1644, to negotiate with the Roman Catholics for an Irish army for England; and in doing so he wrote to the Marquis of Ormonde, "His honesty and affection to my service will not deceive you, but I will not answer for his judgment."[1] His first treaty with the Irish bore the date of August, 1645. As is well known, the publication of it raised a violent storm of indignation in England, and it and the proceedings of the Marquis were disowned by the King. Meanwhile the Earl had signed a second treaty with the Papal Nuncio Rinuccini, six days before he was arrested by the Marquis of Ormonde, on 26 December. He was released from custody a month later. This second treaty the King publicly disavowed in March, 1646; the circumstances of the time and the demand of the Nuncio that Sir Kenelm Digby's promise that Roman Catholics should have freedom of worship in both England and Ireland should be fulfilled before any Irish troops were sent to England, had made it ineffective from the first. Glamorgan remained on in Ireland, and George Leyburn, in his *Memoirs*, states that he sailed from Galway to Havre in company with Lord Worcester and his wife in March, 1648, or nearly two years before the date of Lady Fanshawe's visit to Galway.

[1] *The extravagance of Glamorgan's intellect may be imagined from the extravagance of the rewards proposed for him, doubtless by himself—the Garter, the dukedom of Somerset, and the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to his son. In the end not even the earldom of Glamorgan was formally admitted for him.*

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Returning to England in 1652, while still under the attainder of Parliament, he was imprisoned in the Tower till 1654. His extravagant letter to Colonel Copley in 1656 has been noticed on p. 370. After the Restoration he rented Worcester House in the Strand to Clarendon, and various letters of the latter to Sir Richard Fanshawe are dated from there. His *Century of Inventions* was published in 1663. He died in 1667, and his son, who became first Duke of Beaufort in 1682, was therefore Marquis at the time when Lady Fanshawe wrote her *Memoirs*. He married the widow of Lord Beauchamp, eldest daughter of Lord Capel, in 1657 (p. 362).

Page 63. § 2.

Lady Fanshawe clearly showed the vehement dislike of the Dutch generally entertained by her countrymen in the seventeenth century. The Turkish galley was no doubt the ship of a Sallee[1] Rover, a class surprisingly daring at that time, and of which Waller sang—

> Salley that scorned all power and laws of men,
> Goods with their owners hurrying to their den,
> And future ages threat'ning with a rude
> And savage race successively renewed.

These bold pirates had actually sacked Baltimore in Ireland in 1631, and entered Cork harbour in 1636, in which year the Earl of Strafford noticed their ravages in writing to the Marquis of Ormonde. In April of the same year Lord Aston recorded that they were received in the French ports, and were daily committing insolencies on His Majesty's subjects from Dover to Dunkirk, "but," he added, "I hope my Lord Northumberland will shortly be even with them." They attacked Penzance as late as 1640. One of the justifications put forward for the levying of ship money was the presence of Mediterranean pirates in the English Channel. Their subsequent exploit of capturing Lord Inchiquin in the Tagus in 1659 has been narrated above. A still bolder capture of theirs is related by Sir Richard Fanshawe in a letter of 25 May—4 June, 1664, to Sir Henry Bennet:—

"About twelve days since the Marquis of Manresa, Viceroy of Nueva Hispania bound from Cadiz for his government (than which nothing promiseth more earthly to a subject) fell into the hands of Turkish pyrats [*sic*] (as may be supposed) with all the dear pledge which fortune and nature had bestowed on him, with whatsoever beside of value he was worth, or he and his friends could take up on credit, because quien lleva Indias, trase Indias (who holds the Indies, holds wealth). God help Christendom or (which in effect would be the same thing) give Christendom the grace to help itself."

The incident of the expected engagement at sea is one of the most dramatic

[1] *The port of Sallee* (*Sla*), *now known as Rabat, lies seventy miles south of Arzila, situated on the Atlantic coast of Africa, thirty miles south-west of Tangier.*

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in the whole of the *Memoirs*—none the less so because the heroine was as free from discretion as from sea-sickness and fear in the part she played in it.

The view of Malaga from the sea, with its noble cathedral rising on a lofty platform at the east end of the bay, and the old walled upper city connected by a double covered way, with the ruined castle high above both, all backed by a lovely plain of tropical vegetation and closed in by the wild Sierra de Abdalajis to the north, is extremely beautiful, and almost rivals the view of Palermo. Six years after the visit of Lady Fanshawe, five English frigates bombarded the town and did considerable damage to the cathedral—a circumstance which was probably still well remembered when she landed at Cadiz in 1664.

Pages 64 *and* 65. §§ 2 *and* 1–2.

Lady Fanshawe puts her arrival at Malaga in the beginning of March, or about a month after leaving Galway; and Sir Edward Hyde, writing on 4 April from Madrid, where the news would perhaps be received after some ten days, notes: "Dick Fanshawe has arrived at Malaga with his wife children and a family of twelve persons. What shift he will be able to make to live I cannot imagine. I myself do not know how to get either bread or money."

From Malaga to Velez Malaga, a most picturesquely situated place in a rich plain of its own, surmounted by the ruins of a fine old castle, is a distance of twenty-eight miles. From Velez Malaga on to Granada is a distance of some fifty miles by the most direct route through Alhama—the Baths—finely situated on a rocky peninsula high above the roaring Marchen, and famous for its capture by the Christians in 1482 (Ay de mi Alhama). The route must also have passed through Santa Fé, the town which grew up in the camp of Ferdinand and Isabella when besieging Granada in 1491. The journey could not possibly have been accomplished in one day, as the *Memoirs* might be read to assert. "The highest mountains I ever saw in my life" would be the Sierras of Alhama, which flank the Sierra Nevada on the west; they are not nearly as lofty as the latter, of which a grand view is obtained in crossing the Vega to Granada after leaving the Alhama ranges. The Alhambra does not contain decorations of jasper, and even the amount of marble used in it is very small. In saying that the rooms were roofed with mosaic exceeding the finest enamel, Lady Fanshawe must be referring to the splendid colouring of the stalactite and other moulded ceilings, though one would rather have expected the comparison to be applied to the beautiful encaustic tiles of the walls (azulejos). Forest work presumably is intended to express fretwork. The entrance to the castle is by the Puerta Judiciaria, the Gate of Justice, of which a photograph by Senor Garzon is reproduced here. The hand carved on it will be observed on the keystone of the outer Moorish arch; the key is above the inner arch, and is not visible. Lady Fanshawe might have seen for herself, as well as any modern traveller can, how palpably absurd the story told her by the then local cicerone was. An iron gate still closes an entrance to some recess in the rock just in front of the

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gate. The words, "and many yards under them was a hand cut in stone," are omitted in the edition of 1829–30.

Page 67. § 3.

The direct route from Granada to Madrid proceeds through Jaen (thirty-one miles) to Bailen (twenty-two miles), where it joins that from Cadiz, Seville, and Toledo, followed by Lady Fanshawe and her husband in 1664. The number of stages is only eleven, so that in spending three weeks apparently *en route*, they must have travelled very leisurely. Their daughter Elizabeth was born on 13 June, 1650 (*Memoirs*, p. 215), not July, as erroneously stated here. She was named no doubt after the mother and sister of Sir Richard. Two daughters of this name died young; a third survived her mother. Ascham's murder (see note below upon this) took place in Madrid on 6 June, and his secretary, Fisher, writing on 9 June (Thurlow State Papers, Vol. I, p. 148), says, "I know not what are Cottington's pretences in this court, but I suppose as yet he has not received any satisfaction. Hyde is here also and Fanshawe for Agent."[1] As they had sent a letter dated 27 July[2] to the King through Fanshawe, the latter no doubt left Madrid about that time; and as the *Memoirs* state the party reached St. Sebastian, three hundred miles distant from the capital, early in September, they must have made this journey rather less leisurely.

Curiously enough, Sir Richard was created a baronet *in absentiâ* at this time, the grant being dated 2 September, 1650.[3] Lord Cottington

[1] *So little was Sir Richard, or were the King's other Envoys, to prevail with the court of Madrid, that no doubt at this very time that court was preparing the instructions and credentials which Don Alonso de Cardenas read to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England on* 31 *December*, 1650, *that his master, the greatest and first King in Christendom, would oblige the Commonwealth, in which the Authority and Sovereignty of England now resided, by being the first that made this acknowledgment and offered his amity and friendship; and in the same month Cottington and Hyde were requested to leave Madrid.*

[2] *In this letter they wrote of Fanshawe: "We shall not trouble your Majesty further than to beseech you to hear him, whose integrity and devotion to your service and great ability to serve you, your Majesty well knows; and therefore we doubt not your Majesty will give him likewise such despatch in what concerns himself as may testify your grace and favour towards him"* (*Heathcote MSS., p.* 4).

[3] *There is a mystery about this date, as Sir Richard was then at Saint Sebastian (or perhaps in danger of foundering in the Bay of Biscay), and the young King was in Scotland; and even if a strong recommendation on behalf of the Treasurer to the Navy had reached the latter earlier in the year from the Marquis of Ormonde, it does not seem possible that a letter of 27 July from Madrid should have arrived in Scotland by 2 September. The King was*

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had been in Spain in 1608, 1612, and 1616, and had also accompanied the Prince of Wales (Charles I), to whom he was secretary, to Madrid in 1623, and had negotiated peace there in 1629–31; and the fact of his embassies to Spain are recorded on his tombstone in Westminster Abbey, as also his appointments of "Chancellour of His Ma^ties Exchequer (1629), M^r of his Court of Wards (1635), Constable of ye Tower, L^d High Treasurer of England (October, 1643), and one of his Ma^ties Privy Councel." He was knighted and created a baronet in February, 1623, and made Lord Cottington of Hanworth in July, 1631. He and Hyde left Paris in September, 1649,[1] on the Spanish mission which he suggested. They reached Bayonne in twenty days and Madrid towards the end of November. On the failure of the mission with which he and Hyde were entrusted, he decided to remain in Spain, when the latter left in March, 1651, and having joined the Roman Catholic faith again, for the third time at least, died in the care of the English Jesuits at Valladolid on 19 June, 1652, aged seventy-four. He was buried in Westminster Abbey in 1679. Clarendon, who records that he was generally disliked as of the Spanish faction and because he was believed to be a Roman Catholic, and had acted very harshly as Master of the Court of Wards (also because he had pronounced the iniquitous sentence of the Star Chamber on Prynne and Bastwick), draws a full character of him, from which the following extracts are taken (*History of the Rebellion*, Book III, c. xxx):—

"He was a very wise man, by the great and long experience he had in business of all kinds and by his natural temper. . . . he was very steady in pursuing what he proposed to himself, and had a courage not to be frighted or amazed by any opposition . . . by his perfectly understanding the Spanish (which he spoke like a Spaniard) French and Italian languages, and having read very much in all, he could not be said (to be) ignorant

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not the person to remember the merits of an absent servant, as Sir Richard found nine years later. On the whole, it seems probable that the baronetcy was conferred in Scotland after Sir Richard had joined the King there in February, 1651, and that for some reason it was ante-dated, as was very commonly the case with such warrants in those days. The fact that in the correspondence of his friends in 1651 he is never once referred to as Sir Richard would seem to confirm this surmise. The date was an unlucky one for a Royalist, being that of the eve of Cromwell's victory at Dunbar.

[1] *On 2 August, 1649, there dined with Evelyn in Paris "Lord High Treasurer Cottington, Sir Edward Hyde, Chancellor (of the Exchequer), Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State, Sir George Carteret Governor of Jersey, and Dr. Earle." Dr. Earle had married Evelyn and his wife on 27 June, 1647. Evelyn has a further curious record in his Diary under 23 May, 1651, that he went to take leave of the Lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde, going as Ambassadors to Spain, whereas at that date they had left Madrid over two months. Perhaps the note should have been one of meeting Hyde on his return to France.*

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of any part of learning, divinity only excepted. He had a very fine and extraordinary understanding in the nature of beasts and birds, and above all in all kinds of plantations and acts of husbandry. . . . He lived very nobly, well served and attended in his house . . . and lived always with great splendour. . . . He was of excellent humour and very easy to live with; and under a grave countenance covered the most of mirth and caused more than any man of the most pleasant disposition. He never used anybody ill, but used many very well for whom he had no regard; and his greatest fault was that he could dissemble and make men believe that he liked them very well, when he cared not for them . . . he was heartily weary of the world and no man more willing to die, which is an argument that he had peace of conscience. He left behind him a greater esteem of his parts than love to his person."

Page 68. § 1.

Dr. William Beale, who was educated at Westminster and Trinity College, became a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1611, and was tutor there when Sir Richard Fanshawe was an undergraduate. He was afterwards master of the college in 1632, and subsequently in 1634 of St. John's College, and was one of the principal sufferers of that University in the struggle between the Crown and the Parliament. Among other well-known Royalists who were his pupils at Jesus College, were Lord George Goring, Sir John Watts (*Memoirs*, p. 120), Sir William Boteler, and Sir John Brampton. In 1626 Dr. Beale was one of the strenuous supporters of the irregular election of the Duke of Buckingham to the Chancellorship of the University; but in 1636 he resolutely opposed Laud's claim to visit the University and colleges as metropolitan. In 1634 he was Vice-Chancellor. In 1635 he preached a sermon at St. Mary's Church, for which the Short Parliament of 1640 proceeded to call him to account, and this subsequently formed the fifth charge in the impeachment of Laud. In March, 1642, when Charles I passed through Cambridge on his way to the north, Dr. Beale provided him with a travelling banquet "of which the King ate but little and gave the prince good store to put in his pocket." Five months later Dr. Beale and other leading men were seized by Cromwell for having sent supplies of college plate—no less than 1200 oz.—to the King, and were conducted to London with some indignity, and in 1643 were actually shipped for transportation. Dr. Beale, however, was ultimately exchanged, and went to Oxford, where he was incorporated as D.D. in 1645, and where perhaps Lady Fanshawe had previously met him. He was made Dean of Ely in 1646, but was never inducted. He died on 1 October, 1650, about two months after the Fanshawes left Madrid (see prayer composed on that date by Sir E. Hyde), having executed his will four days previously.[1]

[1] *He was buried in the house where the Ambassadors resided to prevent any possibility of interference by the Inquisition. There was no right of burial for*

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Writing of his death, David Lloyd notes: "His heart broke to see (what he always feared and endeavoured in vain to persuade the moderate part of the other side of) his Majesty murdered, and he died suddenly with these words in his mouth, which the standers by understood with reference to the state of the public as well as the condition of his own private person, 'I believe in the Resurrection.'" And Henry Nash, writing to William Edgeman, secretary to Sir Edward Hyde in Spain, on 2—12, December, 1650, said: "I cannot but mourn with you for the loss of the Dean of Ely, which is the more to be lamented because men so good, and so inimitable, are rarely to be found in the High Priest's Hall." As master of St. John's Dr. Beale greatly embellished the chapel of the college. The antiquarian, Baker, describes him as one of the best governors the college or University ever had. His brother Jerome was master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, from 1618 to 1630.

Page 68. § 2.

Anthony Ascham (called Askew by Lady Fanshawe), Envoy from the Commonwealth of England to the Court of Spain, had been at Eton and King's College, and had been appointed tutor to the Duke of York by Parliament. He was no doubt, therefore, well fitted by education and breeding for the political service upon which he was sent, and Hyde's allegations to the contrary cannot be accepted. He landed at Cadiz from Blake's fleet on

Protestants in Spain at this time, and Ascham (see following note) was buried in the courtyard of the inn where he was murdered. That right formed the subject of an article of Sir Richard Fanshawe's treaty with Spain, and afterwards in that of the Earl of Sandwich. The burial service of Lady Fanshawe's baby seems to have been clandestine like that of Dr. Beale, to judge from the account at page 216 *of the "Memoirs," and from a Latin epitaph and elegy which exist in a MS. volume owned by Mr. Evelyn Fanshawe, of Parsloes, upon this daughter and the son who died in Lisbon. These can, however, hardly have been composed by Sir Richard Fanshawe. The former runs in part—*

Elizabetha Fan
shaw
Matriti (Madrid)
Mense Junij anno Domini 1650
Nata, defuncta, sepulta.
In sacello hospitij Charitatis Gallorum
jacet.
Ultima me thalamis Thule Concepit in Anglis,
Ultima in Hesperia primus mihi luminis haustus,
Mox ibidem postremus erat; das Galle sepulchrum
Sed clandestinum, sed et hæc quoque carmina cœlans.

The French Hospital no longer exists in Madrid.

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24 March, 1650, a little after Richard Fanshawe landed at Malaga, and left that place on 24 April. He reached Madrid on Sunday, 26 May—5 June, and was accommodated there in an ordinary inn or posada without any guard. Next day he demanded a guard, which was promised, and while his English followers were absent looking for a suitable lodging, six Englishmen —one being a servant of the English King's ambassador—who had worked themselves into a frenzy over the news of his arrival—entered the inn and treacherously slew him, attacking him without any warning as he rose to greet them. The murderers then took refuge in the neighbouring church of San Andrea, but were removed from it by the civil power and condemned to death. The clerics, however, raised so great a clamour upon the violation of sanctuary that the King was compelled to yield, and to return them; and finally one of them died in custody, and four of them managed to escape. The sixth, Mr. Sparks (*Memoirs*, page 163), was apparently tricked into leaving the sanctuary, and paid penalty for his credulity on the scaffold in January, 1654, three and a half years after the date of the murder. He probably suffered because he was in private employment, whereas the others were in the Spanish military service. During their stay in sanctuary Sir Benjamin Wright (page 503) supplied them with means of subsistence: the Archbishop of Toledo, as Primate of Spain, was their principal supporter in behalf of the inviolability of the Church's protection. The incident is referred to again at page 163 of the *Memoirs*. One of the worst blots on Hyde's character is not merely the callous indifference with which he regarded the "accident of Ascham's assassination," but his positive approval of the cowardly deed. He afterwards approved of the abominable doctrine set forth in "killing no murder." "It is a worse and baser thing," he wrote to Secretary Nicholas, "that any man should appear in any port beyond the sea as an agent for the rebels and not have his throat cut"; and again, "If public justice will not discountenance such licence, private vengeance will become the more justifiable"; and he and Lord Cottington, writing to the King on the subject, said, "Many hope the gentlemen will escape, from the testimony which all Spaniards give to the generousness of the act." The letters of recommendation to the Spanish Court which Ascham bore were written by Milton, and the same Latin Secretary addressed to the King of Spain the letter of 23 June, 1650, which the Parliament caused to be sent to him upon the murder.

Page 69. § 2.

George, Lord Goring, son of the Earl of Norwich, was born the same year as Richard Fanshawe, and in 1629, at the age of twenty-one, married Lettice Boyle, third daughter of the great Earl of Cork. He served in the Dutch wars, and was wounded at the siege of Breda. At one time Monk served under him, and there seems no doubt that his military talents were of a very high order. As Governor of Portsmouth in 1641 he betrayed the army plot of the Court. Later he declared for the King's side, but was

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obliged to surrender the place in 1642. He was captured at Wakefield and detained in the Tower for nine months, and was finally exchanged for Lord Lothian. He commanded the left wing at Marston Moor, which was so signally defeated by Cromwell. Sir Simon Fanshawe served in that wing with Sir Charles Lucas (p. 310). His gross misconduct in the West has been noticed already at page 359. He left Dartmouth in November, 1645, and never returned to England. Sir Edward Hyde notes on 20 June, 1650, that Lord Goring had come to Madrid within these three days. In May, 1652, he wrote to his father from Barcelona stating that he had been very ill. In July, 1657, he was reported ill and destitute, and Hyde learnt the news of his death a month later. Bulstrode wrote of him in his Memoirs:—

"He was a person of extraordinary abilities as well as courage, and was without dispute as good an officer as any that served the King, and the most dexterous in any sudden emergency that I have ever seen. But after all that can be said in General Goring's behalf he had likewise his blind side; for he dearly loved the bottle, was much given to his pleasures and a great debauchee; and the greatest misfortune was when he commanded in chief in the West of England his Excellency had two companions who commanded next under him who fed his wild humour and debauch."

On account of his notorious debauchery he was rejected by the Ladies' Parliament in Mr. Henry Neville's satire for the commandership of the squires. The Earl of Norwich, his father, had been a gentleman of Prince Henry, and became Master of the Horse to Queen Henrietta Maria and a wealthy monopolist. He was made Lord Goring in 1628, and Earl of Norwich in 1644. He was sent as Ambassador to the French Court in 1643, returned to England under the pretence of compounding in 1647, and became one of the leaders in the second Civil War of 1648. He was captured at Colchester, and escaped sentence of death by the casting vote of Speaker Lenthall. He was pardoned and released in 1649, and lived abroad till the Restoration, when he was made captain of the King's Guard. He died in January, 1663.

Page 73. § 1.

The point of the story regarding the relic of St. Joseph appears to be lost in the text. The conversation between Sir Richard and the friar must have been in French, so that it seems useless to seek for the meaning of the English remark which Lady Fanshawe's husband applied to the observation of the latter. The passage in paragraph 1, page 72, "Then we praised God—fall asleep," is omitted in the editions of 1829–30; it was added by Lady Fanshawe to the faired MSS. of the *Memoirs*. It does not appear, by the way, why she should have considered San Sebastian so wild a place (*Memoirs*, p. 70), a description which might, however, apply to Bilbao or even Santander.

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Page 74. *Line* 9.

It is not obvious why the Fanshawes should have taken so long as six weeks to make the journey from Nantes to Paris—about 280 miles, via Orleans. So far from being on his way to Scotland in November (line 16) the King had arrived at the Frith of Cromarty on 16 June, 1650, having sailed from Terheyden on 2 June, or five months previously.

Page 75. § 1 *end.*

The Princess of Orange and the Princess Royal were one and the same person, viz. Mary, the eldest daughter of Charles I, married to the Prince of Orange in 1641 at the age of ten. Her husband died on 4 November, 1650 (N.S.), eight days before the birth of William III, which Lady Fanshawe ante-dated by two years (*Memoirs*, page 51); and it cannot therefore be that Prin*cess* of Orange was written by mistake for Prin*ce* of Orange by the transcriber of the *Memoirs*. It does not appear whether Lady Fanshawe saw the Princess at this time, but she met her ten years later in 1660 (*Memoirs*, page 93). Like her younger sister Henrietta the Princess Royal was devoted to her brother Charles II, and her constant efforts to aid his cause added greatly to the difficulties of her position in Holland, where her principal adviser was the Sieur de Beverwaert, father of Lady Arlington (page 562). The Princess came to England on 30 September, 1660, and died of small-pox on 21 December following. Evelyn heard her funeral sermon preached in the Abbey by Dr. Earle (page 455) on 25 idem.

Pages 75–76.

It appears from the *Memoirs* that Lady Fanshawe parted from her husband at Calais, and that he proceeded from there to Holland as soon as she was able to send money to him. This agrees with her statement (*Memoirs*, page 77) that she was seven months in Hunsdon House before she removed to Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn, where her daughter was born on 24 June, 1651, and with the interesting correspondence relating to Sir Richard, of which mention follows. According to that the idea was formed in November, 1650, to send him to the King from the side of the Duke of York; and Sir George Radcliffe wrote to Secretary Nicholas on the 21st of that month, clearly before Sir Richard himself had arrived on the spot, "He shall deny us stiffly if he go not, for no man is so fit, and it is of huge importance to send one that may probably do the business he goes for." Early in January, 1651, and again on the 15—25th of that month, Secretary Nicholas writes first to Lord Hatton that his "cousin Fanshawe (see page 282) is preparing to go to Scotland, being sent by the Duke of York for settling a clear understanding between the Duke and the King," and secondly to the Marquis of Ormonde, that "Mr. Fanshawe will be despatched to Scotland this week as I am told." On 12 February the Secretary, writing to Ormonde, reports Mr. Fanshawe

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had sailed from the Brill on Monday last, and on 1 March that he had sailed "Monday was seven night with a fair wind which held four or five days; so as it is believed he was with the King some days since, and it is hoped will be back by Easter." On 12 March Nicholas was expecting Fanshawe by an early date. On 5 April he forwarded to Ormonde an extract from a letter from Fanshawe, and on 9—19 April he expressed the opinion that "the King should do very well to keep him (Fanshawe) by him, if it may be permitted; if not, the King is not in so gallant position as some would have us believe";[1] and on 25 March the Duke of York wrote to his brother from Breda: "I humbly beseech your Majesty let Richard Fanshawe come that I may find my rest, and your Majesty shall then see I have much cause to ask for help from your goodness to repair me against some that would ruin me and do your Majesty no good" (Heathcote MSS., p. 6). Bishop Bramhall, also writing on the date of 28 March—7 April, expressed the opinion that Mr. Fanshawe might be expected any day. On 3 May Nicholas expressed surprise that no letters came from Fanshawe; on 6 May Sir R. Browne, writing from Paris to Ormonde, said that Mr. Fanshawe or some other express was daily expected; and on 21—31 May the Secretary wrote to the Marquis: "After I had written thus far Mr. Pooley arrived here from his Majesty. The King hath commanded Mr. Fanshawe to attend him to help despatch business, having none about him else that he can trust, or that honest men will confide in. I have sent you a copy of Mr. Fanshawe's letter to me.... I have sent you some papers for the Marquis of Clanricarde, which I received in a great packet from Mr. Fanshawe." Fanshawe's letter, dated 15 May, 1651, St. Johnston's (Perth), was as follows:—

"After long pressing for and expecting of my despatch, his Majesty has at length thought fit to command my residing about him; which I assure you I never thought, and till it was determined did heartily wish the contrary; but being commanded could neither in duty to[2] his Majesty at such a time as this, nor in regard of a possibility it may afford me to do some honest men honest offices, in conscience decline it. We are not so merry here as the persons your letters name in Paris, yet despair not neither; for his Majesty will within a few days have an army of above twenty thousand likely men, most of them being already with him at Stirling where the general officers are now immediately to be chosen. The worst of the case is that there appear high animosities between two[3] great leading men in the kingdom

[1] "*The strangeris that followit and dependit on the King at this time,*" *writes Nicolls in his Diary of Transactions in Scotland, under April,* 1651, "*so fer as I could sie and tak notice ar these—viz. Duke of Buckinghame, the Erle of Cleveland, the Earl of Sant Paull, Frencheman, Lord Wolmet, Lord Withiringtown, Lord Wentworth, Mr. Oneill, Yrisheman, Mr. Fanshaw, clerk of counsell,*" *etc. etc.*

[2] *Confer* "*Being upon that duty he was obliged to*" ("*Memoirs,*" *p.* 76, *end*).

[3] *The Duke of Hamilton and the Marquis of Argyll.*

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which (if not reconciled) may produce very ill effects. Then the best is (from whom principally we hope a cure of the other) that his Majesty's judgment and activity both in civil and martial affairs are to a degree you would not imagine in so few months' growth as he has trod this stage, being the first and forwardest upon every occasion in either kind, and adventuring his person (I pray God not too much) upon every show of danger, riding continually and being up early and late; with which nevertheless his health is not abated, but on the contrary (as I suppose) both that and his Majesty's strength increased. If it shall please God not to see him crushed in his beginnings, the world will undoubtedly see and posterity read a great person; otherwise his virtue will rest as a great foundation scarcely raised above the ground, and as a secret amongst a few; but I trust divine Providence will avert that for him and us. I am immediately for Stirling which cuts me off; there I will write more fully to you, which if it overtakes not this opportunity shall follow by the next."

From this it is clear that Lady Fanshawe was mistaken in saying her husband was sent for to be the King's Secretary, and that the idea of appointing him to this post did not arise until he had arrived in Scotland from Holland, where his return was long expected. Lady Fanshawe's account of Sir Edward Hyde's conduct on this occasion, which clearly indicates that Hyde and her husband were together in Holland, is also incorrect, as Hyde did not leave Madrid till March, 1651, after fifteen months' residence there.[1] Writing to Lord Hatton also on the date of 21—31 March, Nicholas said, "Mr. Fanshawe the King keeps by him, whereof all honest men are very glad." On 21 June Fanshawe wrote to Ormonde from Stirling as follows:—

"I have by letter formerly humbly desired your Excellency's command to me hither, but hitherto have not had that honour. Now (his Majesty having commanded my stay about his person and at one end of his affairs) I despair not of light for the future from your Excellency's own hand, who may be sure enough of me upon other grounds, which are that I know I can do nothing in the world wherein I can more either serve or please the King than in obeying your lordship.

"I hear things go very well in Ireland and hope very suddenly to give you an account of 2000 horse with horses and 6000 arms, also a gallant train of artillery with all appurtenances but horses carts and carriages.

As a matter of fact, Sir Edward Hyde had written to the Queen in the autumn of 1648 (*and though the letter was never sent, his views on the subject were no doubt perfectly well known to all Royalists*) *that in no circumstances would he lend himself to any design that the Prince of Wales should put himself into the power of the Scots, and that he would never attend the Prince should he decide to go to Scotland. It seems highly probable that as Charles I got rid of this inconveniently principled adviser from Oxford in* 1645 *by sending him on his son's council to the West, so that son got rid of him and his protests against any concessions which would affect the status of the Church of England by deputing him to Spain in* 1649–50.

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"I beseech your Excellency also to signify whether you think it fit that Sir E. Hyde were Lord Chancellor of Ireland. It hath been no living soul's motion, but my own query within myself merely with an eye to his Majesty's service and the constitution of that Kingdom. If your lordship's judgment carries you to an affirmative upon the same considerations, I will upon your order move and solicit it; otherwise as it was born, so it dies."

From which it will be seen that promise or no promise to Sir E. Hyde, Sir Richard Fanshawe did not forget his friend; and it is clear that he held Hyde to be his real friend up to the very last, in spite of the contrary opinions of Lady Fanshawe. No other letters from Sir Richard during his stay in Scotland or the march to the fatal field of Worcester are forthcoming; but an interesting one addressed to him by the Marquis of Clanricarde on 27 August, 1651, refers to letters received on 2 July, and gives a dismal account of the last throes of the struggle in Ireland. This letter could not have reached the Secretary before his capture on 4 September. The "Kirk party" (*Memoirs*, p. 76) by a wonderful blunder was printed "York" party in 1829–30. Poor Lady Fanshawe records that in eight months she had only four letters from her husband while he was engaged on this service, and her heart must often have ached for further news of her beloved companion. The cruel indignities which the Scots placed upon the unfortunate young King, still only twenty-one years old, in 1650 and 1651, are matched only by his base compliance with their requirements; and this chapter of his life must have been a deeply humiliating one to Sir Richard Fanshawe, as well as to his master. That he refused to take the covenant is characteristic of his open nature and conduct throughout his life. What would we not give for his own account of his sojourn in Scotland and of the places he visited there, and of the march into England, the battle of Worcester, and his escape from that after destroying his papers!

Page 77. § 1.

The two children with Lady Fanshawe were her daughter Nan (Ann) and her son Richard, who apparently had remained in England while his parents were in Ireland and Spain. Hunsdon House (paragraph 2—wrongly printed "a *handsome* lodging"! in 1829–30) was situated in the old Black Friars. Queen Street, as now, led west from the north-west corner of Lincoln's Inn Fields; it contained at this period a number of fine houses occupied by people of rank. Lady Fanshawe's daughter Elizabeth, born on 24 June, 1651, died in 1655 (*Memoirs*, pp. 78 and 85).

Page 77. § 2.

Lady Fanshawe has mixed up a good many dates here. Evelyn's wife, as we know from his Diary, came to England and landed at Rye with her mother, Lady Browne, on 11 June, 1652. Thence the ladies went to Tonbridge, and there Evelyn's son was born on 24 August, his wife being

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then nineteen years of age. Lady Browne died of scarlet fever on 22 September following. The child of Mr. Waller (printed Waters in 1829-30) died on 29 August, 1651. Evelyn notes under that date that his coach was borrowed for the funeral of the child to which his wife was godmother with Lady Fanshawe. Apparently it was the same child as the one regarding whose baptism by a Popish midwife Waller consulted Evelyn on 1 September, 1650. The exact date of its birth is not known. Lady Browne was the daughter of Sir William Prettyman, and granddaughter of William Bourchier, of Barnesley, Gloucester (see p. 11), and through her arose the connexion of John Evelyn and Richard Fanshawe. To Evelyn and of his wife Cowley wrote from Chertsey on 16 August, 1666, the following graceful lines:—

"In books and gardens thou hast placed aright—
(Things which thou well dost understand,
And both dost make with thy laborious hand)—
Thy noble innocent delight;
And in thy virtuous wife, where thou dost meet
Both pleasures more refined and sweet,—
The fairest gardens in her looks,
And in her mind the choicest books."

Lady Browne's husband, born only three years before Sir Richard Fanshawe, succeeded his father as clerk of the Privy Council, and was Resident in France from 1641 to 1660. He was created a baronet on 1 September, 1649, and knighted on the 19th of the same month. From him Sayes Court came to Evelyn. He died on 12 February, 1683, and his son-in-law wrote the epitaph which is on his tomb in St. Nicholas Church at Deptford. The Lord Mayor of London, in 1660, was a second Sir Richard Browne, and his son of the same Christian name was also knighted; and Pepys records on 13 June, 1665, having met all *three* Sir Richard Brownes at dinner.

Dr. Steward, who was educated at Westminster School and Magdalen Hall, Oxford, became Fellow of All Souls in 1613; was appointed chaplain to Charles I in 1633, Provost of Eton (in succession to Sir Henry Wotton) in 1639, Dean of St. Paul's in 1641, Dean of the Chapel Royal in 1643, and Dean of Westminster in 1645. He was sent by Charles I to the Prince of Wales in 1646, the King writing on 26 August to his son:—

"Charles, I had not sent you this honest trusty servant of mine, Dr. Steward, but that the iniquity of these times hath hindered his attendance upon me; the which since (for the present) I could not help, I thought the best service he could do me was to wait on you. I command you not only to admit him to the quality of Dean of your chapel, as he is to me, but likewise that you will take his advice and give very much reverence to his opinion in everything which concerns conscience or state affairs. . . . I will end this letter with a negative direction, which is never to abandon the protection of your friends upon any pretension whatever."

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Dr. Steward died on 14 November, 1651, and was buried in the Protestant cemetery, long since built over, near St. Germain des Prés. Evelyn mentions having called on him on the 16th of that month to find he was dead. He adds of him: "He was of incomparable parts and great learning and exemplary life, and a very great loss to the whole Church"; and Clarendon recorded: "He was a very honest and learned gentleman and most conversant in that learning which indicated the dignity and authority of the Church, upon which his heart was most entirely set." Lady Fanshawe's first son Richard was buried between him and the Earl of Bristol (*Memoirs*, p. 92).

Lord Chief Justice Heath died at Calais on 30 August, 1649, while Lady Fanshawe was residing at Cork. Educated at Tonbridge School and St. John's College, Cambridge, he was called to the Bar in 1603 at the age of twenty-eight; became Solicitor-General in 1620, and Attorney-General in 1625. In his capacity of Law Officer to the Crown he prosecuted Selden, Holles, and Eliot, and appeared in many Star Chamber cases. He was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1631, removed in 1633, made Puisne Judge of the King's Bench in 1640, and Chief Justice in 1643, while with the King at Oxford, whence he retreated to France in 1646.[1] His younger son compounding for delinquency in the second Civil War in August, 1649, describes himself as being in Calais with his father, who was ill—the elder, Edward, had to pay a fine of £700 in 1647. His estate of Cottesmore in Rutland (four and a half miles north-east of Oakham), which came to him through his wife Margaret, daughter of Ambrose Coke, of Thame, descended to his daughter Margaret, married to the second Sir Thomas Fanshawe, of Jenkins (p. 313), and through their daughter Susannah to Baptist Noel, and the family of the Earl of Gainsborough,

Sir Robert Heath was buried at Brasted, in Kent.

By Mr. Henry Murray (spelt Morey in the MSS.), of the Bedchamber, Lady Fanshawe no doubt meant William Murray, Earl of Dysart, who died in 1651, the year in which his patent for his title passed the Great Seal, though it was granted in 1646 and ante-dated to 1643. He had been educated with Charles I, and became a Gentleman of his Bedchamber in 1626. He is supposed to have betrayed to Lord Digby the secret of the King's intention to arrest the Five Members. In 1646 he was in the Tower, and on release proceeded to the King at Newcastle, and afterwards to the Queen. In 1649 and 1650 he was deeply engaged in the negotiations between Charles II and the Scots. He had been previously used in July, 1648, as a messenger between the fleet and the Duke of Hamilton. The King and Queen refer to him in correspondence as "Will" Murray. There was also a Mr. Charles Murray, who was with the Prince of Wales in Scilly, and about whom Charles II wrote from Stirling on 20 May, 1651, to Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia (Heathcote MSS., p. 6). He was generally

[1] *In Anthony Wood's "Life and Times" it is mentioned that Sir Robert Heath held several gaol deliveries in Oxford.*

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mistrusted as a false man,[1] but possessed the singular faculty of never telling secrets when drunk! It will be seen from the above that events which Lady Fanshawe groups together as having occurred about the beginning of 1651, really extended over a period from August, 1649, to June, 1652.

Page 78.

The news of the battle of Worcester, fought on 3 September, 1651, was known in London on the 4th, and Cromwell's dispatch, penned on the night of the battle, was published by Parliament on Friday, 5 September. The *Weekly Intelligencer* of 2–9 September and the *Mercurius Politicus* of 4–11 September contain the names of the prisoners taken, among them "Mr. Richard Fanshaw, the King of Scots' Secretary," and the list of prisoners in the custody of the Marshal-General, published by Parliament on 9 September, also includes his name.[2] Cromwell entered London on Friday, 12 September, and the Scots prisoners were brought the next day to Westminster from Hampstead through Aldgate, Cheapside, Fleet Street, and the Strand. Sir Richard Fanshawe had been captured on 4 September with the Earls of Lauderdale, Derby, and Cleveland, and other notable Royalists, at Newport, forty-four miles north of Worcester. Apparently they all rode in the King's company for some distance, but they then separated from the latter so as to give him a better chance of escaping: their surrender on promise of quarter was necessitated by their being caught between two bodies of the Parliamentary horse, one of which was between them and the north, and the other of which closed on them in pursuit. As regards his treatment by his captors it may be noted that Clarendon records in his *History of the Rebellion:* "They who fled out of Worcester and were not killed but made prisoners were treated best and found great humanity; but all the foot and others that were taken in that town, except some few officers and persons of quality, were driven like cattle with a guard to London, and there treated with great rigour, and many perished from want of food; and being enclosed in little room till they were sold to the plantations for slaves, they died of all diseases." The words (p. 79, ll. 8, 9) "a horseback. At last came the captain and a

[1] *Bishop Henry Guthrie, of Dunkeld, wrote in his Memoirs* (1702) *that though Murray had as much reason to be faithful to the King as any Scotsman alive, yet it was believed, and the Marquis of Montrose had openly asserted, that he had been false to him on some occasions. The King had due information of these acts, but did not credit the accusations,* "*whereby it came to pass that both Mr. Murray and others of his Majesty's servants* (*whose pranks were well enough known*) *stood not the less right in his Majesty's eyes to the great prejudice of his affairs and the grief of all true-hearted Royalists.*"

[2] *Mr. Dauncy, in his* "*History of Charles II*" (1660) *records among other captures after Worcester that of* "*the Virgil of this age, that thrice worthy Mr. Richard Fanshaw, Translatour of the renowned* '*Pastor Fido*,' *and Secretary to his Majesty.*"

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soldier" are added to the fair MSS. of the *Memoirs*, and are not in the 1829-30 editions. Sir Richard must have been brought to London on 13 September, and not on the later date of the 17th and 18th with the other principal prisoners, as his case was first considered by the Council of State on 13 September, and the warrant committing him to the Tower, which is reproduced at page 80 (from the Domestic Public Records of the Interregnum, Warrants of the Council of State, Vol. XVIII, p. 27) is dated that day.[1] It was, therefore, on 13 September no doubt that poor Lady Fanshawe and her father and friends met him and dined with him at Charing Cross.[2] The members of the Council present at the meeting of 13 September were Lord President Bradshaw, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, "this day sworn," Lord Chief Justice St. John, Sir Henrie Vane, Colonel Thomson, Mr. Love, Sir H. Mildmay, Mr. Cowley, Mr. Darley, Lord Commissioner Lisle, Colonel Fielder, Mr. Strickland, Mr. Carew, Mr. Scott, Mr. Chaloner, Lord Commissoner Whitelock, and Sir James Harrington, by whom the following resolution was passed:—

Mr. Fanshaw.—That Mr. Fanshawe be committed to the keeping of the Serjeant-at-Arms until the afternoon, who is to take special care of him that no one speak with him and that he make not his escape, and that he is to bring him before the Committee of Examination this afternoon.

That Mr. Fanshawe be committed close prisoner to the Tower of London in order to his examination, there to be kept until he shall be freed from thence in a due course of law, the cause to be High Treason for adhering to Charles Stuart.

That it be referred to the Committee of Examination to send for Mr. Fanshawe before them and to examine him and afterwards to cause him to be committed to the Tower according to the warrant by Council (Public Record Office Record, Domestic Interregnum, Foul Order Book, No. 22, p. 43). The warrant runs as follows:—

"These are to will and require you to receive herewith into yo^{r} custody y^{e} body of — ffanshaw and him safely to keep in y^{e} Tower of London a close prisoner for high treason by adhering to Charles Stuart untill he shall be delivered thence by a due course of law. Of w^{ch} you are not to fail, and for which this shall be yo^{r} warrant. Given at y^{e} Councell of State at Whitehall this 13th day of September, 1651.

"Signed in the name and by order of the Councell of State appointed by Authority of Parliament, Jo. Bradshawe, P^{r}sid^{t}.

"To the Lieutenant of the Tower of London."

[1] *Probably Lady Fanshawe never knew of the existence of this warrant. Had she done so she would hardly have omitted mention of it.*

[2] *Charing Cross contained many taverns at this time, chiefly no doubt for the convenience of persons frequenting the Court at Whitehall. Sixty-six of these were named in Middlesex and Herts "Notes and Queries," Vol. III, pp. 196-99, and full details of many of them will be found in Mr. MacMichael's "Charing Cross," chaps. ii., iii.*

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On 15 September the Council referred to the Committee of Examinations to complete the examination of Mr. Fanshawe and Colonel Graves, a fellow-Royalist in Scotland and at Worcester, and on the 18th the committee was directed to report on the case "to the Council to-morrow in the afternoon, and thereupon the petition of Mr. Fanshawe to be taken into consideration." No further mention of the case occurs till 28 November, when a meeting of the Council, at which the following members were present: The Lord President, the Lord General, Colonel Thomson, Lord Grey, Mr. Goodwyn, Sir John Bourchier, Sir William Brereton, Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Chaloner, Mr. Scott, Sir William Masham, Colonel Purefoy, Sir Henry Vane, and Mr. Love, resolved:—

"That Mr. Fanshawe, who is now prisoner in the custody of John King, one of the Serjeant's deputies, shall have his liberty upon bail for the space of two months for the recovery of his health, he being certified to be in a deep scorbuto, himself to be bound in £2000 with two sureties in £1000 conditioned that he render himself prisoner to the serjeant or else attending this Council at the end of the said two months from the date of his security or earlier if the committee shall require him so to do, and to do nothing to the prejudice of the Commonwealth and the present Government thereof."

Lady Fanshawe's account of what took place on this occasion is therefore fully borne out by the public records. That Sir Richard Fanshawe should have got off so easily as he did considering his position of special trust about the King, and that he had been allowed to compound, and must, therefore, have taken the negative oath not to work against the Commonwealth, is rather remarkable, and was due probably to the respect in which Cromwell held him. Possibly Sir Henry Mildmay may have befriended the prisoner, as he was the grandson of Sir Walter Mildmay (p. 278), and therefore distantly connected with Sir Richard: he was also a nephew of Lord Capel, and had been among the Straffordians. The point of Cromwell's jest is a little obscure, as was apt to be the case. Perhaps the play was on *taking* the engagement as if it were a course of medicine. Fanshawe's friends were evidently deeply concerned about him. Secretary Nicholas wrote early in October that he feared Fanshawe might suffer on account of Ascham's death, but Sir George Radcliffe, about the same time, wrote that he heard he would escape this danger, adding: "Yet I am confident he is an honest man and will remain so"; and Hyde, writing to Nicholas a month later, said: "I have this morning received yours of the 31st with that from Dick Fanshawe, who you see meant we should have heard sooner from him. I wish he were at liberty, for upon my word he is a very honest, excellent man." He was naturally included in the Act of 1652 among the Royalists whose estates were to be sold as forfeited for treason to the Commonwealth. On 25 November of that year the Council of State ordered the Committee of Examinations to take bail again from Mr. Fanshawe and Colonel Graves for their appearance before the Council twenty days after summons given them.

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Page 79. *Line* 22.

Borstall House (commonly called Bostal, and as in the MSS. of the *Memoirs*, Boston House) was situated eight miles north-west of Oxford on the border of Buckinghamshire: it formed one of the most important outlying military positions of that place, and as such is mentioned in Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*. Abandoned at one time by the Royalists, the Parliamentary garrison placed in it was found to be so great a thorn in the side of Oxford that Colonel Gage assaulted and took it in June, 1644, Lady Denham escaping by means of a secret passage, "conscious of her disloyalty" according to Sir Edward Walker. An attack by Fairfax in the same month of the following year was beaten off by the garrison with considerable loss. Sir William Campion surrendered the post just a year later again, the officers of the garrison resolving, "We do verily believe the King is not in a position to relieve us; we do therefore hold it fitting that there be a treaty for the surrender of the garrison upon honourable conditions, and that we may not be disenabled for his Majesty's service hereafter if occasion shall serve." There is a picture of the house in Lipscombe's *History of Bucks*. Symonds in his Diary describes it as "fortified by pallisades or rather stockade, a graff full of water, and two more pallisades inside." Under James I the lordship of the forest was granted to Sir John Denham, or Dynham, who with his wife, the Lady Penelope, conveyed it in 1632 to their daughter Margaret and her husband John Banastre. Among other members of a commission which granted Sir John compensation for forest lands in the early years of Charles I was Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins.

The plan of Whitehall in Stowe's *London*, shows that the road which led into the bowling green from King Street, just outside the palace precincts, was exactly opposite the present Downing Street, and the spot where Lady Fanshawe used to stand under her husband's window must have been very near the railway which now divides Montague House from Richmond Terrace. From various circumstances it is clear that Sir Richard's imprisonment was not very strictly enforced.

Dr. John Bathurst (Batters (?) according to the spelling of Lady Fanshawe), took the degree of M.A. at Cambridge, where he was at Pembroke College, in 1621, and of M.D. in 1637. He became Fellow of the College of Physicians in 1637, and Elect in place of the great Harvey in 1657; and died in 1659 (Munk's Roll of the Royal College of Physicians). He was M.P. in two of Cromwell's Parliaments, and voted for his patron being made King. Whether he or Dr. Ralph Bathurst, Dean of Wells after the Restoration, attended the King at Holmby House as physician of the Earl of Pembroke is not clear.

"Cousin Young" was no doubt Anne Osborne, the daughter of Edward Osborne, of the Inner Temple (died 1628), and his wife Alice, daughter of Sir William Boteler of Biddenham, Beds, and Ursula Smythe (sister of the second wife of Thomas Fanshawe, and of the wife of Henry Fanshawe), who married Ellis Young (Genealogical Memoirs of the Chesters of

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Chichely). She was godmother of Lady Fanshawe's daughter Elizabeth, who was born in 1651 and died in 1655. Ellis Young was a servant of Lady Elizabeth Fanshawe in 1629; and he is known as a trustee in a sale of the Rectory of Bengeo, and as attesting by oath in 1652 the execution of a deed relating to Ilford Hospital by Sir Thomas Fanshawe, and was possibly the Young of Warwick Lane assessed by the Committee for the Advance of Moneys in 1647, but nothing more has been discovered regarding him. In a later generation, the fourth from Robert Fanshawe of Fanshawe Gate, a Mary Fanshawe also married a Younge of the city of London.

In Knight's *London* it is stated that the house occupied by Sir Richard Fanshawe in Chancery Lane was number 115: it has not been ascertained upon what authority this rests, nor in what part of the lane the house of that number stood.

Page 82. § 2.

The patent of baronet bears the date of 2 September, 1650 (see page 410 above). As all titles granted by the Crown after 1644 were ignored by the Parliament, it is not surprising to find the ex-Secretary still called plain Mr. Fanshawe in the public records and news-letters of the time; but it does seem strange that he should continue to be termed so by brother Royalists, to whom the fact must have become known. The patent of additional arms bears the date of 8 February, 1650, when Charles II was at Elizabeth Castle in Jersey for the second time, and recites—

"Whereas the shield of arms of this family is 'in a field or a chevron between three flowers de luce sable,' know ye that we . . . have given and granted . . . to the aforesaid Richard Fanshawe . . . and to his heirs and descendants, and also to the heirs and descendants of the said Thomas Fanshawe, Esq. (died 1601), that they and their heirs and descendants for ever shall and may bear the shield of arms in these presents described, to wit 'in a field checky argent and azure a cross gules.' . . . We will further that they can and may bear the cognisances aforesaid . . . either alone or jointly and quartered with the old cognisances or others according to the usage of arms in England."

This grant too was made on a date when Fanshawe was absent from the King, and about to sail from Galway to Spain. The grant is said to have been made on 8 February, 164*9*, "but in the *second* year of our reign," and that year began on 31 January, 1649–50, or 1650 according to modern reckoning.

Page 82. § 3.

The emendation of "as I waked" for "as I walked" of the MSS. in this paragraph was suggested by Mr. W. W. Skeat.

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Page 82. § 4.

The daughter of Sir Richard born on 30 July, 1652, was Katherine, who was unmarried at the time of her mother's death, and died unmarried. The name Katherine was adopted from the Smythe into the Fanshawe family.

She was appointed executrix under her mother's will, and in accordance with that sold the house of Little Grove in East Barnet.

In the Rutland MSS. it is noted that under the date of 25 August, 1681, that Lady Danby (niece of Viscount Fanshawe, being daughter of the second Earl of Lindsey) was at Astrope Waters with her companion, the daughter of Sir Richard Fanshawe, who used to be with the Duchess of Albemarle. Nothing else has been gleaned of her life except that she was alive in 1704, when Sir Edmund Turnor made his will.

It may be noted here that John Evelyn and Richard Fanshawe met twice in February and March, 1652.

Page 83. § 1.

Bayfordbury, as explained at page 310, belonged to Sir William Ferrers and his son, Knighton Ferrers, and passed, through Katherine the daughter of the latter, to Thomas Fanshawe, subsequently second Viscount Fanshawe, nephew of Sir Richard.

Tankersley Park, in Yorkshire, lies three miles west of Wentworth. Part of the old castellated residence in which Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe resided still remains; and a quaint print of 1720 gives a full view of it and of the deer enclosure, and of the church and the moated parsonage. The park was purchased by the first Earl of Strafford before 1635, in which year he wrote:—

"I appoint my cousin Rockley (? Rocksby; see page 594) master of the game at Tankersley, desiring him he will now and then look into the house to see that it be kept from decay; that the woods be preserved without cutting or lopping, which is almost as bad; that the park be sufficiently maintained; the deer be increased till they come to 300; that the ponds be from time to time kept in repair and maintained."

De Foe, in the account of his tour published in 1727, says the Tankersley red deer were the largest in all England, and that one was higher than his horse; and Oldys speaks of great yew trees in the park, one Talbot's yew so large that a man on horseback might turn about in it. On the moor near Tankersley the Marquis of Newcastle had defeated the Parliamentary troops in April, 1643.

Lord Wentworth, whose title of Earl of Strafford was not recognized by the Parliament, received a pass permitting him to go abroad in 1642, and remained abroad until January, 1652, when he returned to England, and his estates were released from sequestration. This was only a little more than a year before he lent Tankersley Park to the Fanshawes. Evelyn met him and

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Mr. Heath (page 421) at Calais in January, 1652. No doubt he was then awaiting permission to return and settle in England.

The death of William Newce, husband of Mary, sister of Sir Richard, is not recorded in the Much Hadham register; the notice of the death of "old Mrs. Newce, widow," in 1666, would seem to be that of his consort. Sir Edmond Turnor and his wife are mentioned at page 479 below.

Page 84.

The baby Katherine was apparently left at nurse in the south when Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe went to Tankersley. Their daughter Margaret, named after Lady Fanshawe's mother and sister, born on 8 October, 1653, was their fourth daughter in succession; she married Vincent Grantham, of Goltho,[1] on 13 June, 1675 (*Memoirs*, p. 11). Her birth and the death of her sister Ann (July, 1654) are alike unrecorded in the Tankersley registers, and nothing marks the grave of the latter in the church. As Ann was born on 7 June, 1646, she was only eight years old at the time of her death, not between nine and ten, as Lady Fanshawe says. The translation of the "Lusiads" of Camoëns, though made in 1653–4, was not published till 1655. In the dedication to the Earl of Strafford, with the erroneous inscription "From your lordships Park of Tankersley, May 1st, 1655," the translator has recorded, "From the hour I began it to the end thereof, I slept not once out of these walls." Previous to this, on 27 December, 1653, Sir Richard had written a commendatory letter upon the translation of the First Book of *Lucretius* by John Evelyn, addressing him as "noble cousin," and directing the letter "For my honoured friend and kinsman Mr. John Evelyn." In praising the work the elder poet said, "I injure it with the name of Translation. It is Lucretius himselfe"; and Waller, commending the same, wrote:—

> "For here Lucretius whole we find
> His words, his music, and his mind.
> Thy art has to our country brought
> All that he writ and all he thought."

And, indeed, for its age the merits both of the translation and of the English verse in which that is clothed are very considerable.

In his letter Sir Richard speaks of himself as a friend "clouded with disgrace and misfortune," and sends the humble services of himself and his wife

[1] *The Grantham family was an ancient one and well connected, and Vincent was an old name in it. One member was Mayor of Lincoln in* 1527, *another was M.P. for that city in* 1547, *a third was knighted in* 1603. *The youngest son of Margaret Fanshawe and her husband, born in* 1693 *and deceased in* 1758, *was said to be the last male heir of the family* (*Harleian Society, Vol. LI.*). *Goltho is near Wragby, in Lincolnshire.*

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to Evelyn "and my good cousin your Lady. Likewise to my Lady Browne[1] if in these parts; for here we are ignorant of everything." The seal on the original letter in the British Museum (Add. MSS., 28,104 ff. 607) shows that up to this date Sir Richard had not made use of a signet quartering the honourable augmentation of arms granted to him in February, 1650. John Evelyn met Sir Richard again on 23 November, 1654, on his return from Tankersley to London.

Page 84. *Line* 4 *from end.*

Frogpool, in Kent, now known as Frognal, is situated three-quarters of a mile west of St. Mary's Cray and one and a quarter miles north-east of Chislehurst, in the parish church of which Sir Philip Warwick and his wife are buried.

Evelyn records in his Diary, under the date of 27 August, 1675, a visit to Sir Philip Warwick at "Frogpoole." By a slip Lady Fanshawe wrote in the *Memoirs*, "my sister Boteler," instead of "my sister Warwick."

Lady Fanshawe's daughter Ann, born on 22 February, 1655, married a Mr. Ryder, who predeceased her. Nothing definite has been discovered regarding him or her married life, though there are many Ryders in the registers of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

Dr. Ridgley was a member of St. John's College, Cambridge. He took the degree of M.A. in 1600, and of M.D. in 1608; and became a Fellow of the College of Physicians in 1622, and Elect in 1641. He died at the age of eighty, in June, 1656, and was buried in St. Botolph's, Aldersgate (Munk's Roll of the Royal College of Physicians).

There is an incomplete entry of the burial of Lady Fanshawe's daughter Elizabeth in the church register of Chislehurst. The daughter Mary lived till 1660. She is the child on Lady Fanshawe's knee in the reproduction facing page 92. She was named no doubt after Sir Richard's sister, Mary Newce. This name also came from the Smythe to the Fanshawe family.

Page 85. § 2.

Bengeo lies on the picturesque wooded height on the south bank of the Lea opposite Hertford town, and also opposite Ware Park, which faces it to the east on the left bank of the Rib; the Bean, from which Bengeo derives its name, joins the Lea to the west of that place. Thomas Fanshawe (died 1601) bought the manor of Bengeo subsequently to purchasing Ware Park, and it was sold with the latter by the second Viscount in 1668. There is no record in the church registers of the birth or burial of Lady Fanshawe's second son of the name of Henry. A plain silver communion chalice and paten,

[1] *It seems curious that the writer should allude in this way to Lady Browne, as she died in September of the previous year.*

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presented to the quaint old church of St. Lawrence by Lady Fanshawe, bear the inscriptions, "Bengeo church w^t 16^o 1 p 18^y An. Fanshawe," and "Bengeo church w^t 6^or 7 p. 16^y An. Fanshawe." These, which had been stolen from the church, were recovered in London by the merest accident, and were restored to their original service by Mr. Evelyn Fanshawe, of Parsloes. Lady Elizabeth Fanshawe, widow of Sir Henry, made three presentations to the Bengeo living in 1623, 1625, and 1629, and Sir Thomas Fanshawe (first Viscount Fanshawe) two in 1635 and 1661. The name of Carey (*Memoirs*, p. 217) does not occur among the incumbents, but a Mr. Craven was vicar of Ware in 1657. A street in modern Bengeo bears the name of Fanshawe (A.D. 1907).

Page 86. § 2.

The Friary or Priory of Ware was, according to Sir Henry Chauncey, a Franciscan house. On the dissolution of the monasteries it was granted to Thomas Birch—(Vallens, in his *Tale of the Two Swans*, refers to it as "Byrche's House Which whilom was the Brothers Friars Place")—and it afterwards passed through two hands into those of Mr. Haydon. The house still stands in very pretty grounds on the south bank of the Lea, and incorporates part of the arcade of the cloister and a large dormitory, with its original oak roof, now divided up into several rooms.

The news of the death of Cromwell on 3 September, 1658, must of course have reached Ware the same day. One could have wished that Lady Fanshawe had said one word in honour of the great Protector, who had been friendly to her husband at least; but no doubt her Royalist feelings were too strong to allow of this.[1]

Clarendon at least was able to write justly in that well-known character when he recorded of him, "But his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it"; and if his Royalist predilections compelled him to add that the Protector was one of those men "quos vituparare ne inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent," and that "ausum eum quœ nemo auderat bonus, perfecisse quœ a nullo nisi fortissimo perfici possent," he was constrained to record the following summary of the man's whole work: "In

[1] *The Cavaliers generally spoke of the Protector's end under the guise of the name of the old play, "The Devil is Dead," and Butler did not scruple to write in "Hudibras"—*

> *"Tossed in a furious hurricane*
> *Did Oliver give up his reign;*
> *And was believed, as well by saints,*
> *As mortal man and miscreants,*
> *To founder in the Stygian ferry."*

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a word, as he had all the wickedness against which damnation is denounced and hell fire is prepared, so he had some virtues which have caused the name of some men in all ages to be celebrated, and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave bad man." Happily modern judgment is nearer to Milton's fine appreciation—

> "Cromwell our chief of men, who through a cloud
> Not of war only, but detractions rude,
> Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
> To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plough'd."

Sir Thomas Fanshawe must often have seen Cromwell in the early days of the Long Parliament, and probably Sir Richard had also often seen him before he appeared at the Council of State in September and November, 1651. Lady Fanshawe does not mention the great storm which occurred on the day of the Protector's death—

> "Nature herself took notice of his death,
> And sighing swelled the seas with such a breath
> That to remotest shore her billows roll'd
> The approaching fate of their great Ruler told."
>
> *Waller.*

The Cromwell motto was, "Mors meta laborum," and of no man who ever lived was this more true than of Oliver Cromwell.

Page 87.

The pass granted to Sir Richard Fanshawe allowing him to proceed beyond the seas was dated 24 September, 1658, or only three weeks after the Protector's death. The volume of the Public Records in which it should be found is unfortunately no longer forthcoming, and the fact is known only from the entry in the index.

Philip, fifth Earl of Pembroke,[1] born 1620, was fourth son of Philip, fourth Earl, whose mother was Mary Sidney, immortalised by the epitaph written on her by Ben Jonson: the fourth and third Earls were the incomparable pair of brethren to whom Shakespeare's folio was dedicated. He succeeded his fantastic father in 1649, and died in 1669. Both father and son were on the side of the Parliament in the Civil War; the former received King Charles when surrendered by the Scots in January, 1647, but the latter made his peace with the Court at the Restoration, and was Cupbearer and the Bearer of the Golden Spurs at the coronation of Charles II. His three sons—William, Philip, and Thomas—all succeeded as sixth, seventh, and eighth Earls, the last dying as late as A.D. 1732. The eldest son, of whom Sir Richard Fanshawe had

[1] *Among the pictures at Wilton House are portraits of Philip, fifth Earl of Pembroke, and of his son William, sixth Earl, by Lely.*

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charge, was Lord William Herbert, later sixth Earl;[1] he is mentioned again at page 101 of the *Memoirs* as having received Lady Fanshawe and her husband at Wilton in the absence of his father. Sir Edward Hyde was very anxious to learn from Fanshawe the inclinations of this young man; and it was no doubt of great importance to secure his father's adherence to the cause of the Restoration. Writing of him to Sir R. Fanshawe on 4—14 June, 1659, he said: "Is my lord of Pembroke so mad or so foolish that he can never be made of any use to the King?" Pepys speaks of the father as "too great to be called to an account, and is abused by his servants and yet is obliged to defend them for his own sake." When Pepys visited Wilton from Stonehenge the Earl was again absent from home.

Papers among the Heathcote MSS. show that Fanshawe had written to Sir Edward on 4 October, 1658, before he had left England, but this letter reached Hyde only in March, 1659. After chiding Fanshawe for his long delay in writing to him at the Court, where he had two such friends (Hyde and Ormonde) besides his master, though the writer knew well the unlawfulness of correspondence so long as Fanshawe was in England, Hyde continues in his letter of 30 April—10 May, 1659—"When I read your letter to the King he was most out of countenance I ever saw him, and had as absolutely forgot, indeed remembered no more of his engagement to you than of anything was done the day he was born; and I must again tell you it cannot be enough wondered at that you would not during the time of your stay in England when you had frequent opportunities, or at your first[2] coming over, be sure that the King should be put in mind of your pretence which had determined all other. . . . What I say for myself I say for my Lord Lieutenant, that you shall be very happy if it be ever in my power to serve you." From which it will be seen that Hyde did not approve of Fanshawe having honourably kept the terms of his release on bail so strictly, and that the King had utterly forgotten his services and his own promises of reward to him—no doubt the appointment of Secretary of State. That Hyde himself had not altogether forgotten his old friend appears from letters in the Clarendon Papers in the Bodleian, which show that at the end of July, 1657, he had urged upon the King and the Marquis of Ormonde the desirability of appointing Dick Fanshawe to be Secretary to the Duke of York; and on 1 August Hyde, writing again to the Marquis, observed that the King's answer concerning D(ick) Fansh(aw) was what he would have expected, "for it puts him to no trouble, but that temper of mind will cost them dear"—a conclusion against which Ormonde strongly protested in his reply to the Lord Chancellor. On *4—14 June*, 1659, Hyde wrote again that Fanshawe would be

[1] *He was born in* 1640, *and was therefore nineteen years old in* 1659; *his mother was Penelope Naunton, Dowager Viscountess Bayning. In* 1665 *Evelyn sent Philips, the nephew of Milton, to be tutor to the Earl of Pembroke's younger sons.*

[2] *This is not very intelligible in view of the dates above.*

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Secretary of the Latin Tongue, and proposed that he should be Master of Requests also, "from whence to be Secretary is a very natural step . . . and in which you would very honestly get six or seven hundred pounds a year though you should never make any suit for yourself . . . this place the King has promised Ormonde and me for you, and that you shall be the first who shall be sworn in it." (This date is rather later than that given by Lady Fanshawe.) Hyde added apparently with reference to the place of Secretary of State, "As soon as that place falls, which it will do ere long, it shall infallibly be yours," and with reference to Fanshawe's wish to accompany the King to the Conference at the Isle of Pheasants, he stated that there were reasons why this could not be. Hyde also asked him upon what studies he was then fixed, what books he had written and printed since he saw him last, and why he had not sent a copy of them to him; and on 16—26 July, he acknowledged the translations sent to him. Later in the year, again, Lord Mordaunt, writing from Colombes on 11 December, 1659, to Hyde, said:—

"My Lord, 'tis a new point the communication of affairs to foreign ministers, and to such as have not yet absolutely promised to serve the King; and indeed I am clear of opinion there ought to be great caution in it. His Majesty engaged me in it, and I had no refuge but desiring his Majesty that Mr. Fanshawe might undertake it upon such heads as I should give him. Upon debate Mr. Fanshawe is as averse to it as I am, so that by my advice we omit those things the knowledge of which may prejudice us most and all names. How this will satisfy I know not, but I am sure 'tis honest." This letter shows that Sir Richard and the King were together in Paris or the neighbourhood in December, 1659.

Page 88. § 2.

Henry Neville was son of Sir Henry Neville, of Billingbear, near Wokingham, Berks, who was married to Elizabeth, younger daughter of Sir John Smythe, of Ostenhanger, eldest son of Customer Smythe (p. 279). He was, therefore, son of the first cousin of Richard Fanshawe, and he was four years younger than Lady Fanshawe. He was on the side of Parliament from the first, sat on the Committee of Delinquents at the Goldsmiths' Hall where the Fanshawes had to appear in order to compound, served on the Council of State, 1651, was banished from London by Cromwell, 1654, sat as M.P. for Reading in 1658, and was one of the Council of State of Richard Cromwell in May, 1659. He acted with General Ludlow in the days preceding the Restoration, and was known as "a person of singular affection to the Commonwealth," and Mordaunt wrote to Hyde on 7 June, 1659, that these two and Sir T. Harrington and Sir Henry Mildmay were "four perfectly Commonwealth's men, who lead the house as to plurality of voices," but like the rest of his party he failed to adopt any energetic line of action, and was consequently swept away by the advance of Monk towards the restoration of monarchy. Wood in his *Athenæ Oxonienses* concludes charitably of them,

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"they looked upon themselves afterwards when they saw what General George Monk intended as ideots and desperate fools!" He was arrested in 1663,[1] but was released in the subsequent year. He died in 1694. His devotion to his ideals of freedom had been practically proved by his boldly withstanding the Protector in the matter of the Reading election in 1656, when he sued the Sheriff of Berkshire for wrongfully returning another person as elected, and obtained £1500 damages, Chief Justice St. John declaring that it was a heinous crime for a sheriff, who was but a servant to the county, to presume to impose upon them such members as he pleased to serve in Parliament, which was the bulwark of the people's liberties. Cromwell intervened in the matter, and Neville was never paid apparently; but in 1659 the House of Commons affirmed his election after a discussion of a charge of atheism brought against him. "As to the charge against Mr. Neville," Burton notes in his Diary, "it fell asleep after five hours' debate nobody knows how!" Neville was the author of the *Isle of Pines* (published 1668), which may in some measure have suggested *Robinson Crusoe* to Defoe, and of a severe but coarse satire on the Court morality of the day (published in 1647), and entitled *The Parliament of Ladies*. In this both Lady Aubigny and Lady Isabella Thynne, who was elected Speaker of the Parliament, are made to appear in very odious lights. Lady Fanshawe's description of him as a member of the High *Court of Justice* is a mistaken one no doubt for a member of the Committee for the Public Safety.

Page 89.

Wallingford House, which stood till A.D. 1720 on the site of the present Admiralty, was built by William Viscount Wallingford, second son of the well-known Sir Francis Knollys. He sold it in 1622 for £3000 to the first Duke of Buckingham, who lay there in state after his murder by Feltham. From the roof of it Archbishop Ussher saw King Charles issue from the Banqueting Hall on to the scaffold at Whitehall, but could bear to see no more. During the latter years of the Commonwealth General Fleetwood lived in it, and the council of officers, opposed to the Restoration which was known by the name of it, met here in May, 1659, and considered and debated until it had become too late to act against General Monk. In that month Clarendon wrote:—

[1] *On 17 November, 1663, Sir Thomas and Sir Richard Fanshawe were allowed to discourse with Henry Neville in his keeper's presence, and it was probably by the Fanshawe influence that he escaped so easily as he did. A letter of Neville to Sir Richard, written at Florence on 28 October, 1664, is still extant among the Tanner MSS. of the Bodleian. In it he writes of "your last charity visiting me in a prison was a work which I must never hope to deserve much less to requite", and speaks of "being by His Majesty's grace restored to my perfect liberty," and of "my great obligations and ancient servitude to you."*

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"You will believe they are not very firm in resolutions when it was last week proposed in the council of officers at Wallingford House, after many fruitless and contradicted motions, that they should call in the last King's son as the only expedient to secure peace and to preserve the nation; to which it was replied that they could not trust him for their security, since tho' he did resolve to perform whatever he did promise, yet when he called a Parliament that would never ratify it, and so as they should be destroyed"—which was a pretty accurate forecast of what the Cavalier Parliament of 1661 wished to do, and Charles II, to his credit, resisted. Passes were apparently often counterfeited or altered. Evelyn mentions having once dealt with one in this way, but he found that on the whole a bribe to the searchers was as authentic as the hand and seal of Bradshaw himself![1] (13 August, 1650.) The usual route from London to Dover in the seventeenth century was by boat to Gravesend, and then by coach, forty-eight miles, to Dover.

Page 90. §§ 2 *and* 3.

Mr. Booth was the King's Agent at Calais. Evelyn mentions him as such under 7 May, 1649. Evelyn also repeatedly mentions the disturbed state of the country round Calais,[2] and the necessity under which all travellers lay of proceeding well armed. The stages from Calais to Paris were Montreuil (thirty-five miles), Abbeville (thirty miles), Poix (twenty-five miles), Beauvais (twenty-five miles), Beaumont (twenty-two miles), and Paris (twenty miles). If the letters above referred to are the ones to which Lady Fanshawe also alludes under the date of April, she could not apparently have reached Paris till July, and had been there only three months when she lost her only son, who was then nearly eleven and a half years old. It is this loss to which Sir Edward Hyde alludes in his letter of 5—15 November (Heathcote MSS., p. 15), in which he writes:—

"I have received yours of the 7th (November) which hath renewed very much my trouble and sorrow for you, which was before in some degree abated out of the hope that the foundation of it was not true; for Church writing in a postscript as a thing he only feared, and in the next letter saying nothing of it, I entertained a faint hope that God Almighty had withdrawn that affliction from you, and so forbore condoling in my own letter with you last week. I know not what to say, but to refer you to your own good spirit and ratiocination. Your friends in England hold up their heads again, and I hope we may once more meet there."

[1] *Under the pass of* 25 *June*, 1650, *signed* "*J Bradshawe President*" *and still extant, Evelyn wrote:* "*The hand of that villain who sentenced our Charles I of B*(*lessed*) *M*(*emory*)."

[2] *Writing in* 1648, *Lord Clarendon recorded:* "*The way between Rouen and Calais was dangerous without a strong convoy, that no day passed without robberies and murders*" ("*Rebellion*," *XI*, *p.* 23).

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The statement in the text that the poor boy was buried in the Protestant *church* seems to be a slip for Protestant churchyard (see p. 215). In 1665 (see p. 518) we find Sir Richard condoling with Lord Clarendon upon the death of a son of his. The Earl of Bristol was John Digby the first earl, Ambassador in Spain in 1623, who died in Paris on 21 January, 1653. It was in the place of his son George Digby, the second earl, that Sir Richard Fanshawe was installed as Knight of the Garter in 1661.

Page 92. § 2.

Colombes (Combes in the MSS.) lies much further from Paris than two leagues, the real distance being five leagues. Queen Henrietta Maria often stayed at her residence there both before and after the Restoration. Her letters to Charles II, from June—September, 1660, are dated from there. The King was with his mother at Paris in December, 1659, on his return from the conference at Fontarabia, which ended in the peace of the Pyrenees, and this was no doubt the occasion of Lady Fanshawe seeing him again. In spite of her definite statement here that she had not met the King for almost ten years (as a matter of fact she could not have seen him since she went to Ireland in May, 1649, or ten and a half years previously), Miss Agnes Strickland quotes as from the *Memoirs* an alleged description by her of the King, "now grown to a majestic stature," after his escape from Worcester, and Mr. Fea has followed this imaginary account in a recently published work of his. Lady Fanshawe does not mention the Queen's daughter Henrietta at this time; but Sir John Reresby writes of her beauty, and records that "the young princess, then aged about eighteen years, used me with all the civil freedom that might be, made me dance with her, played on the harpsichord to me in her highness chamber, suffered me to attend upon her as she walked in the garden with the rest of her retinue, and sometimes to toss her in a swing made of a cable which she sat upon tied between two trees."

A letter from Hyde, dated Brussels, 14—24 January, 1660, shows that Fanshawe had not joined the King there up to that date, and gives news of the offer of "the place (of Secretary of State) to one who upon my conscience will never deserve it (no doubt Sir William Morrice), yet in the interval it will not be fit to fill it." The declaration of Breda was issued on 4 April, 1660, and the King was proclaimed at Westminster on 8 May.

Page 92. § 2.

It seems a bold act of Lady Fanshawe to have returned to England at this juncture, considering the manner of her leaving it; but probably the known state of things in London justified a belief that she could do so with impunity. She does not say where she stayed on this occasion.

The removal from Brussels to Breda early in April, 1660, was caused by the discovery that the Marques of Caracena and the Spanish authorities in the

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Low Countries were scheming to detain the King until they had extorted certain concessions from him, and in particular the surrender of Dunkirk and Jamaica. Information of the plot was given by the Portuguese Ambassador in England to General Monk, and he at once sent word to the King through Sir John Grenvile.

According to Le Neve, Sir Richard Fanshawe was knighted at Breda by King Charles II in April, 1660 (Le Neve's *Knights* (1696), Harleian Society, Vol. VIII, p. 41). It is curious that Lady Fanshawe does not record the incident in the *Memoirs*. In the funeral certificate of her husband, signed by her, it is recorded he went to the King at Breda in February, 1660, and was knighted there.

Pepys also mentions seeing the Princess Royal and Queen of Bohemia on 17 May, 1660, and again on the 23rd, when they came on board the King's ship to wish him God-speed. The Queen was the eldest daughter of James I, born in August, 1596, and married to the Elector Palatine (or Palsgrave) in 1613. He died in November, 1632. She is known alike for her beauty and her misfortunes, for her sons the Princes Rupert and Maurice, and her youngest daughter the Electress Sophia of Hanover. After the Restoration she came to England in May, 1662, and died in Leicester House on 13 February following, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 17th. Evelyn records the occurrence of a violent thunderstorm on the same day.

Page 93. § 2.

There is a picture of the entertainment given by the States to the King and his family, and quite possibly Richard Fanshawe may be among the cavaliers figured in it. In attacking Mr. Morrice, Lady Fanshawe omits to mention the somewhat important fact that it was through this gentleman that the King's agents were first able to open those communications with General Monk which led directly to the Restoration. On 27 March, and again on 8 April, 1660 (Thurloe Papers), Charles II had written to Morrice holding out hopes of great rewards to him. On the latter date the King said, "The good offices you have and will perform for me are so meritorious that they deserve all the trust and confidence I can repose in you, and therefore you will easily believe that I must be always very kind to you, upon which you may depend, and that whilst I live I will never expect anything from you but what becomes a true lover of his country"; and in April Mordaunt took over the patent of the office of Secretary of State for him. Later, on 2 and 4 May, Sir John Grenvile (Earl of Bath) wrote to the King that "Mr. Morrice was the first man who spoke in a very elegant oration in the House (of Commons) for (his Majesty's) restoration, and the letter of acknowledgment, and for the money, which was seconded with a *nemine contradicente*"; and added, "I have very much to say concerning the merits of this worthy person, even from the mouth of enemies as well as friends." Accordingly he was knighted and confirmed

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Secretary of State at Canterbury on 26 May, 1660, and held that office till 1668, dying in 1676, the year in which Lady Fanshawe's *Memoirs* were transcribed. He was not unsuccessful as Secretary of State, though he was never fully accepted by the Court party. Clarendon, in his autobiography, wrote of him that "he did the business of his office without reproach," though not well versed in modern languages, and that "for all domestic affairs no man ever doubted his sufficiency, except in the garb and mode and humour of the Court." The Duke of Albemarle is said to have observed of him that he did not know in what respect his qualifications fell short of his duties, as he knew both French and shorthand! One is tempted to wonder if poor Lady Fanshawe felt any satisfaction when she learnt that it was Sir William Morrice who was sent by the King to take away the Great Seal from Lord Chancellor Clarendon on 30 August, 1667. His son was made K.B. on the coronation of King Charles II, with Sir Thomas Fanshawe the younger and sixty-six others, and was also made Baronet on the same occasion. The MSS. of the *Memoirs* gave the name as Maurice, which the editions of 1829–30 altered into Norris!

Page 93. § 3.

Pepys records on 22 May, 1660, that "the Duke of York, my Lord, Mr. Coventry, and I spent an hour allotting to every ship their service" in the return to England. The *Speedwell*, so rechristened from the *Cheriton*, was a fifth-rater of 294 tons burden, 26 guns, and a crew of 100 men; it was commanded by Captain Henry Cuttance,[1] and the crew received £122 out of the sum assigned by the King as a present to the fleet. She was built in 1656, and cast away at Nova Zembla in 1678. The account given by Pepys of the sailing of the fleet and of the arrival at Dover is as well known as so spirited a narrative deserves to be. The King sailed in the *Charles*, formerly the *Naseby*, the Duke of York in the *London*, and the Duke of Gloucester in the *Swiftsure*. Pepys was on board the King's ship with Admiral Montagu, and with him were Sir Thomas Leventhorpe and Dr. Earle. He tells us how he landed in a small boat with one of the King's footmen, who was in charge of one of the King's pet dogs. The 23rd May, the day of the departure of the fleet, was Wednesday, and the 25th, the day of arrival at Dover, Friday. Dryden's somewhat turgid lines in the *Astræa Redux* may be quoted as a contrast to the simpler account of Lady Fanshawe:—[2]

[1] *Pepys records on 14 August, 1660, that Captain Cuttance, of the "Speedwell," came to him for the King's present to the fleet, and presented his wife with a firkin of butter, one of the first presents apparently that fell to the lot of the Secretary of the Acts.*

[2] *Her description of the sun and moon reads like an unconscious anticipation of that in the "Walrus and the Carpenter"!*

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"Oh had you seen from Schevelin's barren shore
(Crowded with troops and barren now no more)
Afflicted Holland to his farewell bring
True sorrow, Holland to regret a king!
While waiting him his royal fleet did ride,
And willing winds to their lower'd sails denied.
The waving streamers, flags, and standards out,
The merry seamen's rude but cheerful shout;
And last the cannon's voice that shook the skies,
And, as it fires in sudden ecstasies,
At once bereft us both of ears and eyes.
The *Naseby*, now no longer England's shame,
But better to be lost in *Charles* his name,
(Like some unequal bride in nobler sheets)
Receives her lord; the noble *London* meets
The Princely York, himself alone a freight;
The *Swiftsure* groans beneath great Gloucester's weight.
Secure as when the halcyon breeds, with these
He that was born to drown might cross the seas.
Heaven could not own a providence and take
The wealth three nations ventured at a stake."

Waistcloths were the painted canvas coverings of hammocks stowed in the waist nettings between the quarter-deck and forecastle (Admiral W. H. Smyth's *Sailor's Word Book*). In the translation of stanza seventy-three of the second canto of the *Lusiads* Sir Richard Fanshawe wrote:—

"The standard trembles, and the streamer flies,
The scarlet waist cloths at a distance flame,
The drums and timbrels sound."

Page 95. § 2.

Lady Fanshawe spent the night of Friday, 25 May, at Dover, proceeded, no doubt, next day to Rochester or Gravesend, and reached London on Sunday night. She was thus able to witness in the Strand, at the lodging of her niece Fanshawe, who died the same year, the royal entry on the 29th. The King spent Saturday and Sunday in Canterbury and Monday in Rochester. From the last place he proceeded by coach on the morning of the 29th, mounted his horse at Blackheath, banqueted in St. George's Fields, reached Southwark at 3.30 p.m. and London an hour later, and entered Whitehall once more at seven in the evening. Sir Philip Warwick wrote of the demonstration of loyalty on the King's return as being "as great joys and triumphs as were ever in this nation"; and Pepys recorded of the fleet's joy "the shouting and joy expressed by all is past imagination."

"Oh the twenty-ninth of May!
It was a glorious day
When the King did enjoy his own again."

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Sir Arnold Bream, or Braham, of Bridge, three miles east of Canterbury, was knighted at the latter place on 27 May. He was of Flemish descent, but his father had been Customs agent in Dover, and his grandfather in Sandwich. His first wife was daughter of Walter Harfleet, of Beckstowne; his second a daughter of Sir Dudley Digges, and his third a daughter of Sir Thomas Palmer. As he was obliged to pay £800 as a delinquent in July, 1651, he was no doubt actively engaged in the King's service in some way, and probably in the Dover Customs. It appears from *Pepys' Diary* that he was a friend of Sir William Batten, and a heavy drinker, wherein he justified his descent. His son Walter married a daughter of Sir John Jacob, of Bromley, the partner of Sir John Wolstenholme and Sir John Harrison in the farm of the Customs of the Port of London, and on his death Bridge House, the mansion he and his father had constructed, and over which they had practically ruined themselves, was sold (Hasted's *Kent*). The painter, Cornelius Janssens, resided at Bridge with Sir Arnold Bream for a number of years. Monuments to the memory of the first and second wives of the knight still exist in Patrixbourne (Bridge) Church. The church register contains an entry of his burial on 21 November, 1681, and a note of the fact that a fine of £5 was paid on account of his not being buried in woollens only. He died in his eightieth year.

Of the King's entry into London Evelyn wrote as follows:—

"This day his Majesty Charles the Second came to London after a sad and long exile and calamitous suffering both of the King and Church, being seventeen years. This was also his birthday, and with a triumph of above 20,000 horse and foot brandishing their swords and shouting with inexpressible joy; the ways strewed with flowers, the bells wringing, the streets hung with tapestry, fountains running with wine; the Mayor, Aldermen, and all the companies in their liveries, chains of gold and banners; lords and nobles clad in cloth of silver, gold and velvet: the windows and balconies all set with ladies; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking, even so far as from Rochester, so as they were seven hours in passing the city, even from two in the afternoon till nine at night. I stood in the Strand and beheld it."

Pepys, being absent with his patron on the fleet, did not see the sight.

Page 95. § 3.

Like most of the other heirlooms of the family, except the MSS. of the *Memoirs* and the Fanshawe portraits, the picture of King Charles II as a boy has long since disappeared; probably it was given to Sir Richard in recognition of his special services in Scotland in 1650–51. The picture at page 357 represents the King at the age of about fourteen years. Though it seems unlikely in view of the very friendly tone of Sir Edward Hyde's letter in pressing the post of Master of Requests upon Richard Fanshawe, that the

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Earl of Clarendon[1] would have countenanced any oppression of him in his work, yet it stands on record that on 17 July, 1660, the four Masters of Requests—Ralph Freeman, Richard Fanshawe, Robert Mason, and G. Holles—petitioned the King for a declaration of their "right as Masters of Requests, and as a duty imposed upon us by our oaths and office, to procure answers from his majesty to all Petitions whatever which are either handed or sent unto us by his majesty." "We do further affirm," the petition continued, "that if the King grant the request of the Petition, the masters of Requests are bound as true Counsillors by our said oaths and office to signify the said grant to his Attorney or Solicitor General or to the Clerks of the signet attending, together with his pleasure for the preparing of a bill for his majesty's Royal signature containing the said grant, if it require a bill." The masters went on to complain that the Clerks of the Signet had of late assumed to themselves the liberty to obey or reject their warrants, and prayed that this state of affairs might be reformed or ameliorated. A commission was appointed by the King to inquire into this petition, and upon its report it was ordered that matters should be conducted in future in accordance with the petition of the four masters; but it would seem that the grievance continued, to judge from a letter of Samuel Boothouse to Sir Richard Fanshawe while in Lisbon, dated 12 April, 1663 (Heathcote MSS., p. 78), in which he writes: "This day Sir Ralph Freeman told me they were at the old pass with the Secretaries, and is hopeless of better until your Lordship returns, which would be ere long if the many wishes thereof could effect it."

Sir Thomas Aylesbury, father of Frances, second wife of Sir Edward Hyde (1634), was a distinguished mathematician who became secretary first to the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, and then to his successor, the Duke of Buckingham, by whose favour he became Master of Requests and also of the Mint. Anthony Wood mentions his sitting for a short time and as a matter of form as Master of Requests in January, 1643, at Oxford. His Royalist sympathies compelled him to quit England, and he died at Breda in 1657 at the age of eighty-one. His son, who had been tutor to the second Duke of Buckingham and his brother, Lord Francis Villiers (p. 48), and who had translated Davila's *History of the Civil Wars in France* at the instance of Charles I, also resided abroad for a time. He was compelled, however, to return to England in 1650, and died six years later in Jamaica while secretary to Major-General Sedgwick.

Secretary Nicholas was the only old servant of Charles I who held active office after the Restoration. He was born in 1593, or fifteen years before Fanshawe and Hyde. He was first Secretary of the Cinque Ports, then to the Admiralty in 1625, Clerk to the Council in 1635, and Secretary of State in succession to Windebank in 1641, in which year also he was knighted.

[1] *As a very curious misprint it may be noted that in the* 1829 *edition of the "Memoirs" the words "Lord Cha(ncellor) Clar(endon)" were printed "Lord Charles Clare"!*

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After the surrender of Oxford, in the settlement of the terms for which he took part, he retired to Caen, and remained in close correspondence with Hyde; he also lived at Antwerp, the Hague, and Brussels. He was re-appointed Secretary of State in 1654 at Aix-la-Chapelle, and returned as such to England. In 1662 he was compelled to retire by the influence of Lady Castlemaine, and was succeeded by her friend, Sir Henry Bennet, later Lord Arlington. He died in 1669. Clarendon writes of him that he was "very honest and industrious and always versed in business," and "throughout his life a person of very good reputation and singular integrity." Burnett notes that he had served King Charles I faithfully, but had no understanding in foreign affairs. "He was a man of virtue, but could not fall in to the King's (Charles II) temper, or become acceptable to him." He was greatly trusted by Charles I and his Queen, and by the Marquis of Ormonde. The King wrote to him on 24 November, 1648, from Newport: "Your fidelity and industry in our service and eminent affec̃ons [*sic*] to our person have made in us too great an impression to be forgotten." Sir Philip Warwick describes him as "a gentleman of good natural parts and of an unshaken loyalty and eminent probity, perfected by a long experience in affairs and of an indefatigable industry." He lies buried in the church of East Horsley, Sussex, where his wife (who survived him nineteen years) raised a monument to his memory. A replica of a picture of Sir Richard Fanshawe as a young man, almost certainly by Dobson, was long at East Horsley; and it is believed that papers relating to the family and a copy of the *Memoirs* (perhaps a complete one) also existed there. Unhappily all trace of these has been lost for the present. Evelyn visited the ex-Secretary of State at East Horsley in September, 1665. Both Lord Inchiquin and Sir William Morrice wrote to Sir Richard Fanshawe in November and December, 1662, an account of Sir Edward Nicholas' resignation (Heathcote MSS., pp. 48 and 54). The Secretary's high regard for Sir Richard is shown by the extracts from his letters quoted above.

Page 96. § 2.

Lady Fanshawe's Mary is the little daughter on her mother's knee in the picture reproduced at page 92. This was vouched for by the old inscription which was attached to the back of the picture-frame; but otherwise it is difficult to reconcile the fact with dates, the picture having been painted early in 1660 (the steeple at the back appears to be that of Breda), when the child was three and a half years old. However, there was no younger child at that time to have been painted with her mother. The old inscription ran: "My ever loved and deare mother Lady Fanshawe, 35 years old, and poor little Mary, by Teniers, 1660." The picture, which belongs to Colonel H. Walrond, who has most kindly allowed its reproduction, came to light in a perfectly accidental way, having been long lost to the sight of the family. It was presented to Colonel Walrond's grandfather by an old lady named Coleman, descended from Lady Fanshawe, living in or near Frith

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Street, Soho, about the year 1773.[1] "She also gave to my father" (this is taken from a record signed by Colonel Walrond's father in November, 1827), "some MS. papers written by Lady Fanshawe, who was wife of Sir Richard Fanshawe, Bart., Ambassador to Spain, but these have been unfortunately lost." The lady was no doubt the Miss Charlotte Coleman who is mentioned in the preface to the 1829 edition of the *Memoirs* as a great granddaughter of Lady Fanshawe, who made a copy of the *Memoirs* in 1766, from which various other existing copies of the MSS. were subsequently made (see Appendix I). No further trace of Miss Coleman has been discovered, but it would seem probable that she was a member of the family of the well-known actors and playwrights which resided in Soho for a long period. Lady Fanshawe mentions in her will of 30 October, 1679, "my own picture drawne by Teniers," also her husband's picture by Lilly, both of which she left to their son, the second baronet.

Page 96. § 2.

On the occasion of the coronation procession of the King on 23 April, 1661, Sir Richard Fanshawe and Sir Herbert Price represented the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine, and as such are mentioned by Pepys as remarkable, and by Evelyn as in fantastic habits of the time. In Hollar's engraving of the procession they are shown as following the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord High Steward, and preceding the Garter King of Arms, Black Rod, Lord Mayor, and the Duke of York. The figures of the two cavaliers reproduced here are from this. Apparently the artist found it simpler to represent them in cavalier than in fantastic dress. Among the newly-created Knights of the Bath who rode nearer the head of the procession was Sir Thomas Fanshawe, subsequently second Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore.

Lady Fanshawe does not record where she saw the coronation procession from. Evelyn, who saw it near Temple Bar, wrote of it as follows:—

"This magnificent train on horseback, as rich as embroidery, velvet, cloth of gold and silver and jewels could make them, and their prancing horses, proceeded through the streets strewed with flowers, houses hung with rich tapestry, windows and balconies full of ladies; the London militia lining the ways and the several companies with their banners and loud music being ranked in their order; the fountains running wine, bells ringing, with speeches made, and several triumphal arches. At that of Temple Bar (near which I stood) the Lord Mayor was received by the Bailiff of Westminster who in a scarlet robe made a speech."

And Pepys, who sat for hours in the Abbey and never got a glimpse of anything, recorded: "The streets all gravelled, and the houses hung with

[1] *According to the note in a copy of the MSS. of the "Memoirs" (see p. 323) this lady died in* 1768.

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carpets before them, made brave show, and the ladies out of the windows. So glorious was the show with gold and silver that we were not able to look at it, our eyes at last being so overcome."

Dryden wrote of the ladies along the route of the coronation procession—

> "Your cavalcade the fair spectators view
> From their high standings, yet look up to you";

and a prosy versifier, Mr. Samuel Pordage, recorded—

> "How thwacked the galleries and windows be
> With England's pride in all their braverie:
> Clear firmament of smiling stars, from whence
> They shower upon you a kind influence."

The Parliament opened on 8 May was the notable Cavalier Parliament, which lasted till January, 1679. Sir Richard had been chosen as member of it for the University of Cambridge (*Memoirs*, p. 589), for which General Monk had been elected but did not sit, in the Convocation Parliament of 1660. Sir Richard continued to be member till his death, in spite of his absences in Portugal and Spain, and was then succeeded by Sir Charles Wheeler, Bart. (see loc. cit.).

Page 97. § 1.

The Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian contain a copy of the warrant of Charles II, signed by Sir Edward Nicholas, and issued on 11 June, 1660, directing Sir R. Fanshawe to have prepared a Great Seal and signet of the Order of the Garter, and to keep these during the absence of the Chancellor, Sir Henry de Vic; and on 27 September Secretary Morrice issued another warrant authorising him to have free access to all the Garter records, and to occupy a habitation "in the high gatehouse within this our palace." On 14 January, 1661, Sir Richard was sworn as Deputy Chancellor of the Order; and on 19 February, 1661 (Ashmolean MSS., 1114), the following Knights were warned of the installation to be held at Windsor on 15–17 April, viz. Ormonde, Newcastle, Buckingham, Bristol, Albemarle, Sandwich, Southampton, and Oxford (the Earls of Berkshire, Salisbury, and Northumberland were warned later, on 13 March; and the Duke of Richmond, the Earls of Lindsey (brother-in-law of Viscount Fanshawe), Strafford, and Manchester received the Garter before the Chapter, viz. on 10 April); and on the same date were ordered seventeen collars of gold of the Order, and for the Bishop of Winchester and for Sir Richard Fanshawe as Chaplain and Chancellor of the Order, robes "of purple velvet containing 18 yards, and 10 yards of white taffoty [*sic*] for lyning thereof, as also two scutchins of St. George within the garter wrought with letters and purles [*sic*] of Damast and gold and pearles, with laces buttons and tassels of purple silk, and tunics of gold, together with a purse of blue velvet richly embroidered according to the usual form, with strings and tassels to the latter for carrying

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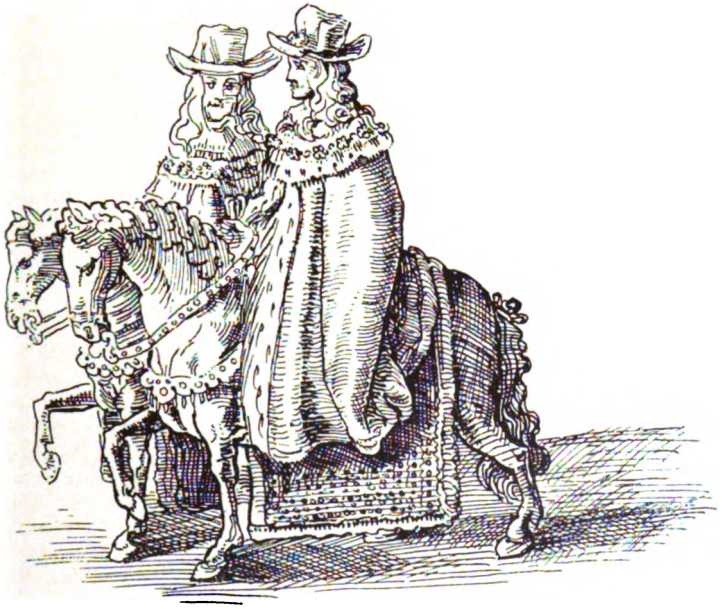

SIR R. FANSHAWE AND SIR H. PRICE IN THE CORONATION PROCESSION OF CHARLES II

From an engraving by Hollar

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the seales of the said order." (How it must have delighted the hearts of Lady Fanshawe and the little daughters to have seen Sir Richard in this splendid dress!) On the next day at a Chapter of the Order, "held in the Sovereigns bed chamber at Whitehall," there were present "The Soveraigne, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, the Earl of Berkshire, the Earl of Northumberland, and *of officers* Sir Richard Fanshawe, canc. *pr. temp.*; Mr. Ryves, Registrar; Sir Edward Walker, Garter; John Ayton, Esq., Black Rodd."

Among these papers also is, fortunately, the letter of Lady Bristol asking Sir Richard Fanshawe to serve as proxy for her husband; it runs as follows:—

"Sir,—Presuming from what I have been told of former times that my husband the Earl of Bristol being with many others by his Majesty's appointment to be installed Knight of the Garter at Windsor the next month, he may receive this honour by proxie at my request and nomination in his behalf, because himself is at present beyond the seas, my desire to you hereby is that acquainting his Majesty therewith you would be pleased with his sovereign permission and approbation to appear and act at that solemnity in quality of my Lord's proxie according to the accustomed forms in such cases, wherein I assure myself you will perform a very acceptable service to my Lord, and therein oblige very much

"Your affectionate friend to command,
"A. Bristoll.

"*Queen Street*, March the 13th, 1661.
"To Sir Richard Fanshawe, Knight, Theise [*sic*]."

From the same papers it appears that Sir Richard Fanshawe received £100 per annum for his services, the Garter King-at-Arms and Registrar £50 each, and the Black Rod £30. In commemoration of his duties as Chancellor of the Garter Sir Richard Fanshawe presented to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, a plain gilt corporas weighing 24 oz., with his arms engraved on it, and this is still in the possession of the Dean and Chapter. It would seem probable that the Duke of Ormonde put the "star" on Sir Richard in behalf of the Earl of Bristol, not the "spur," as in the text.

George Digby, second Earl of Bristol, was the son of the first Earl, John Digby (1580–1654), who was known principally for his embassies to Madrid, and next to whom Lady Fanshawe's boy was buried at St. Germains in November, 1659. The son was no doubt well known to Sir Richard at Oxford in 1644–45, and they must have met again in Jersey in 1646, and later again in Ireland. He opposed the attainder of Strafford, recommended the arrest of the Five Members, fled to Holland in 1642, was Secretary of State in succession to Lord Falkland from September, 1642 to 1649, was defeated by Colonel Copley at Sherburn in October, 1645 (p. 370), was made Knight of the Garter in 1653, was a general in the French service, became Secretary of State again 1657–9, and was removed from that post upon joining the Roman Catholic Church. After the Restoration he was

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chiefly distinguished by his attacks upon the Earl of Clarendon. He died in 1677, and the earldom became extinct in 1698.

George, second Duke of Buckingham, was born in 1628, his younger brother, Lord Francis Villiers, being a posthumous child of their father. During the early years of the Civil War he was travelling abroad; but in 1648 the two brothers joined the rising of the Earl of Holland, and the younger was killed near Kingston, the elder escaping from St. Neots to Holland. He was with Charles II in Scotland, and escaped to Rotterdam after the battle of Worcester. His follies and ambitions seem to have been one of the principal causes of the disorganization of the Royalist army before the battle. In 1657 he married the daughter of Sir Thomas Fairfax. The next year he spent six months in the Tower. At the Restoration he was supposed to be the richest man in England. In 1667 he was removed from the Privy Council and again sent to the Tower. In 1671 he published *The Rehearsal*. In 1674 he finally quarrelled with the King and joined the so-called Patriots party, among the members of which he is immortalized by Dryden as Zimri—

> "A man so various that he seemed to be
> Not one, but all mankind's epitome:
> Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong,
> Was everything by starts and nothing long."

He died in 1687.

Page 97. § 2.

The reason given by Lady Fanshawe for the appointment of her husband as Envoy to Lisbon must have been wholly imaginary. There could hardly have been a more honourable service, according to the ideas of the day, than to be charged with the completion of the arrangements for the marriage of the King. An entry in the Calendar of Treasury Books (1660–67), under the date of 30 July, contains the record of a warrant for payment of £1000 to Sir Richard Fanshawe, designed by the King to be his Envoy to Portugal for preparation and equipage for that employment without accompt, with an ordinary of £4 per diem from 1 August, to be increased to £6 should he be dignified with the quality of Ambassador in Ordinary to the King of Portugal. On 2 August, 1661, the French Ambassador Bastide wrote to Clarendon "that Fanshawe had offered to Batteville that one Vermunden shall go with him to Sandwich, and induce the latter to send such a report about the state of Portugal that the Portuguese match shall be broken off" (Clarendon Papers, Vol. III, App. xiii); to which Clarendon replied: "Sir Richard Fanshawe, who goes very shortly in the quality of Envoy Extraordinary, and is to remain there as Ambassador after the Queen is come away, is a very worthy person and superior to all temptation." The letters which Sir Richard carried to the Queen-Mother and Princess are dated 21 August, 1661, and the instructions to him the 23rd idem (Heathcote MSS., pp. 17–22). In these letters the King speaks of Sir Richard as "a trusty and well-beloved gentleman

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of my household," and as one "who has served me for many years faithfully and honourably." "He is the bearer of orders and all that is needful for the performance of my wishes with regard to the marriage ceremonies deemed necessary before we see each other, as also in regard to you coming hither; and I pray you to give entire faith and credit to what he says in my behalf, especially as touching the assurance of my devoted love, which goes on increasing as the joy of seeing you and the right to call you mine draw nearer, and will do so more and more when you are my own"; from which we may see that Sir Richard, who wrote this draft for the King, and no doubt felt his heart full of love for his own sweet wife as he did so, must have been a graceful wooer—a character not belied by the following answer of the Infanta to the King, dated Lisbon, 10 October, 1661, doubtless also written through the medium of the poetical English Envoy:—

"My Lord and Husband,—At the arrival of Sir Richard Fanshawe I received a letter from your majesty with the welcome news of your good health, the satisfaction whereof did recompense the trouble caused to me by his delay. He hath complied so well with his duty, principally in signifying the affection and earnest longing desires which thence you commanded him to declare here that I was forced to give him credit even in that wherein I ought least of all to have done it. All his endeavours are employed to hasten my voyage, though he hath found here in the King my brother and the Queen my Lady and mother so diligent procurers thereof that I am almost persuaded when I consider with what haste things are despatched your majesty hath bribed them both; so that by the addition of the Envoy's diligence to their propenseness, and there being not (as there is not) any impediment to hinder, I believe the effecting it all will no longer be retarded than will the arrival of the fleet in this port."

The instructions to the Envoy regarding the Princess were that he was to accompany her home "until her arrival in our presence," or if he stayed behind to see her on board; but these were not fulfilled, probably because it was necessary for him to return to inform the King and his ministers of various matters. The public instructions related to—(1) a treaty of commerce; (2) the delivery of the Island of Bombain and also Bassine; (3) the King's willingness to garrison Goa if it was being pressed by the Dutch; and (4) the power and sugar trade of Portugal in Brazil and the West Indies. Sir Richard was to sail in the *Princess*, commanded by Captain Robert Hall, a fourth-rater of 602 tons burden, 46 guns, and a crew of 185. On 30 August the King wrote to his brother of Portugal, announcing the appointment as ordinary ambassador for the time being (the Earl of Sandwich being Ambassador Extraordinary) of Sir Richard Fanshawe, Latin Secretary and Master of Requests, late (?) Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of his Portuguese majesty. The dates of Sir Richard's actual sailing and arrival at Lisbon are recorded in Kennett's Register as follows: "Friday, Sept. 20th, 1661, came into Lisbon the *Princess* from England in fourteen days with Sir Richard Fanshawe, and another, Dutch, man-of-war with the Conde de Miranda,

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Portugal Ambassador in Holland." Sir Richard's secretary (see p. 533) was, we know, to leave London on 27 August. The Heathcote MSS. contain also a letter of 18 November from Queen Catherine to Charles II, in which she requests the King to appoint Sir Richard to some considerable office in her household, and also to "grant unto his wife Doña Anna the office to be that woman of my bed chamber unto whom it belongs also to be Lady of the Jewels." Like Evelyn's wife, to whom the King promised the post of Lady of the Jewels of the Queen (Diary, 31 March, 1661), Lady Fanshawe never came by this office; but it seems strange she does not mention the recommendation that she should have it. As the latest letter which Sir Richard brought home is dated 12—22 December (it is one written in Portuguese by Queen Catherine to King Charles), he could hardly have reached London till towards the very end of Christmas, as Lady Fanshawe says. The *Mercurius Politicus* of 26 December to 2 January, 1661–2, records after an entry of the date of 30 Dec.: "Sir Richard Fanshawe, brother of Thomas Lord Fanshawe, Master of Requests to his majesty, whom his majesty sent to his Royal Consort the Queen, came *this morning* and presented himself to his majesty at Whitehall bringing the joyful news of her majesty's health, who had been ere this in England had not winds detained his majesty's ship and servants in the Downs" (? from proceeding to Lisbon); and Pepys notes on 2 January, 1662, that Sir Richard Fanshawe was come suddenly from Portugal, and nobody knows what his business is about. Consul Maynard, of Lisbon, wrote enthusiastically about the Infanta in June and July, 1661, speaking of her as "a lady of incomparable virtue, of excellent parts, very beautiful, and of an indifferent stature, being somewhat taller than the Queen his majesty's mother," and again "as sweet a disposition Princess as ever was born, and a lady of excellent parts, and bred hugely retired," and yet again in April, 1662, as "the mirror of women and best of princesses." It would have been very interesting had Sir Richard Fanshawe's description of her to his wife been forthcoming. The more prosaic Pepys noted on 17 October, 1661, that the Princess was to have a whole chicken at her table now that she was Queen Elect!

Page 98. § 1.

Lady Fanshawe mentions the dues of the two posts held by her husband. The official emoluments of these we know, from the Public Records of the time, were £100 per annum for the Mastership of Requests, and £80 per annum for the Latin Secretaryship[1]—(*vide* warrant of 21 February, 1661, for which a tally on the Customs Commissoners was struck by a warrant of Lord Treasurer Southampton on 29 June in the same year). As Master of Requests Sir Richard certified in the month following the Restoration that one Thomas Fawcett was brother of the King's engineer at Worcester, who was taken

[1] *Evelyn notes* (5 *May*, 1670) *that he had been promised the reversion of the Latin Secretaryship by the King*, "*a place of more honour and dignity than profit.*"

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prisoner there and died in the Fleet. As Latin Secretary he drew up the patents of the Duke of Albemarle and the Earl of Sandwich, and Pepys, who by the advice of Sir Geoffrey Palmer visited him on 30 June, 1660, about the preamble of the latter, was very anxious that it should be in as high a style as the former. Of that style an idea can be formed from the following extract from the former:—

"Nam leges a libidine tyrannorum, libertatem publicam a servitute indignissimâ, nobilitatem a contemptu, populum a miserâ paupertate atque infamiâ, religionem a squalore atque omni hereticorum furore, nos denique ab exilio et crudelissimâ calamitate vindicavit, et utilissimo exemplo dominum suum inhumanissime ejectum revocavit, atque haec omnia perquam exiguâ bonorum manu contra ingentes proditorum hominum exercitus et omnium conspiratorum impiorum, prudentiâ ac felicitate summâ victor sine sanguine perfecit, ita quod nullo subditorum nostrorum cruore (quod semper a Deo optimo maximo precati sumus) quodque est in hoc redditu nostro jucundissimum, haec tanta bonorum omnium restauratio constiterit."

Dr. Gardiner has pointed out that the great service which General Monk rendered England was that he brought about the Restoration without any recrudescence of Civil War, and we may be sure that no one rejoiced more at this result than Sir Richard Fanshawe and his elder brother Sir Thomas.

Sir Richard resigned his post of Master of Requests to Sir John Birkenhead (the notorious Royalist newswriter and journalist under the signature of "Mercurius Aulicus") on going to Spain in 1664; and the latter held the post up to his death in 1679. He was M.P. for Wilts and Fellow of the Royal Society. In the office of Latin Secretary, which he held up to the time of his death in June, 1666, he was succeeded by Nicholas Oudert, the trusted agent and correspondent of Sir Edward Hyde and Sir Edward Nicholas during the exile of the King. Lord Sandwich recommended Godolphin, the private secretary of Lord Arlington, for the post, but his absence in Spain no doubt prejudiced his chance of obtaining it.

Lady Fanshawe's daughter Elizabeth survived her mother, and in 1684 married Christopher Blount of the Middle Temple, who was younger than she. Mrs. Manley narrates a serious scandal regarding her and Lord Somers in the *New Atlantis*, but nothing has been traced regarding it in any contemporary papers or literature. She is not mentioned in Sir Edmond Turnor's will (page 479), which may perhaps lend some colour to Mrs. Manley's tale; but it is of course quite possible that she may have died before 1704, when the will was executed.

Page 98. § 2.

The appointment of Sir Richard Fanshawe to the Privy Council of Ireland cannot now be traced in the public records, as most of those of that Council were destroyed by fire in 1711. The Duke of Ormonde (so created 30 March, 1661) returned to Ireland on 27 July, 1662, having been appointed Lord-Lieutenant in the previous November.

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According to all standard authorities William Cavendish,[1] eldest son of the fourth Earl of Devonshire (according to the reckoning of the *Complete Peerage*) and of his wife Elizabeth (daughter of the second Earl of Salisbury), was married at Kilkenny Castle on 25 October, 1662 (when Lady Fanshawe and her husband were in Lisbon), to Mary, second daughter of the Duke of Ormonde. He was then nearly twenty-two years old, but she was only sixteen. Lady Fanshawe can, however, hardly have been mistaken in what she states, and probably the marriage to which she refers as having taken place in 1661 or the spring of 1662 (she does not indicate the precise date, but as her husband was present, it must have been outside the period between 1 September and the end of 1661, and before the middle of May, 1662, when the King left Whitehall) was a semi-clandestine one, the bride being then only fifteen years old and the bridegroom under twenty-one. Carte does not give the date of the marriage in his *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, and Kennet, in the notes to his sermon upon the death of the Duke of Devonshire, merely records: "Soon after he married a noble, beautiful, and virtuous lady, Mary, second daughter of James Duke of Ormonde." Lady Mary's husband succeeded as fifth Earl of Devonshire in 1684. He was for a long time opposed to the Court policy and ways, and finally he became one of the principal adherents of William III. When he was fined £30,000 for knocking down Colonel Culpeper within the limits of the Court, his mother presented to James II bonds for £60,000, given to the family by Charles I for sums advanced to him. He was the great builder of Chatsworth, and a great patron of sport. He was created Duke of Devonshire in 1694, and died in 1707. His wife dying three years later, at the age of sixty-eight, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, was buried with her parents in Westminster Abbey. According to other authorities she was born in 1646, and was therefore only sixty-four years old when she died. She bore the Duke three sons and one daughter. The Duke's grandmother, who was present at his marriage together with his father, the fourth Earl of Devonshire (1617–84), was Christiana, daughter of Lord Bruce of Kinloss, who was married, when only twelve and a quarter years old, in 1608, to the second Earl of Devonshire (1591–1628), and was left guardian of her sons while still of tender age. She was a staunch Royalist, and her second son Charles was killed at Gainsborough on 28 July, 1643. Charles II often visited her at Roehampton after the Restoration, and she was a special patroness of Edmund Waller. The *Complete Peerage* speaks of her as "a pretty red-haired wench with a dowry of £7000" and expectations through the favour in which the King held her father, who was Master of the Rolls. A portrait of her is published in Pickering's *Noble Families of England*. She and her son visited Evelyn on 4 August, 1662, two days before the diarist took leave of Sir Richard Fanshawe.

[1] *The name is spelt Candish in the MSS. according to the practice of the times.*

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Page 98. § 3.

The arrival of Queen Catherine of Braganza at Portsmouth forms the subject of the fifth of the series of engravings[1] of the Royal Progress by Dirk Stoop, which may be seen in the print room of the British Museum. It is dedicated to the Duke of Ormonde, who had been sent by the King to Plymouth to meet the Queen. She is represented as having landed from the Earl of Sandwich's barge and standing in front of the Royal coach, with the Earl of Manchester (Lord Chamberlain) bowing before her in receiving her on shore outside the walls and gate of Portsmouth. In the background are the fleet moored in the Solent, and the ketch or pleasure barge of the Duke of York. The Queen landed on 13 May, so Sir Richard probably started for Portsmouth on the night of the 14th. A letter of Clarendon's to the Queen, of which he was the bearer, or perhaps presenter only, is dated 17 May, however. Sir Richard had himself written a letter on the 8th to the Marquis of Sande excusing himself from not being among the first to greet the Queen on landing, and asking that she might be pleased to make a verbal request about his wife to whose "pretensions the King hath not answered either yes or no" (Heathcote MSS., p. 27). This letter was probably sent to meet the fleet at Plymouth or at sea. The King arrived at Portsmouth on 20 May, leaving London several days after Sir Richard. The Queen was married first according to the Roman Catholic rites, Lord Aubigny, Almoner of the Queen Dowager, performing the ceremony privately; thereafter the declaration recorded by Lady Fanshawe was made in public. The Earl of Portland, writing on the night of 20–21 May to Clarendon, who was prevented by gout from going to Portsmouth, reported that it had been settled "that in the presence chamber and in the presence of all the Lords, the King will take her by the hand and declare her to be his wife, and she do the like to him, and after the Bishop of London to say these words in this prayer (those directed by the liturgy on joining the hands of the parties). This is all they can be brought to; and when the Bishop urged to the King in council the illegality and unlawfulness of the marriage, and the future danger of its being only a declaration or contract of marriage, His Majesty was pleased to say he cared not since the Queen was satisfied she was lawfully married. The Bishop of London desired me to let you know this is all that can be done,

[1] *The first engraving commemorates the entrance of the Earl of Sandwich into Lisbon on* 28 *March*, 1662; *the next two the procession of the Queen to the riverside and her embarkation on the "Royal Charles" on* 20 *April; the fourth the meeting of the English fleet and the Queen's escort in the Channel (dedicated to the Duke of York); the sixth the coming to Hampton Court, and the seventh the arrival at Whitehall on* 22 *September. The engravings are very interesting as giving representations of the ships, ketches, and boats of the period which so often carried Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe in their journeyings.*

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and that it is a lawful marriage, though they would if they could have gotten more."

According to Kennet's *Chronicle* the Earl of Sandwich reported that the contract of marriage made with the Portuguese Ambassador was first read in public in English and in Portuguese, "after which the King took the Queen by the hand, and (as I think) said the words of matrimony appointed in the Common Prayer, the Queen declaring her consent. Then the Bishop of London stood forth and made the declaration of matrimony in the Common Prayer and proclaimed them man and wife in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

The Bishop of London in 1662 was Dr. Sheldon, who in the following year became Archbishop of Canterbury. He officiated on this occasion in his capacity as Dean of the Chapel Royal. He died in November, 1677. In his epitaph he is described as—

Vir
Omnibus negotiis par, omnibus titulis superior,
In rebus adversis magnus, in prosperis bonus,
Utriusque fortunae Dominus,
Pauperum parens, Literarum Patronus, Ecclesiae Stator.

The Marquis of Sande was Francisco de Melo, Conde de Ponte, created marquis for his successful negotiation of this marriage. He was murdered in Lisbon in December, 1667, being mistaken for another person. Sir Robert Southwell recounts the tragedy in his *History of the Revolutions of Portugal*. The cutting up of the bridal ribbons was a survival of part of the ceremony of undressing the bride. Queen Catherine of Braganza remained in England for seven years after her husband's death in 1685, leaving on 30 March, 1692, and reaching Lisbon again after an absence of nearly thirty-one years in January, 1693. She twice acted as Regent for her brother, King Pedro II, and died on the last day of 1706 at the age of sixty-seven. She is buried in the south transept of the Royal Mausoleum Church at Belem. Pepys wrote of her shortly after her arrival in London, "though she be not very charming yet she hath a good modest and innocent look which is pleasing," and this was no doubt much nearer the truth than the account of Consul Maynard. Sir John Reresby, who went with the Duke of Buckingham to meet her, described her as "very little—not handsome, though her face was indifferent, and her education so different from his that she had nothing visible about her capable to make the King forget his inclination to the Countess of Cleveland."

Page 99.

The following is the account from Rugge's *Diurnal* of the arrival of the King and Queen at Hampton Court:—

"May, 1662. From Portsmouth the Kinge and Queene and the whole Court removed to Winchester and stayed there one night at an Inn: from thence to Bagshot to dinner and then that evening 29th they came to Hamp-

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ton Court by the way of the towne of Farnham; the King and Queene were received amidst the continuall acclamations of a numerous crowd of people by the Lord Chancellor, lord Treasurer, lord Generall and divers other principall officers of State and persons of quality; then the lords of the Councell in body were conducted by the lord Chamberlain of his majesty's household from the Councell into the Queene's privy chamber where her majestie under the State did them the honour to receive their addresses by the Lord Chancellor and then gave to each the honour of her hand, after which all the Judges of England, the Serjeants at law and his majesty's Counsell learned, each in their proper habits, were admitted to the same honour, but that night returned to London again."

Evelyn's account of the same incident is as follows:—

"The Queen arrived with a train of Portuguese Ladies in their monstrous fardingales or guard infantes, their complexions olivader and sufficiently unagreeable. Her majesty in the same habit, her foretop long and turned aside very strangely. She was yet of the handsomest countenance of all the rest, and though low of stature prettily shaped, languishing and excellent eyes, her teeth wronging her mouth by sticking a little far out—for the rest lovely enough."

The Queen's promises of favour to Lady Fanshawe were apparently as barren as her recommendations to the King. It has not been possible to ascertain where the Request Lodgings were situated in Hampton Palace.

Page 100. § 2.

The "picture which we afterwards received" was no doubt that about which Sir Richard wrote to his ancient and good friend, Tom Chiffinch, on 3—13 February, 1663 (Heathcote MSS., page 62), when he also asked for a copy of a picture of Dr. Morley ("the King's tutor in his robes of prelate of the Garter," are the words used), adding, "I wish it no better copied than that of his Majesty in great by Mr. Stone, which is the honour of my house here." This was, no doubt, the second picture mentioned by Lady Fanshawe, and it may be assumed that it was given in recognition of Sir Richard's services as Chancellor of the Order of the Garter *pro tem.*, at the great installation of April, 1661, and that it represented the King in his Garter robes, as in the frontispiece to Elias Ashmole's *Opus Magnum* upon the Order of the Garter.

Ogilby's Bible was printed in 1660 at Cambridge, in two volumes of royal folio. Ogilby presented a copy to the King for the Chapel Royal at Whitehall, and was ordered to supply other copies at £200 each. In 1662 he published Hollar's plate of the Entertainment of Charles II in London (page 443). Pepys mentions the Bible on 27 May, 1667, and observes of it: "It is like to be so big that I shall not use it, it being too great to stir up and down without much trouble."

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Page 101.

Various papers carried by Sir Richard Fanshawe to Lisbon are dated 7 and 9 August (Heathcote MSS., p. 31). These refer, among other things, to the young King Affonso VI, then just nineteen years of age, having taken the reins of power into his own hands, putting aside the Regency of his mother, Doña Luisa de Guzman. This took place on 23 June, 1662, and must have been a severe trial to her daughter, then absent from her in England.[1] The permission accorded to Sir Richard at our Honour of Hampton Court, on 14 August, 1662, "to resort in person to our royal presence should special circumstances require that," was no doubt sent after him to Plymouth. Sir Richard and his family apparently started from Hampton Court without returning to London. The stages to Plymouth were as follows:—

		Miles.
August 10.	Hampton Court to Windsor	14
,, 11.	Bagshot	10
,, 12.	Basingstoke 17 miles, Andover 18 miles . .	35
,, 13.	Salisbury (Wilton is four miles west of Salisbury)	17
,, 14.	Blandford 23 miles, Dorchester 18 miles . .	41
,, 15.	Axminster	28
,, 16.	Exeter	26
,, 17.	Sunday; rested.	
,, 18.	(Ashburton)	20
,, 19.	Plymouth	24
		215 miles.

Dr. Heaver (*Memoirs*, p. 213) was vicar of Eton, fellow of Eton College, and canon of Windsor (12 March, 1662). He was D.D. of Cambridge, and had been a fellow of Clare College. He died on 23 June, 1670, and is buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. He left £100 to apprentice poor children of that place and Eton. He had been to Portugal with Sir Richard in the previous year, as on 31 October, 1661 (Historical MSS. Commission, II Report, p. 114), he asked for leave of absence from the Society (of the Fellows of Eton), as he was "that day without any warning sent to Portugal with Sir Richard Fanshawe." The Provost of Eton in August, 1662, was

[1] *Lord Clarendon, writing to the Queen Regent at the time of her retirement (Heathcote MSS.), expresses his anxiety for Portugal, because "they tell me that you mean entirely to free yourself from that weight (of government), which if true, and if it continues, will not only deprive the King, your son, of the most faithful, the most experienced, and the most devoted counsellor his Majesty can ever have or hope for, but all those whosoever they may be who are zealous for the good of Portugal." The letter, which is dated 7 August, is in Spanish, and drafted by Sir Richard Fanshawe.*

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John Meredith, who had already, since the Restoration, succeeded Nicholas Monk, and who became warden of All Souls College, Oxford, in 1665.

Sir Thomas Woodcock had been an active minor agent in connexion with the Restoration, and had been knighted at Breda on 20 May, 1660, shortly after Sir Richard Fanshawe received that honour; he was therefore, no doubt, a former acquaintance of his and of Lady Fanshawe.

Lord Mordaunt had, as Mr. John Mordaunt, been one of the principal of all those agents, and had narrowly escaped with his life in June, 1658. In the following year he was compelled to escape abroad after trying to raise a rebellion at Guildford, and was created Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon, with effect from 10 July, 1659, upon which date he was to have headed the rising in favour of the King. He was son of the first Earl of Peterborough, and father of the famous Earl of the opening of the eighteenth century. Clarendon speaks of him as having met with less gracious countenance from the King than his "singular and useful activity, though liable to some levity or vanity, did deserve"; but Lord Mordaunt and his wife, who appears to have been one of the best and most charming ladies of the Restoration, and who was a great friend of Margaret Godolphin, were companions of Clarendon in his exile at Montpellier. On the Restoration he had been made Constable of Windsor Castle and Lord-Lieutenant of Surrey. Four years after the date of the visit of the Fanshawes to Windsor he was accused by one William Taylor, or Tayleur, surveyor of the Castle, of having practised great tyranny on him, and even of having attempted to oppress his daughter. The case was warmly taken up by the House of Commons, in which Taylor had sat in 1641, and Lord Mordaunt was formally impeached before the Lords. There was much wrangling over the procedure for conducting the trial, and when this was finished a long adjournment of Parliament saved Lord Mordaunt for the time being. Before it met again in 1669 he had resigned his office (to which Prince Rupert succeeded), and the impeachment was allowed to drop. Among the witnesses whom he proposed to call in the case was Sir Thomas Woodcock. Lord Mordaunt died in 1675.

The Dean of Westminster in 1662 was Dr. John Earle (appointed 14 June, 1660), who in September of that year became Bishop of Worcester, and in the next year of Salisbury. He had been a fellow of Merton College and chaplain to the Earl of Pembroke when Chancellor of Oxford, and tutor to Prince Charles in 1641. He had been known to the Fanshawes in the West and in Jersey (perhaps at Oxford also), and had baptized their eldest daughter Ann in Jersey on 14 June, 1646. In 1647 he married John Evelyn to the daughter of Sir Richard Browne, and Evelyn records of him that he was "universally beloved for his sweet and gentle disposition."

He died in 1665. Clarendon wrote of him that he was "among the few excellent men who never had and never could have an enemy"; and Wood recorded in the *Athenæ Oxoniensis* that he was a man of the sweetest and most obliging temper, and one "than whom since Hooker's death God hath not blessed any with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or

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more pious peaceable primitive temper." In his epitaph in Merton College, Oxford, it is recorded that he "nec meruit unquam nec, quod magis est, habuit inimicum."

Page 102. § 1.

Lord Herbert was no doubt Lord William Herbert, the pupil of Sir Richard Fanshawe three years before.

Dr. Humphrey Henchman, made Bishop of Salisbury in October, 1660, succeeded Bishop Sheldon in the see of London in September, 1663, and died in 1675. While canon of Salisbury he had assisted Charles II to escape to France after the battle of Worcester. He was Almoner to the King, and a strenuous supporter of the rebuilding of St. Paul's. He was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, 1609–12, and became a fellow of Clare College before 1620.

Dr. Holles, Dean of Salisbury, must be a transcriber's mistake for Dr. Baillie, who was Dean from 1635 to 1667. During most of this time he was also Master of St. John's College, Oxford. There Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe probably knew him in the years 1643 and 1644, and from there he was forcibly ejected in 1648. On the Restoration he was reinstated as Master, and in the same year was Vice-Chancellor of the University. As a young fellow he had violently opposed the election of Laud to be Master of the College; subsequently he married the niece of the Archbishop.

Page 102. § 2.

Sir William Portman, of Orchard Portman, was the sixth baronet of the family and great-grandson of Sir William Portman, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas under Queen Elizabeth. His father, also a Sir William, served in the Long Parliament and was among the Straffordians. He had been made a Knight of the Bath on the coronation of Charles II, and was M.P. for Somerset. In 1685 he was present at the capture of the Duke of Monmouth, and in 1688 he was one of the first of the gentry of the West to join the Prince of Orange. He purchased Bryanston at Blandford, the grounds of which extend down to the town, and died sonless in 1690, Orchard Portman passing ultimately to the Berkeley Portman family (Hitchings, Dorset). His first wife was a daughter of Sir John Cutler (p. 472).

The Bishop of Exeter in August, 1662, was Dr. Seth Ward, Dr. Gauden, the author of the *Eikon Basilike*, having been transferred to Worcester in the spring of the year. He was a graduate of Cambridge, Savilian Professor of Mathematics at Oxford, and Master of Trinity College in the latter University for the year before the Restoration. In 1665 he was transferred to Salisbury, and there he died in 1689.

The very ill lodging at which Lady Fanshawe lay between Exeter and Plymouth was no doubt Ashburton, then the half-way stage between those cities. It is a quaint place, consisting of long streets which intersect one another at a tiny market-place and with a fine old church at one end.

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Page 103.

Sir John Skelton had been a naval commander under Charles I. After the Restoration he was made Deputy-Governor of Plymouth under the Earl of Bath, and later Governor of the Sorlings or Scilly Isles. He died in 1672; his monument in St. Andrew's Church, Plymouth, speaks of him as "having loyally served his Prince both in his exile and since his Restoration."

Sir John Hele is no doubt a mistake for Sir Thomas Hele, of Bradninch, near Modbury, in Devon, who was created a baronet in 1627, commanded in part during the siege of Plymouth, and was a Royalist hostage after the surrender of Bridgwater. He sat in the Parliament of 1627–8 for Plymouth, and in those of 1640 for Plympton East Borough, and was also a Straffordian, though apparently he was never disabled. He compounded, in 1646, for a fine of £2800 under the Exeter Articles by a payment of £280 per annum. In his petition he admitted that he had been a Member of Parliament, and had deserted Parliament and been at Oxford, but asserted in his own behalf that he had not joined in the vote that the Parliament men at Westminster were traitors. In 1648 he was recorded as a notorious delinquent with the following sequestered persons: Sir John Glanville, Pearse (Piers) Edgcumbe, Sir Richard and Sir John Grenvile, Sir Arthur and Sir Francis Basset, Richard Edgcumbe, and John Arundel of Trevise. His mother was the daughter of the Sir Richard Edgcumbe who built Mount Edgcumbe, and died in 1624. The two sons of Sir Thomas Hele were both knighted, and both died soon after their father, upon which the baronetcy lapsed.

Cousin Edgcumbe of the *Memoirs* was Colonel Piers Edgcumbe, who died 6 January, 1666, and whose son had been created Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles II. He had married in June, 1636, Mary, the daughter of Sir John Glanville, of Broad Hinton (died 1661), and his wife Winifred Bourchier, daughter of William Bourchier, of Barnesley, Gloucestershire (see p. 278), and his son was therefore second cousin once removed to Sir Richard Fanshawe. Colonel Piers Edgcumbe, who was born in 1609, is commonly recorded as having died in 1660, but the real date of his death is that given above. The place from which he came to Plymouth was Cotehele, six miles south-west of Tavistock, on the Tamar, near the point where that river enters the west arm of the upper recess of Plymouth Harbour. His family in 1663 consisted of two daughters and a younger son aged nineteen, in addition to his elder son. His wife survived him till February, 1692. Much of this information has been kindly supplied by Earl Mount Edgcumbe. Piers Edgcumbe was Member of Parliament for Camelford Borough in the two elections of 1640 (in the Long Parliament as colleague of William Glanville), was among the Straffordians, and was disabled from sitting on 22 January, 1644. The Committee for Providing Money assessed him in July, 1644, at £3000, and also put an assessment on his brother, Colonel Richard Edgcumbe, of Bedregan. On 22 January, 1646,

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Sir Thomas Fairfax reported to Colonel Weldon, Governor of Plymouth, that Colonel Edgcumbe was willing to transfer his forces and the forts under him to the Parliament, and promised that the latter should have his best mediation with the House. Accordingly, when Colonel Piers Edgcumbe petitioned, in 1647, for remission of the above demand on the ground that, though he had been permitted to compound for delinquency, and that by order of Parliament all who were at Mount Edgcumbe and Millbrook were to be allowed to settle on the basis of two years' value of their estates, yet he and his brother had been assessed at £2513 and £589 on this basis, General Fairfax wrote to Parliament on 31 March, 1648, and 20 April, 1649, that he had promised the two colonels immunity, indemnity, and even a reward, and that the honour of the army and those employed by him was much concerned in this matter; and ultimately the fines were reduced to one-half. The troubles of the family did not, however, cease upon this, as on 8 August, 1650, the County Committee of Cornwall wrote to the Central Committee that these two gentlemen refused to give details of their estates, and desired orders to proceed against "these high-spirited malignants," and in 1651 they were made to pay additional sums of £1275 and £157 for under-valuation of their estates in the first instance. Contemporaneous history quoted in Gilbert's *Survey of Cornwall*, spoke of Piers Edgcumbe as "a pattern to posterity and an honour to the age he lived in, a master of languages and sciences, a lover of the King and Church which he endeavoured to support in the time of the Civil War to the utmost of his power and fortune." Sir Richard Edgcumbe is spoken of as a relation and as "a very virtuous and worthy person" by John Evelyn, whose sister Jane was married to George Glanville.[1] Sir Richard Fanshawe must have revisited Plymouth with mixed feelings, as no one could have known better than he that the failures of the Royal Commanders before this city and Taunton had been a principal cause of the failure of the Royal cause in the West. Plymouth, indeed, was under siege and blockade for nearly four years off and on, and Lord Hopton, Lord Digby, Prince Maurice,

[1] *John Glanville, of Tavistock, who died in* 1579, *had two sons: Sir John Glanville, of Kilworthy, and Thomas Glanville, of Launceston. The former had two sons, of whom the elder was Sir John Glanville, of Broad Hinton, who died in* 1661. *He was married to Winifred Bourchier, and their daughter was married in* 1636 *to Piers Edgcumbe. The younger was Sir Francis Glanville, of Kilworthy, whose youngest son, George, born in* 1618, *married Jane Evelyn, and dying in* 1702, *was buried out at sea near the Goodwin Sands.* (*It is possible, however, that George Glanville was son of a third brother, the Reverend Thomas Glanville, Vicar of Tavistock.*) *At the end of the eighteenth century, a more direct connexion was established between the Fanshawe and Glanville families, Francis Glanville, M.P., who was seventh in descent from Sir John Glanville and Winifred Bourchier, having married Elizabeth, the daughter of Captain Robert Fanshawe, R.N., commissioner of Plymouth Dockyard. From this marriage the Fanshawe-Glanville family is descended.*

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Sir John Berkeley, and Sir Richard Grenvile all failed in turn before it. The siege was finally raised on 18 January, 1646, a few weeks only before the Prince of Wales left Pendennis Castle for the Scilly Islands. In May, 1644, the garrison burnt part of Mount Edgcumbe after driving back the Royalist forces on that side of the city.

The Plymouth records of the time do not give any clue of the families of Tyler and Seale.

Page 104. §§ 1 *and* 2.

"Thus on Monday" would seem to be a slip for "thus on Saturday." The *Ruby* frigate was a fourth-rater of 550 tons, with a crew of 140 men and armament of 48 guns. Her length was 105 ft., and her breadth of beam 31 ft., and she drew 16 ft. of water. Captain Robinson distinguished himself greatly in the battles of 1666, and especially by capturing three Dutch men-of-war in December of that year while convoying a fleet from Gothenberg, and was knighted for these services. In 1670 he convoyed a fleet to the Straits, in 1676 captured one of the principal Algerine corsairs, and in 1680 was commodore of a squadron to Newfoundland. The journey from Plymouth to Lisbon in fourteen days may be considered a good one for the age. The Quinta (country house) of the Conde San Lourenço is marked on the map of Lisbon and the Tagus, prepared by the Earl of Sandwich in 1662 and engraved by Dirk Stoop. It is just west of the Belem monastery, and lies two and a half miles west of the so-called Black Horse Square, where the old palace stands, and where passengers by sea to Lisbon still disembark. It was from Belem that Vasco de Gama started to discover India, and it was near Belem that Columbus was compelled to land on returning from his first voyage of discovery of the West. The restored Tower of Belem stands up extremely picturesquely on the Tagus shore, half a mile west of the monastery church, which is also well seen from the river. The Duke of Aveiro (see p. 543) was a Portuguese nobleman who on the occasion of the revolution had adhered to Spain, and whose house, therefore, came to be at the disposal of the King of Portugal. The Quinta de Alleyro in Sir Richard Fanshawe's letter of 18—28 September to Counsul Maynard (Heathcote MSS., p. 34) is probably a mistranscript for the Quinta de Aveiro. A letter from Lyonel Fanshawe to Sir Richard, dated 8—18 January, 1662 (Heathcote MSS., p. 25), confirms the statement that he and Mr. Price (*Memoirs*, p. 170) remained in Lisbon to study the language.

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Antonio de Sousa de Macedo was Secretary of State to the King of Portugal at this time: he had previously been Resident in England and at the Hague. Sir Richard recorded later (Heathcote MSS.) that the Secretary had agreed to their discussions being in Spanish, "to the great ease of us both, and of others in the court more." The relations of his family and the

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Fanshawes were very friendly, and were kept up after the latter had left Portugal. In February, 1665, we find the Secretary writing to Sir Richard: "My wife sends her greetings to your lady and to your daughters. I asked this bearer on her behalf whether there was nothing she could send which might be agreeable to madame, but . . . as he travels light it is impossible to send sweetmeats or anything heavy," and the ladies corresponding about a prisoner Don Francisco de Alarcon, Doña Marianna Lemercier being the wife of the Secretary. The Earl of Inchiquin is mentioned in the letter of King Affonso to Charles II, dated 21 June—1 July. Count Schomberg (called by Lady Fanshawe Shomberg[1]) was the famous Marshal and Duke who fell at the battle of the Boyne in 1690. Trained in the French service, he entered that of Portugal in November, 1660, having been created an English baron on his way to Lisbon, won the battle of Evora or Ameixial on 8 June, 1663, took Valencia de Alcantara in June, 1664, and defeated the Marquis of Caracena at Montes Claros on 17 June, 1665. He fell into disgrace in September, 1667, and stood by Don Pedro against Affonso VI and the Count of Castel Melhor in November, and in the next year was created Count of Mertola, and returned to France. He was created a Marshal in the French service in 1675, and quitted that finally ten years later upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He received the Garter on 3 April, 1689, and was created Duke of Schomberg and Earl of Brentford on 8 May.

In a letter to Consul Maynard, Sir Richard had expressed the hope that he would be excused from receiving supplies for three days, and the honour of a special supper, but to judge from the *Memoirs* this hope was not fulfilled.

The Queen-Mother, Luisa de Guzman, was daughter of Juan Emmanuel Perez de Guzman, eighth Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Abadessa of Alcantara, by name Doña Maria Guzman de la Cruz, was daughter of the Queen's brother, Gaspar Alonso Perez, ninth Duke, to whom Lyonel Fanshawe took a letter from the Abbess in March, 1664 (Heathcote MSS.). In a letter sent at the same time and by the same person to Sir Richard Fanshawe the Abbess offered the assurance of her affection "to yourself and the Ambassadress, whom I love with all my heart, not forgetting my precious Margaret, to whom I send this little carriage, and your other daughters." The Duke of Medina Sidonia had plotted against Philip IV to make himself King of Andalusia, being fired thereunto no doubt by his sister having become Queen of Portugal; but his nerve failing him at the critical moment (which showed him to be a very unworthy brother of that brave woman), he saved himself by the betrayal of his friends. This plot of his brought about the fall of his kinsman the Conde Duque Olivarez, though the two had always been the bitterest enemies. In 1663 he was living in exile near Valladolid, and there he died in November, 1664, as reported by Sir Richard Fanshawe from Madrid, in a fit brought on by the sight of some dogs of his attacking an old woman. The English Court

[1] *In the Heathcote MSS. the name is also spelt Chomberg (by Sir Richard) Schumberg, Sumberg and Sumbergh!*

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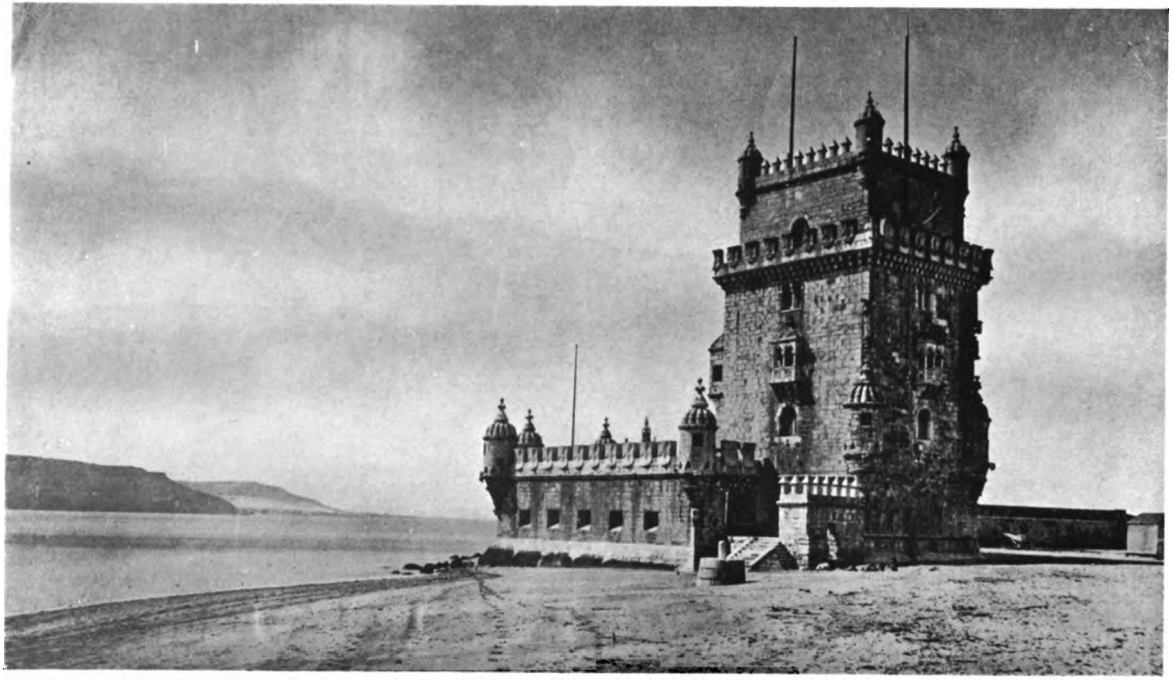

TOWER OF BELEM ON THE TAGUS, LISBON

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went into mourning for him as the Queen's uncle in the following month. The Queen would appear to have still retained some authority and power at this time, as Sir Richard formally visited her, though she had surrendered the seals of office to her son on 23 June, 1662. He wrote on 21—31 March, 1663, "of the manner of the Queen-Mother's retreat here to a house which her Majesty intends to found into a nunnery." The Vedor was the Lord Steward of the Queen's household. The father of Vasco de Gama was Vedor of Affonso IV. Dom Pedro, the King's brother, deposed Affonso VI, and succeeded him as Pedro II on 23 November, 1667: it was for him that his sister, Catherine of Braganza, acted as Regent in 1704 and 1705. The deposed King died on 13 September, 1683.

Mr. Edward Bridgewood is mentioned in the papers of the Heathcote MSS. Writing to the secretary of the Earl of Sandwich on 7 September, he said: "My bill of £3000 is paid at last; but it made my heart ache to see the account of charges spent in bribing great persons at Court."

Page 108. § 1.

The Queen-Mother died at the monastery of Xabrejas on 28 February, 1666, three and a half years[1] after authority had been taken away from her by her son. Sir Richard on 14—24 December, 1662, and again on 21—31 March, 1663, mentions her determination to enter the life of a recluse, but she does not appear to have ever actually become one, though she withdrew from Lisbon in March, 1663. Antonio de Sousa de Macedo, the Secretary of State, gives her names and descent in the *Genealogia regum Lusitaniæ* as "Ludovica filia Joannis Emmanuelis Perez de Guzman Ducis Medinæ Sidoniæ et Joannæ filiæ Francisci Ducis Lermæ"; and Faria y Sousa writes of her in his history: "She was a woman of wonderful resolution and great soul and singular wisdom, which appeared in the administration of the government both in peace and war . . . yet all these good qualities were somewhat sullied by her ambition and invariable desire to rule . . . it may be justly said of her she was the glory of her family, the deliverer of Portugal, and the honour of Spain." It was due entirely to her courage that her husband John became King of Portugal on 15 December, 1640, and it was due entirely to her determination and devotion that the Portuguese were able to defeat every effort of the Spanish Crown to recover its lost possession, especially after the death of her husband in 1656; and it was she who, after the failure of the Portuguese before Badajoz, called in Count Schomberg with eighty officers and four hundred non-commissioned officers to reorganize and discipline the Portuguese army. In seeking to gain an effective alliance against Spain she offered her daughter first to the Duke of Beaufort and Louis XIV, and afterwards to Charles II of England; and the dowry which she added to secure this object and the safety of her country—viz. Bombay, Tangier, and 200,000 crowns—

[1] *On p.* 136 *of the* "*Memoirs*" *Lady Fanshawe gives the date as* 17 *February.*

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was afterwards turned against her by her eldest son, who alleged that her action had been dictated solely in the interests of herself and the Infanta.

Page 108. § 2.

The statement that Charles I made the son of Antonio de Sousa an English baron is erroneous.

Page 109. *Line* 9.

Sir Richard uses the form "skreek" in his translation of stanza seventy of the ninth Canto of *Lusiado*, "Skreeking, and laughing softly in the close."

Page 110. § 1.

Catherine of Braganza was born at Villa Viciosa on St. Catherine's Day, 15 November, 1638, two years before her father John IV became King of Portugal. The birthday celebrated by Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe was that of 1662. On a later birthday in 1683 Waller wrote of her, with a poet's characteristic indifference to real facts—

"First of our Queens whom not the King alone,
But the whole nation lifted to the throne."

Page 111. § 2.

By Frontignac grapes Lady Fanshawe perhaps meant the famous Frontignan muscatel grapes from near Montpellier, in the centre of the south of France. In a letter of 3—13 February, 1663, to Major Holmes (R.N.), Sir Richard writes that all danger of his wife's present indisposition is over.

Page 111. § 3.

The disturbance to which Lady Fanshawe refers took place on 15—25 May, 1663, and is fully described in a letter of her husband to Sir Henry Bennet of 20—30 May (Heathcote MSS., pp. 92–97). It arose from the demand of a sergeant, after the loss of the town of Evora, that the King should accompany his soldiers to the front, and from a wilful misunderstanding of the King's speech and gestures when he presented himself in the Terrero de Palacio to quiet the mob. This divided into two parts on leaving the Royal Palace, the one plundering the residence of the Archbishop of Lisbon and the other that of his brother, the Marques of Marialva, with cries of "Mueran los Traidores!" According to Sir Richard thirty to forty persons were killed in the latter house, and the ladies of the family had to escape to an adjoining convent. A third house plundered was that of Luis Mendez de Elvas, and that of the Marques of Niça was threatened. "It pleased him who bridles the sea with a rope of sand to put here bounds to the fury of the people; the friars coming out of the several convents in solemn

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procession and bringing with them church buckets of excommunications—over and above those of the lay magistrates—to quench the flame of sedition, which had night come on first might have proved as unquenchable as those from whence it was kindled." He adds that the King, who until now had intended to go to the front, decided not to leave the capital for fear of what the mob might do during his absence. Eleven days before this letter was written the Count of Castel Melhor (Heathcote MSS., p. 85) had accepted Sir Richard's offer to accompany the King to Alentejo, the frontier province of Portugal, of which Evora is the capital. The Marques of Marialva was Don Antonio Luiz de Meneses, Conde de Cantanhede, who had been created Marques in 1661. He defeated Don Luis de Haro at Elvas in 1659, was present at the defeat of the Marques of Caracena at Montes Claros in 1665, and was no doubt the best Portuguese general of his day.

Page 112. § 1.

The battle of Evora, also named Ameixial, was fought on 8 June new style, corresponding with 29 May old style, of which Sir Richard Fanshawe took due notice (Heathcote MSS., p. 100) in writing congratulations to the Count of Castel Melhor. Two long accounts of it are given by Colonel James Apsley and Count Schomberg in the Heathcote MSS., pp. 101 and 107.

"The English foot," writes the former, "with much pains climbed up the highest mountain which was possessed by the right wing of the enemy's army, and guarded with five pieces of cannon. The English marched on shouting as if victorious, but discharged no shot until they came within pike-thrust of the enemy, and then they poured in their shot so thick upon them that made them quit their ground and fly towards the left wing, leaving their cannon behind them, which were afterwards turned upon them much to their prejudice."

They then descended into the plain in support of the cavalry which had been worsted by the Spanish horse, and the latter thereupon took to flight. The English losses were two officers (one a brother of Lord Dongan), and seventy-five men killed, and nine officers and one hundred men wounded. Among the Spanish prisoners taken were Gasper de Haro, Marques of Liche, eldest son of Don Luis de Haro, and Don Añelo de Guzman, son of the Duke of Medina de las Torres, while all the baggage of the army and the train of artillery and fourteen coaches, including that of the Spanish commander, Don Juan of Austria (p. 495), as also his standard, were taken. On 29 June, 1663, Pepys records: "Up and down the streets is cried mightily the great victory got by the Portugals against the Spaniards, where 10,000 were slain and 3 to 4 thousand taken prisoners, with all the artillery, baggage, money, etc., and Don Juan of Austria forced to flee with a man or two with him."

"Every one is pleased here with the behaviour of the English troops," wrote Count Schomberg two days after the battle. "I send this express chiefly to procure money for the English troops. Pray speak to the Comte de

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Castel Melhor about it. . . . I want to attack Evora, but our commanders here after having done so well think of nothing but of resting themselves, instead of making use of their victory. They understand nothing about war. The soldiers are brave enough, but the chiefs carefully avoid all risks; and as to him who ought to have led us no one saw him during the battle at all."

In an account of the battle given in the *Kingdom's Intelligencer* of 22–29 June, 1663, it is stated that the Portuguese troops were so animated by the intrepidity of the English that they cried out, "Let us fight *à Ingresa*"—in the English way. "So great a victory," it was added, "the crown of Portugal (or indeed any other crown) have scarce received; and the date of this victory will preserve it fresh to posterity as often as it is remembered. This battle was fought and victory obtained on the 29th May, the day both of the nativity and blessed restoration of Charles II, King of Great Britain, and now the Restoration of the Kingdom of Portugal." And who recalls the battle of Evora now?[1]

The distress of the English troops in Portugal is constantly noted in the correspondence in the Heathcote MSS. In November, 1662, Sir Richard Fanshawe referred to their insupportable wants and injuries. Bennet in March, and Clarendon in April, 1663, admitted their miserable and very sad condition, and in May the officers petitioned that they were almost starved to death, and had to sell their very clothes to keep them alive. But apparently all that was done by Charles II was to authorize a disbursement of three months' pay out of the next sum received on account of the dowry of the Queen, which Sir Richard does not seem to have succeeded in extracting.

It may be noted here that Sir Richard himself was in great difficulties for money supplies for his own needs during his stay in Portugal, and was obliged to apply, through Sir Philip Warwick, to the Lord Treasurer's abundant goodness in December, 1662. On his return to England, and before going to Spain (Heathcote MSS., p. 131) he solemnly represented that his payments ought to be as large and punctual as the weight of his negotiations might require, as if he was not well paid he was ruined, and if he was it would be spent for the King's honour and service; but, as will be seen, this appeal had no great effect. He also complained in Portugal of the delays in the issue of instructions to him, his letters on one occasion having remained unanswered for five months. This was due apparently to the decrepitude of Secretary Nicholas and the gout of the Lord Chancellor; and after Sir Richard had congratulated Sir Henry Bennet in December, 1662, on becoming his Spanish patron, i.e. a minister who was master of the language, Bennet replied in March, 1663, promising there should be no complaint

[1] *In a poem of* 116 *stanzas of eight-lined verses* (*the metre of the* "*Lusiads*"), *Fra João* (*de Feria*) *de S. Francesco celebrates the* "*Vitorioso succeso*" *and* "*Gloriosa vitoria do exercito de Portugul sobre a hostilidade da ciudidade de Evora neste anno de* 1663."

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of want of punctual correspondence from England in future. It is pleasant to find in the correspondence of the time such kindly references as, "I pray God bless all the babies," and "a tender of my most humble service to her ladyship and her three sweet little ladies."

An important matter with which Sir Richard Fanshawe had to deal was the cession of Bombay, which the Portuguese Viceroy had refused, in September, 1662, to make over to Lord Marlborough (James Ley) and Sir Abraham Shipman. Bennet and Clarendon wrote to him very peremptorily upon this subject on 14 and 16 May, 1663, declaring that nothing less than the head of the Governor and satisfaction for all the expense the King had been put to could pay his Majesty for this affront. The Portuguese took the matter very coolly, and on 10–20 June merely expressed regret that orders to deliver Bombay had not been carried out, and requested His Excellency to point out what he conceived necessary to be done. A later letter expressed surprise at the demand for the cession of Bassein, which as a matter of fact never was ceded to the British Crown by the Portuguese, but was taken by the former from the Mahrattas in 1780, forty years after its capture by those keen warriors from the latter.

Page 112. § 2.

The Earl of Peterborough was Henry Mordaunt, second earl of that title. He had served in the West while the Prince of Wales was there, and may have been known then to Sir Richard Fanshawe and his wife. He was concerned in the rising of the Earl of Holland in 1648, and was wounded but escaped. In September, 1661, he was appointed Governor of Tangier, and arrived there in January, 1662. He returned to England in June, 1663, being succeeded by Lord Rutherford, created Earl of Teviot. He was on his journey back from Tangier when Sir Richard sent his secretary, Lyonel Fanshawe, to greet him at Cascaes on 19—29 June, 1663 (Heathcote MSS.). The public records do not contain any trace of special correspondence between him and the Ambassador at Lisbon. As Ambassador Extraordinary the Earl escorted Mary of Modena to England in October—November, 1673. In 1687 he became a Roman Catholic, and on the Revolution he was arrested and confined in the Tower for nearly two years, but at an earlier date than Viscount Charles Fanshawe. He died in 1697. His wife was a daughter of the sixth Earl of Thomond, and first cousin of Lady Honora O'Brien (*Memoirs*, p. 57).

Page 112. § 3.

Lady Fanshawe's son born in Lisbon was the second Richard, and was buried in the church of the Esperança, as we know from page 14 of the *Memoirs*. This church no longer exists, but the square in which it stood lies in the Rua de Don Carlos, a mile west of the Praça Camoes (Camoëns).

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Sir R. Fanshawe, writing to the Earl of Peterborough, then anchored in the Tagus, on 19—29 June, 1663, explained that the cause of the delay in his waiting on him was—

"My pores were shut with the sense of a loss of something dear to me newly received, and the fear of another, in a dearer degree of dearness, perpendicular. In fine that night which was a critical one is past, not without eminent effects of the danger it uses to bring along with it, and the danger itself—as I do now most confidently hope—with it, so that if this present day and following night pass according to expectation without new alarms, I have no more of cloud left by to-morrow's sun than that and the first sight of my Lord Peterborough will totally disperse" (Heathcote MSS., p. 120).

The epitaph and elegy of this child, mentioned on p. 413, run thus:

"Frater ejus Ri-
chardus
Ulissiponte (Lisbon)
eodem mense Junij Anno 1663
natus defunctus sepultus
Hic jacet.
Matriti (Madrid) soror est, ego mœnibus hospes Ulyssis;
Patris habent animam, corpus habento meum.
Occupat agnatum pacis studiosus Olympum;
Sed non ad coelum pax volat, inde volat.
Nos Lusitanum, nos conciliemus Iberum;
Pax et Hymen fati sunt superumque labor."

Mr. Thomas Marsden, chaplain, remained on in Lisbon after Sir Richard left and till February, 1665, when he left with £344 and the regrets and good wishes of the English merchants, twenty-six of whom certified that he had been "assiduous and laborious in his studies, constant and orthodox in his preachings, pious and exemplary in his life." In January, 1664, he had written to Sir Richard: "The frequent remembrance of your lordship, my honourable lady, with my hopeful young ladies, cheers us up exceedingly" (Heathcote MSS., p. 140). Mr. Marsden, who had been at Brasenose College, Oxford, from 1654–8, became, after his return to England, vicar of Walton-on-the-Hill, Lancashire, and died in 1720 at the age of eighty-eight (*Alumni Oxonienses*).

The Marques, or, more correctly, the Conde of Castel Melhor, was Don Luiz Vasconcellos e Sousa, the Prime Minister and favourite of the young King Affonso VI, and Escrivao de Puridade, "an office," noted Sir Henry Bennet, "nowhere but in Portugal, even here rarely, taken up, and once abolished as too much to be put into any one hand." He managed the administration of the early years of the King with considerable brilliancy, and fell with him in 1667. Sir Richard wrote of him in 1663: "Though a young man (he was born in 1636) for so exorbitant a place or trust, especially in such a storm as now bloweth, and in his general carriage high enough

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upon the insteps, yet because nobly born, without much of wealth to this day to bear it out, never once murmured at by the rabble." He was acquainted with English (Heathcote MSS., p. 111), and the possession of this accomplishment probably accounts for his visit to Lady Fanshawe narrated at page 113 of the *Memoirs*. He was banished from Portugal in 1667, and retired to France and later to England; and it fell to Sir Richard's nephew, Charles Fanshawe, shortly afterwards fourth Viscount Fanshawe, when Special Envoy at Lisbon in 1684, to intercede for him and obtain permission for him to return to Portugal. Evelyn writes of him on 10 July in the following year:—

"The Count of Castel Melhor, that great favourite and prime minister of Alphonso, late King of Portugal, after several—(it was eighteen!)—years' banishment being now received to grace and called back to home by Dom Pedro the present King, as having been found a person of the greatest integrity after all his sufferings, desired me to spend this day with him, and assist him in a collection of books and other curiosities which he would carry with him into Portugal."

After his return to Portugal he became a member of the Council of King John V (who succeeded in December, 1706), and died in 1720 at the advanced age of eighty-four.

The Marques of Niça, or Niza (creation of 1646), was Don Luiz Vasco de Gama, Conde de Vidiguera, one of the leading noblemen of Portugal, both in arms and diplomacy. He was Ambassador of John IV in France, and one of the plenipotentiaries who signed Lord Sandwich's peace between Spain and Portugal in 1668. He died in 1676. His wife was daughter of the Count of Calbrera, who was married to the daughter of the first Count of Castel Melhor, grandfather of the favourite of the *Memoirs*.

The Condessa of Villa Franca was Doña Maria Countinho, daughter of the Count of Vidiguera, and wife of Roderigo da Camora, of the family of Ribeira, gentleman of the chamber of Philip IV, and member of the Council of John IV, who died in 1672. The names of the other Portuguese ladies cannot be traced.

The Portuguese naturally experienced much difficulty over the name of Fanshawe, the Secretary of State addressing him as Don Ricardo Fanshon, and the Queen as Don Ricardo Fancho. The seal used by Sir Richard in his correspondence from Portugal (Public Record Office) is an oval with the impaled full arms of Fanshawe and Harrison surrounded by the full motto of his family.

Page 113. § 2.

The English commanders, who were not only slighted but insulted by the King's servants at a bull-fight, were, we learn from the Heathcote MSS., Colonel Norwood and Major Holmes, R.N., the former subsequently much distinguished as Lieutenant-Governor of Tangier, and the latter for his raid on the Guinea coast (see the second note following). The apology was made

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before 29 July—8 August, when Sir Richard proposed to take these gentlemen in his own coach and place them in proper seats to see the bulls. Upon the affront occurring, Sir Richard declared that he "would not come again to the Bulls, or within the Palace gates, but only to take leave of the King" (Heathcote MSS., p. 129), and this threat no doubt extorted the apology for which the chief minister sought the countenance of Lady Fanshawe.

Page 114. § 2.

The present made to the British Ambassador by the King of Portugal —12,000 crowns of gold plate (crusados)—must have been worth over £2000 on the valuation of Mr. Samuel Pepys about this time, in which he put 3000 crusados as equivalent to £530-40. A still larger present made to Sir Richard Fanshawe by the Court of Spain is mentioned at page 183 of the *Memoirs*.

Page 114. § 2.

In June, 1663, Sir Richard informed the Conde de Castel Melhor, and in July Sir Henry Bennet, that he intended to leave shortly for England. Various State Papers carried to England by him are dated 15-20 August. Two letters of the first date from the King of Portugal to Charles II and his Queen beg that Sir Richard Fanshawe may be sent as Ambassador to Spain, to conduct negotiations for a peace between Spain and Portugal, "he having all necessary qualifications—zeal, prudence, fidelity, and an intimate knowledge of the affairs of those kingdoms." To his kingly brother, Affonso expresses regret that affairs in his kingdom do not permit him to send the balance of his sister's portion. Sir Richard had pressed strongly for this, informing the Marques de Sande that he could not agree to further respite in time without disowning his own opinion and breaking his orders which were to urge payment in conformity with the treaty. Nevertheless it was left to Sir Richard's nephew to extract the balance of the dowry twenty years later than this. After "the 14th" in the first line of this paragraph "August" should no doubt have followed.

The Condessa de Palma was so in her own right, she being the daughter of Don Joao Mascarenhas, Conde de Palma. She was married to the Conde of Obispo and Sabagal, who became also Conde de Palma. The Condessa de Santa Cruz (whose name appears in the *Memoirs* under the wonderful form of St. Acrusse) was Doña Juliana de Lancastre, the wife of the fourth Count of that title, who was also a member of the Mascarenhas family, and daughter of the Marques of Govera and of his wife, a child of the Duke of Aveiro. He was the devoted servant of the Queen of Affonso VI, and her chief instrument in claiming divorce from the King and planning his deposition.

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Page 116. § 1.

The *Reserve* was also a fourth-rater built in 1650, and still seaworthy in 1686, of a burden of 512 tons, a length of 100 feet and beam of 31 feet; she drew 13 feet of water, and carried a crew of 150 to 200, and an armament of forty-eight guns. Major Holmes, afterwards Sir Robert Holmes, had served with the Duke of York under Turenne, and had been made a sea captain by him. The following year (1663) he commanded a buccaneering expedition to the Guinea coast, which was perhaps the actual cause of the war with the Dutch. Knighted in 1666, he distinguished himself in the battles of 1–4 June and 26 July in that year, as also by a fierce altercation with Sir Jeremy Smith, and the destruction of 150 to 200 vessels of the Dutch East India Fleet on 8 August.[1] In 1672 he commanded the piratical expedition which attacked the Smyrna fleet, and suffered badly. He afterwards became Governor of the Isle of Wight, and until his death, in 1692, was also M.P.

Dryden wrote of him in Stanzas lxxii.–iii. of the *Annus Mirabilis*—

"Old expert Allen loyal all along,
Famed for his action on the Smyrna fleet,
And Holmes, whose name shall live in Epic song,
While music numbers, or while verse has feet.

"Holmes, the Achates of the General's fight,
Who first bewitched our eyes with Guinea gold;
As once old Cato in the Roman sight,
The tempting fruits of Afric did unfold."

Page 116. § 2.

Most people will agree with Lady Fanshawe that "Lisbon with the river" is one of the goodliest situations their eyes have ever fallen upon (the vista of the city and of the magnificent stream from which it rises being extremely striking all the way from Belem and Alcantara up to the anchorage opposite the lofty fortress of St. George), and will recall with pleasure the lines in *Childe Harold* in which Byron describes this:

"Oh Christ, it is a goodly sight to see
What Heaven hath done for this delicious land!
What fruits of fragrance blush on every tree!
What goodly prospects o'er the hills expand."

[1] *Holmes, writing of his victory, reported that he had burnt two men-of-war, 160 to 170 vessels great and small, the town of Schelling, and a number of villages. The attacking force which went up the Vlie consisted only of one frigate, three ketches, eight boys, and five fireships. The English loss was only twelve men killed and wounded* ("*London Gazette*").

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And again—

"What beauties doth Lisboa first unfold!
Her image floating on that noble tide,
Which poets vainly pave with sands of gold."

The earlier of the engravings of Dirk Stoop, illustrating the royal progress of Queen Catherine of Braganza to England, give an excellent representation of what its appearance was at the time when Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe resided at Ulissiponte. There are still many beautiful gardens—quintas—round the city, and still more beautiful ones at Cintra. The term quinta is used to describe "Hamptamcurt" in the Relaçam Diaria of the journey of Catherine of Braganza to London.

Page 117. § 3.

The voyage from Lisbon to England commencing on 15 August, old style, and ending on 4 September, when Lady Fanshawe landed for a second time at Deal, occupied twenty days.

Page 117. § 4.

The story told here by Lady Fanshawe lacks verity in various details as much as it appears to lack general vraisemblance. It is the more to be regretted that she should have recorded it, as both Colonel Culpeper and his wife were connected with her husband by marriage at the date when the record was made. He was the son of Sir Thomas Culpeper of St. Stephens, Hackington, near Canterbury, and Lady Barbara[1] Sidney, previously wife of the first Lord Strangford (*Memoirs*, p. 27). She was the youngest daughter of Lord Frecheville and sister of the wife of Sir Philip Warwick's son; she was born in 1638, and married Colonel Culpeper in 1674. Colonel Culpeper's sister, Roberta Anna, was married in 1659 to Mr. Thomas Porter, younger son of the well-known Endymion Porter, and died in June, 1661, *two years*, not three months, before the date to which Lady Fanshawe assigns the story. Her marriage to Mr. Porter, whose record seems to have been remarkably villainous, was denied by her brother; and it would seem from a paper quoted in De Fonblanque's *Lives of the Lords Strangford* that she was buried at Colonel Culpeper's house ("Lord Strangford will take up the

[1] *Lady Barbara Sidney was the daughter of the widow of Sir Thomas Smythe, uncle of Lord Strangford, and her second husband the second Earl of Leicester. Among Sir George Radcliff's letters is one of* 1 *November*, 1626, *which refers to the pecuniary straits of Lady Leicester, and the refusal of Lady Fanshawe* (*widow of Sir Henry and sister of Sir Thomas Smythe*) *to help her with a loan of £*140, *in consequence of which she had to pawn her plate. The same letter refers to Lady Barbara and to Sir Richard Smythe* ("*Memoirs of Radcliff*," *by Whittaker*).

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body of my Lady Strangford, his and Colonel Culpeper's mother, and Sir Thomas Culpeper who was buried in St. Stephen's Church, and also the body of Mrs. Robert Anna Culpeper, who was buried in Colonel Culpeper's house, and bury them in the church of St. Stephen's, because State (has) resolved to pull down the chapel of St. Stephen's"), perhaps to defeat the claims of her husband upon her estate. This circumstance may have led to the horrible rumour retailed by Lady Fanshawe, to which possibly the wild actions and talk of Colonel Culpeper contributed. To judge from a mass of papers left by him he was more than half a madman. He was knocked down within the limits of the Court by the Earl of Devonshire in 1686, and was caned by that nobleman in 1697 (see page 450 above), and spent his life in quarrelling furiously with the heirs of Lord Strangford and Lord Frecheville. He was living still in 1708.

The Dean of Canterbury in 1663 was Dr. Thomas Turner, who was made Dean of Rochester in 1641, and was with the King at Hampton Court and in the Isle of Wight. He was appointed to Canterbury in 1643, but was not instituted till the Restoration; he died in 1672 at the age of eighty-one. He was married to a daughter of Secretary Windebank, and their son was the non-juror bishop of Ely, Dr. Francis Turner. Sir Arnold Bream has been noticed at page 440. Sir Thomas Batten must be meant for his friend Sir William Batten, the distinguished sailor, who was with the Prince of Wales's fleet in 1648. After the Restoration he was one of the Commissioners of the Navy, and as such appears constantly in the pages of *Pepys' Diary*.

Page 118. § 3.

Dorset House, in Salisbury Court, which still exists adjoining St. Bride's Church, was built by Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, to whom Thomas Fanshawe dedicated his *Practice of the Exchequer Court*, and by his son, who never left it after the execution of Charles I up to the day of his death in 1652. Later it was pulled down and other handsome dwelling-houses were built in its place. At this time it was occupied by Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins. Don Patricio Muledi, the Agent from the Court of Spain till the Conde de Molina was sent to London as Ambassador in 1665, lived here, and dated his letters "De Salsberie Court"; and here a theatre was opened by the Duke's company, at which Elkanah Settle's adaptation of Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of the *Pastor Fido* was acted in 1676. The Archbishop of Canterbury in September, 1663, was Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, who had been elected in August and confirmed on the last day of that month, and the Bishop of Winchester was Dr. George Morley, who was transferred from the see of Worcester on 20 April, 1662. He had been known to the Fanshawes abroad, and had baptized Lady Fanshawe's second son, Henry, born in Lincoln's Inn in 1647. He was one of the coterie of friends formed by Hampden, Falkland, Sheldon, and Hyde, and was the special friend of the last, to whose wife he bore company while her husband

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was absent from Antwerp in Spain. He was made a canon of Christchurch in 1641, and became dean on the Restoration, and Bishop of Worcester in October, 1660. He died in 1684 at the age of eighty-eight; his monument may be seen on the left side of the steps leading up to the choir of Winchester Cathedral. He has already been mentioned in the Notes as the comforter of Lord Capel in his last hours.

Page 119. § 1.

Pepys records on 26 August that the King and Court were gone out towards Bath, and on 30 September that the King would arrive in London the next day. It is curious that Lady Fanshawe does not make any mention further on of the serious illness of Queen Catherine between 17 October and 4 November, 1663. Cornbury, then the seat of the Earl of Clarendon, and from which his eldest son took his title, lies thirteen miles north-west of Oxford and five miles west of Blenheim.

Page 119. § 2.

Boswell Court, near Temple Bar, occupied part of the space now under the garden between the Courts of Justice and Clement's Inn: a line drawn from the point where Searle Street intersects Carey Street to the church of St. Clement's Danes intersects the old site of it. It was inhabited by people of mark up to 1610, Sir Walter Raleigh's widow living here among others; but in Stowe's time consisted "chiefly of stables and coach-houses with some houses at the Clement's Inn end."[1] "My sister Turnor" was Margaret Harrison, married to Mr. Edmund Turnor, who four months later was knighted (*Memoirs*, p. 123).

Page 120.

Sir John Cutler is undeservedly notorious from the portrait drawn of him as a miser by Pope.

> "His Grace's[2] fate sage Cutler could foresee
> And well (he thought) advised him, Live like me.
> As well his Grace replied, Like you, Sir John!
> That I can do when all I have is gone.
>
> . . . . . .

[1] *A letter addressed "These, For the Right Honble. Sr. Henry Bennet, Principal Secretary to his Majesty of Great Bretan, att Court," was written by Sir R. Fanshawe from Bosvile Court on 23 October*, 1663, *in reply to one of the Secretary proposing that Lord Dongan* ("*Memoirs*," *p.* 136), *who was then starting for Spain, should arrange for the Ambassador's house in Madrid.*

[2] *Duke of Buckingham.*

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Cutler saw tenants break, and houses fall
For very want; he could not build a wall.
His only daughter in a stranger's power,
For very want; he could not pay a dower.
A few grey hairs his reverend temples crowned;
'Twas very want that sold them for two pound.
What even denied a cordial at his end,
Banished the Doctor, and expelled the friend?
What but a want, which you perhaps think mad,
Yet numbers feel, the want of what he had."

His two daughters were married to the Earl of Radnor and Sir William Portman (*Memoirs*, p. 102), and both of them received large portions from him. He was made a knight in 1660, created a baronet in 1663, and died in 1693 at the age of eighty-one. Pepys mentions him several times in 1663, and his appointment of Treasurer to the Committee of Restoration of St. Paul's (of which both Sir Richard Fanshawe and Sir Philip Warwick were members), on condition of his giving £1500. People said that the post would be worth three times as much as that sum to him, and that others would in consequence be slow to give; but Pepys recorded: "I think him as likely a man as either of them or better." He founded a lectureship of £50 per annum in the Gresham College; rebuilt the north gallery of St. Margaret's, Westminster, near which he lived in Tuttle Street (Toothill Street), restored the Hall of the Grocers' Company, of which he was warden in 1652–3 and 1685–6, presented an anatomical theatre to the College of Physicians, and advanced large sums for the rebuilding of their old Physicians' Hall in Warwick Lane, of which his executors remitted £5000.[1] Thoresby, in his Diary, mentions that John Cutler forbore £5000 of rents in a bad year, and that he left £2000 to his poor relations, and provided a very large sum for his funeral—all of which would seem to clear him from the charge of having been a sordid miser.

Viscount Fanshawe was still residing at Ware Park, which his son was obliged to sell later: it is curious that Lady Fanshawe does not record in the *Memoirs* his being made Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore in 1661.

Sir John Watts, the third of that name to enjoy the honour of knighthood—(his grandfather received it in 1603 as Lord Mayor of London; his father for services in the Cales (Cadiz) expedition in 1625, and he himself in 1645 for his defence of Chirk Castle, being one of the last persons knighted by

[1] *The tale that Sir John Cutler's executors claimed of the College of Physicians sums which it was understood he had given to them, but which were entered in his books as advances, and that the College thereupon erased the inscription placed by them under his statue, now in the Guildhall, London, is, the Secretary of the Royal College informs me, of late date and without any real foundation.*

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Charles I),—originally resided at Mardocks, two miles east of Ware, which the first of the trio purchased in 1580, and which the last was compelled to sell in 1660 to Sir John Buck. It was from Mardocks that a Parliamentary force under the Earl of Bedford, which moved on Ware upon 28 August, 1642, and was joined there by another force from Hertford, expected to be attacked, and these two forces on the next day searched Ware Park and Hadham Hall, the residences of Sir Thomas Fanshawe and Lord Capel (page 295). According to Kingston's *Hertfordshire During the Civil War*, Sir John Watts and Sir John Lucy had shortly before this failed to execute the King's commission of array in Hertford Town. Sir John compounded for £100 on 13 November, 1648, and apparently got off very cheaply with that sum, as he was at Colchester with Lord Capel and had to surrender there. After selling Mardocks he resided at Tewin, three miles north-west of Hertford, and it was here no doubt that Sir Richard, whose fellow-collegian he was at Cambridge, and his wife visited him. He married a second time in 1674, and was buried in Hartingfordbury Church, where an inscription once recorded—"Near this place lyes buried in one grave those loyal and worthy gentlemen Sir John Watts and Captain Henry Hooker."

Sir Francis Boteler was of Watton Woodhall, four miles north-west of Hartingfordbury and nearer to Tewin. He was son of Sir Ralph Boteler, and was with the King at York in 1642. The Shotbolts of Yardley (page 327) were connected with the Botelers of Watton Woodhall, who again were of the same kin as the Botelers of Biddenham, Beds, and of Teston, Kent. Vallans, in his poem above quoted from, refers to "Tewin, wide of Butler's House." Hertfordshire was noted for its horses in the seventeenth century. Fuller writes quaintly of them: "First we have given the commendation due to the horses of this shire. Their teams of horses (ofttimes deservedly advanced from the cart to the coach) are kept in excellent equipage, much alike in colour and stature, fat and fair, such is their care in dressing and well feeding them." Lady Fanshawe tells us (*Memoirs*, p. 219) that the worst of their coach-horses bought in Hertfordshire cost £30.

Page 120, *bottom.*

The records of the Privy Council show that Sir Richard Fanshawe was sworn of the Privy Council of England on[1] 2 October, 1663, and that he subsequently attended meetings of the Council on 7, 9, 14, 21, 23, 26, 28, and 30 October, 4, 6, 9, 11, 13, 16, 18, 23, 25, 27, and 30 November, 2, 9, and 16 December. The last Council he attended was on 15 January, 1664. As a specimen of the councils of the day, the following list of members present on 4 November is given,—the proceedings of the day are attested by Sir Richard Browne, the father-in-law of John Evelyn: The King's Most

[1] *The words "On the 1st of October—and on," are added to the faired copy of the MSS. of the "Memoirs."*

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Excellent Majesty, His Royal Highness the Duke of York, His Highness Prince Rupert, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor (the Earl of Clarendon), the Lord Privy Seal (Lord Roberts), Duke of Albemarle, Marquis of Dorchester, Earl of Berkshire, Earl of St. Albans (Jermyn), Earl of Sandwich, Earl of Anglesey, Earl of Bath, Earl of Lauderdale, Earl of Middleton, Earl of Rothes, Lord Wentworth, Lord Seymour, Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley, Mr. Treasurer (the Earl of Southampton), Mr. Vice-Chamberlain (Sir George Carteret), Mr. Secretary Morrice, Mr. Secretary Bennet, Sir Edward Nicholas, Sir Richard Fanshawe. It has not been possible to obtain any information regarding the practice of Privy Councillors taking their place as such in the Chapel Royal (page 121, § 2). The words "in the King's chapel" are added to the MSS. of the *Memoirs*, and are omitted from the editions of 1829–30. If Lady Fanshawe meant to intimate that the Bishop of Winchester sat in the Royal Chapel as a Privy Councillor, that was a mistake, as Dr. Morley, Bishop of Winchester from 1662 to 1684, was never of the Council. But for the impossibility of date it might be conjectured that she intended to refer to Dr. Henchman, Bishop of London.

The persons appointed to the Privy Council about the same time as Richard Fanshawe were—

Sir Henry Bennet	15 October, 1662
Dr. Sheldon, Bishop of London . .	3 April, 1663
Dr. Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury .	6 April, 1663
Lord (John) Berkeley . . .	17 June, 1663
The Earl of Bath	26 July, 1663
Sir R. Fanshawe	2 October, 1663
The Earl of Rothes . . .	4 November, 1663
Dr. Henchman, Bishop of London . .	9 December, 1663

Lord Hatton, Sir Richard's first cousin, had been appointed to the Council upon becoming Governor of Guernsey on 29 January, 1662.

Page 121, *bottom.*

The Queen-Mother had returned from France to London on 28 July, 1662, and remained at Somerset House till 24 June, 1665, when she left on account of the Great Plague. Lady Fanshawe does not record having waited upon her during her first stay in England after the Restoration, which lasted from October, 1660, to January, 1661; but we may be sure that she did pay a visit then to the Queen and the Princess Henrietta.

Page 122.

Lady Fanshawe had probably been acquainted with the Duchess of York in Holland at the time of the Restoration. Anne Hyde, the eldest daughter of Lord Clarendon, was born at Cranborne Lodge in Windsor Park, on

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12 March, 1637, and was married to James Duke of York, and afterwards James II, at Breda, on 24 November, 1659, and by him became the mother of two Queens of one country, Mary II and Anne of England, a claim which cannot perhaps be established on behalf of any other woman in history. Her father's indignation at the news of her marriage, and before her re-marriage at Worcester House on 3 September, 1660, may be considered to have been partly assumed. Her first child was born on 22 October, 1660; of her eight children only the two who became Queens of England survived their infancy—one, the Duke of Cambridge, is mentioned at page 203 of the *Memoirs*. She died on 31 March, 1671, after admission to the Roman Catholic Church.

Sir Richard and his wife must, no doubt, have often seen the Duke of York (born 14 October, 1633) as a child at Oxford. On the surrender of that place in 1646 he was sent to St. James', and escaped from there in the disguise of a girl on 20 April, 1648. He was with his brother at the Hague when Sir Richard went to Ireland in the end of that year, and having left his mother was at Breda when Sir Richard went to Scotland in February, 1651 (see page 416). They could not have met again before 1659; but, as has been noted above, Sir Edward Hyde strongly recommended his friend for the post of secretary to the Duke of York in 1657 (page 432). Meanwhile, the Duke had served three campaigns under Turenne, and another with the Spanish army in Flanders, in all of which he displayed much bravery and not a little military capacity. He was named Lord High Admiral of England on 16 May, 1660, and during the early years of the Restoration took a deep interest in all naval matters. He commanded in chief in the naval engagements of 3 June, 1665 (*Memoirs*, p. 174), but the neglect of the English fleet to follow up its success resulted in his not being again entrusted with such command at sea. It would have been interesting to know what so staunch a Protestant as Lady Fanshawe thought of his joining the Roman Catholic Church. She was spared, at least, from seeing him King of England, and from observing his ignominious desertion of his kingdom. The devotion of the fourth Viscount Fanshawe to his cause (see page 304) was probably one of the circumstances which completed the ruin of the senior branch of the family, which was necessarily excluded from all Court favour from 1688 to 1716, when it came to an end on the death of the fifth and last Viscount in that year.

Page 121, *bottom.*

Somerset House, known also as Denmark House from its having been the residence of Queen Anne of Denmark, was restored for the Queen-Mother, and occupied in part by her after the Restoration. Queen Catherine of Braganza also resided here after the death of Charles II. Queen Anne of Denmark, James I, Cromwell, the Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of Albemarle, and the Earl of Sandwich all lay in state in it, and the Princess of Orange died in it

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of small-pox. The Duke of York had state apartments in Whitehall as well as in St. James', as will be seen from the following page of the *Memoirs*.

Page 122. § 1.

The Lord Mayor of London, on 7 October, 1663, was Sir John Robinson, Bart., who came into office on 29 October,[1] 1662, his pageant on that occasion being specially noticed by Evelyn. Pepys dined with him twelve days later than Sir Richard, viz. 19 October, 1663, with "The Farmers of the Customs, my Lord Chancellor's three sons, and other great and much company and a noble dinner, as this mayor is good for nothing else. No extraordinary discourse of any thing, every man being intent upon his dinner." Sir John Robinson, who lived in Minchin Lane, near Hart Street, and who became Alderman of Dowgate in 1655, and Sheriff of London in 1657–8, was one of the Commissioners sent by the City of London to Charles II at Breda; he was knighted by the King at Canterbury on 26 May, 1660, and made a Baronet on 22 June following. Besides being Lord Mayor of London and M.P. for the City from 1660–78, he was also Lieutenant of the Tower, and was granted an honourable augmentation of arms on the end of his mayoralty. He had entertained the King and Queen magnificently on 24 June, 1663, and Pepys, who lived close to him, wondered how all the company could be accommodated in the Clothworkers' Hall. The Diarist then called him "a talking, bragging bufflehead fellow," who pretended the Restoration was due solely to himself; but that was before the worthy Samuel had been invited to a City dinner, or had sat "in great state" in the Lieutenant's pew in the Tower Church! On 2 September, 1666, the Secretary to the Acts watched the Fire of London from the Tower with Sir John Robinson's son. The ex-Lord Mayor died in 1680. His father, who was Archdeacon of Nottingham, was uterine brother of Archbishop Laud.

Page 123. § 2.

The letters of credence of Sir R. Fanshawe to the King of Spain are dated 13 January, 1664, and other letters of recommendation of the new Ambassador addressed by Sir Henry Bennet to Don Juan of Austria and the Duke of Aveiro, are dated the 19th idem, while one from the Lord Chancellor, dated 27 March, commends Sir Richard to the King as a man of greatest fidelity and singular prudence, experienced in affairs and well acquainted with the Spanish Court, and a particular friend of his own (Heathcote MSS., p. 140). His Instructions were dated 14 January. These consisted of eighteen articles, which are printed in detail at page 1 of Vol. II of *Lord Arlington's Letters*. In the previous month orders

[1] *This was the old date of entry into the office of Lord Mayor before the rectification of the Calendar, being, Mr. Welch, Curator of the Guildhall Library, has kindly informed me, the morrow after the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, which fell upon the above date.*

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had been issued (Heathcote MSS., p. 133) for supplying to the Ambassadors a chair of estate and a crimson damask with the King's arms—"one large Bible of Imperial paper, with all the sculps, bound richly in two volumes," various Prayer Books and linen for the communion, and 4420 ounces of silver plate; and at the close of that month the Lord Treasurer had ordered £1000 to be kept ready for Sir Richard's journey. The style in which he was to be addressed as Ambassador was—"Dominus Richardus Fanshawe, eques auratus et Baronettus, serenissimi potentissimi que principis Caroli Secundi Dei gratiâ magnæ Britanniæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris, etc., supplicum libellorum magister, linguæ latinæ Secretarius, et in regnis tam Angliæ quam Hiberniæ a secretioribus consiliis, et ejusdem majestatis ad serenissimum potentissimum que Principem Philippum Quartum Hispaniorum etc. Catholicum Regem, Legatus."

The Matted Gallery in Whitehall is often mentioned by Pepys, but it is not indicated on the published plans of the Palace. While taking twenty turns in it shortly before this time, viz. on 1 November, 1663, the King, seeing Pepys and others with him, exclaimed, "Here is the Navy Office." Perhaps it was the same as the Stone Gallery, which connected the quarters of the King and the Duke of York. The incident connected with the gallery is added to the MSS. of the *Memoirs*, and is therefore wanting in the editions of 1829–30.

According to Le Neve, the Speaker's son, Edward Turnor, was knighted on 6 February, 1663, and Edmond Turnor, husband of Margaret Harrison, Lady Fanshawe's sister, on 24 January; but these must be the dates of the patents of knighthood, as Lady Fanshawe cannot have been mistaken in her assertion that they were both carried together to Court by her husband, and both knighted the same day, and as a matter of fact Le Neve's dates are both subsequent to the departure of Sir Richard from London. The former went to Spain with Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe, and was very ill there in July, 1664 (Heathcote MSS., pp. 160 and 167). His father, the Speaker, who was of Haverhill, Suffolk, of Queen's College, Oxford, and the Middle Temple, was elected M.P. for Hertford in 1661, having been member for Essex county in 1660, when, according to Sir John Bramston, he was kept out of the Speakership by a trick. He appeared for the Crown against the principal regicides, was counsel for Pepys in the case which cost that gentleman so much anxiety, succeeded Sir Geoffrey Palmer as Solicitor-General, was made Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1671, and died while on circuit in 1676. The son was Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in 1680, married Lady Isabella Keith, daughter of William Earl Marshal of Scotland, was M.P. for Orford in Suffolk, under Queen Anne, and died in 1721. His granddaughter, Sarah Gee, married Mr. Joseph Garth, and their son, Mr. Edward T. Turnor Garth, was created Baron Winterton in Ireland in 1761, and Viscount Turnor and Earl of Winterton in 1766.

Sir Edmond Turnor was second son of Christopher Turnor, of Milton Erneys, in Bedford, a junior branch of the Haverhill family, and younger

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brother of Sir Christopher Turnor, Baron of the Exchequer in 1660, and husband of Joyce, sister of Sir Philip Warwick, who died in 1707 at the age of 101. Sir Edmund was treasurer and paymaster at Bristol after that place was taken by Prince Regent, and was captured as a captain of horse after Worcester. Possibly some connexion with Sir Richard Fanshawe on this occasion and during detention in London may have brought him and Margaret Harrison together (*Memoirs*, p. 83), or perhaps the connexion through Sir Philip Warwick may have been the cause. He was thirty-four years of age at this time and she twenty-six. After the Restoration he was Commissioner in the Alienation Office and Surveyor-General of the Outports, and no doubt acquired a fortune in these posts. It appears that Sir John Harrison had bought the estate of Stoke Rochford in Lincoln (held by the Rochford family from the time of Edward II to that of Henry VIII), in 1637, and that he gave it to his daughter on her marriage. Sir Edmond built a new Manor Hall on the estate in 1665, and died there in 1707 at the age of eighty-eight. He is buried in the church of Stoke Rochford with his wife, who died in 1679 on the day of her birth, viz. 30 July, six months before her sister Lady Fanshawe. Their son John died in 1719, and their daughter Elizabeth,[1] who was married to Sir Justinian Isham, of Lamport, Northampton, in 1733. Sir Edmond Turnor was a generous benefactor of the four royal hospitals of London and of the workhouse in Bishopsgate Street.

In the sermon preached on him by the Reverend Joseph Adamson, Prebendary of Lincoln, that divine said: "His whole life was almost one continued act of devotion. Dona Dei Deo (the gifts of God ought to be returned to God, at leastwise in most thankful acknowledgments) was his beloved motto, deeply engraven on his heart as well as on the front of his hospitals. . . . Upon almost forty years' happy acquaintance and familiar conversation with him, I never heard an unseemly word proceed out of his lips" (Wilford's *Memorials of Worthy Persons*). By his will, dated May, 1704, he left £10 to buy mourning to "my niece Fanshawe, my niece Grantham, and my niece Ann Ryder Fanshawe alias Ryder." The last description is curious, and seems almost to lend colour to Mrs. Morley's assertion that there was something irregular about the marriage of this daughter. Niece Fanshawe (Katherine Fanshawe) was fifty-two years old at this time, Margaret Grantham fifty-one, and Ann Ryder forty-nine. Whether their sister Elizabeth, married to Christopher Blount, was dead then, or whether mention of her was omitted for other reasons it is impossible to say. Among the executors of the will were Richard Harrison, and among the legatees Richard Harrison, his wife, and his mother Lady Harrison. A descendant of the family, Sir Edmund Turnor, the antiquary, wrote the article on Sir Richard Fanshawe in the first edition of the *Biographia Britannica*.

[1] *It was this daughter who was thought of as an alternative to Susannah Fanshawe (p. 313) for Baptist Noel in 1681 (Historical MSS. Commission, MSS. of Duke of Rutland, Vol. II).*

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Page 124. § 1.

Mr. Charles Bertie (spelt Bartie in the MSS. of the *Memoirs*) was fifth son of Montague, second Earl of Lindsey, and his wife Martha Cockayne, widow of the Earl of Holdernesse, and was therefore nephew by marriage to Sir Richard Fanshawe, Viscount Fanshawe being married to Elizabeth Cockayne. The first Earl, who was Lord High Admiral of England, died of wounds received at Edgehill; the second was wounded at Naseby, offered his life for King Charles, and was one of the four noblemen who buried him at Windsor. Lindsey House, later Ancaster House, stood on the west side of Lincoln's Inn Fields, and was doubtless well known to Lady Fanshawe. When Charles Bertie returned from Spain in February, 1664, Sir Richard commended him to Charles II as a gentleman "furnished in very good measure with two principal and proper gifts, that of tongues and that of observation, and as possessed of virtues and qualities which do in no way degenerate from the nobility of his blood and active loyalty of his progenitors." In 1675 he was M.P. for Stamford, and about this time he stood in confidential relation to his brother-in-law, the Marquis of Danby. On 10 May, 1679, he was questioned by the House of Commons regarding the enormous sum of £252,000 paid as secret service to the Lord Treasurer in the previous two and a half years, and the House not being satisfied with his answers, committed him to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms for contempt. He was the gentleman who in 1685 (MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, Vol. II) stayed at Jenkins with Sir Thomas Fanshawe, and sat up playing cards all night. He died in 1710.

Mr. Francis Newport was the third son of the second Lord Newport of High Ercall, Shropshire, whose father was perhaps the first commoner to purchase a British peerage: it was doubtless on this account that he was subjected on compounding to the enormous fine of £16,700, afterwards reduced to £10,000. The second Earl was Treasurer of the Households of Charles II and James II, and died in 1694.

Sir Andrew King and Sir Benjamin Wright are noticed below at pages 502–3; Sir Edward Turnor has been noticed above. Mr. Francis Godolphin was second son of Sir Francis Godolphin, and elder brother of Sidney Godolphin, who married John Evelyn's devoted friend Margaret Blagge, and afterwards became first Earl Godolphin. He returned to Spain with the Earl of Sandwich in 1666 and died unmarried in 1675. Mr. William Godolphin, who went as secretary to Lord Sandwich, and was afterwards himself Envoy and Ambassador in Spain, and finally, in 1696, died there in the Roman Catholic faith, like Lord Cottington, was great-grandson of Sir Francis Godolphin, who built Star Castle in St. Mary's Isle, through his younger son John, as Francis and Sidney Godolphin were great-grandsons through the elder son Sir William.

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Page 124. § 2.

The stages of the journey from London to Portsmouth were—

			Miles.
21 January, 1664[1]	. .	London to Guildford . .	33
22 ,, ,,	. .	Guildford to Petersfield .	27
23 ,, ,,	. .	Petersfield to Portsmouth .	19
		Total	79

The record of the grant of the freedom of Portsmouth to Sir Richard Fanshawe still exists under the date of 25 January, 1664: he is described as "Ambassador to the King of Spain." The ingenious Mr. Samuel Pepys had been made a burgess of the town in 1662.

Sir Philip Honeywood had been an active Royalist agent in 1656–9, and in constant communication with Sir Edward Hyde. He bore to the King and the Marquis of Ormonde in July, 1657, the letters recommending Sir R. Fanshawe's appointment to be secretary to the Duke of York, and Hyde spoke of him then as a very honest man; and he was on Colonel Montagu's ship with Sir Thomas Leventhorpe in May, 1660. He was son of Robert Honeywood of Charing, five and a half miles north-west of Ashford, in Kent, and younger brother of Sir Robert Honeywood: both of them and a third brother, Michael, Dean of Lincoln, dined with Pepys on 13 January, 1662. He was still Governor of Portsmouth in 1671. His grandmother was remarkable for the fact that on her death, at the age of ninety-three, she had 367 lawful descendants. Her own children numbered sixteen, of whom eleven married. Her two sons had seventeen and twelve children; one daughter had fourteen; three daughters had thirteen; two daughters had eleven children, and three had smaller numbers. Sir Robert Honeywood had twenty children, but Sir Philip had only one daughter, who took his estates of Petts, in Charing, to her husband, George Sayer.

Page 124. § 2.

The following details of the vessels of the fleet in which Sir Richard Fanshawe and his family, his retinue, horses and household goods (*Memoirs*, pp. 132 and 219) sailed from Portsmouth to Cadiz, will, perhaps, be found of interest as indicating the general size of ships of the time; they are taken from the Pepysian MSS. How many of us would nowadays care to face the crossing of the Bay of Biscay, during January, in a sailing vessel of 500 or 700 tons burden!

	Rate	Date of Construction	Length ft.	Beam ft.	Draught ft.	Burden tons	Crew	Guns
Resolution .	3	1654	117	35	18	771	290	66
Bristol . .	4	1653	104	31	15½	534	230	48
Phœnix . .	4	1647	96	28	14½	414	150	40
Portsmouth .	4	1649	100	29	16	608	240	50
York . . .	3	1654	115	35	16½	749	340	60
Hinde (ketch)			41	16	7	55	40	8

[1] *Lady Fanshawe's date is according to the old reckoning, when the year ended on* 25 *March.*

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On the whole the vessels of the fleet were not very fortunate in their fate, for the *Resolution* was burnt by the Dutch on 15 July, 1666, the *Phœnix* was lost near Gibraltar in December, 1664,[1] and the *Hinde* was cast away off the Scilly Isles in December, 1667. As Captain King is recorded as captain of the ketch *Hinde* in 1663, and of the *Mermaid* frigate in 1664, it would seem a reasonable inference that the *Hinde* was the ketch of Sir John Lawson on this occasion. A ketch, according to Admiral W. H. Smyth's *Sailor's Word Book*, was of the galliot order, equipped with two masts, viz. the main and mizzen. Such vessels were principally used as yachts for conveying great personages from one place to another. The *Resolution* had been named the *Tredagh* (Drogheda) previous to May, 1660, and the *York* had borne the designation of the *Marston Moor*.

Sir John Lawson rose from the position of a mere seaman to be a high sea officer of the Commonwealth, under which he attained the rank of Vice-Admiral, but was superseded by Colonel Montagu, Earl of Sandwich. He was knighted by Charles II, and went with his old commander to Lisbon and Tangier in 1662, and remained in command in the Straits when the latter returned to England with Catherine of Braganza. On parting from Sir Richard Fanshawe at Cadiz (*Memoirs*, p. 132) in 1664, Sir John Lawson proceeded to Tangier, and having made the Algerines[2] disgorge eighteen vessels in March, relieved Tangier after the Earl of Teviot had fallen in ambush there in May. Writing to Sir Richard on 10 June he sent his "humble service to your right honourable lady and the young ladies." During the summer he watched De Ruyter in Cadiz, and on his departure to Cape Verde was relieved by Sir Thomas Allin. The list of the twelve frigates under his command on 17 August, 1664 (P.R.O., Spanish Correspondence, file 46), includes the *Bristow*, *Phœnix*, and *Portsmouth*, as well as the *Resolution*, but not the *York*. In the seventeenth century an Admiral was also captain of his own ship. In the war of 1665 with the Dutch he was Rear-Admiral of the Red under the Duke of York, and on 29 June died of wounds received on the 3rd of that month. Dryden commemorates him in the following stanzas in the *Annus Mirabilis*:—

> "But since it was decreed, auspicious King,
> In Britain's right that thou shouldst wed the main,
> Heaven as a gage would cast some precious thing,
> And therefore doomed that Lawson should be slain.
>
> "Lawson amongst the foremost met his fate,
> Whom sea-green Syrens from the rocks lament;
> Thus as an offering for the Grecian state,
> He first was killed who first to battle went."

[1] *Admiral Thomas Allin gave information of this loss, "which has half broken my heart," to Sir Richard Fanshawe, in a letter dated 17 December, 1664.*

[2] *Writing to Sir R. Fanshawe of this, he says: "Till it please God they receive some smart no peace can be made with them but what is worse than war."*

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And Clarendon records of him that he was "of so eminent skill and conduct on all maritime occasions that his counsel was most considered in all debates, and the greatest seamen were ready to receive advice from him." Pepys notes that owing to the prevalence of the plague he was buried in St. Dunstan's without any ceremonial. Sir Richard Fanshawe, writing to Consul Westcombe on 18—28 July, added in a postscript, "We hear to our great grief that Sir John Lawson is dead of his hurt received in the battle."

Captain, afterwards Sir William Berkeley (*Memoirs* of 1829–30 and MSS. have Bartley) was son of Sir Charles Berkeley, afterwards Lord Fitzharding, and no doubt one of the Court captains. He was Vice-Admiral in 1666, and in that year, after refusing to surrender to the Dutch, was found dead of his wounds in his cabin. His captors honoured his valour by placing his body in state in the church at the Hague, "his flag standing by him," until it could be removed to England, when he was buried in Westminster Abbey, whither his elder brother, the Earl of Falmouth, killed at sea the previous year, had already preceded him. Dryden wrote of him in the *Annus Mirabilis*:—

> "Berkeley alone, who nearest danger lay,
> Did a like fate with lost Creusa meet."

And nobly did his conduct, and that of the other English seamen, fulfil the fine lines of the poet laureate:—

> "Never had valour, no not ours, before
> Done ought like this upon the land or main."

Captain Richard Utber (MSS. and editions of 1829–30 Vibert), a native of Lowestoft, distinguished himself greatly in the naval battles of 1665, and in the following year distinguished himself still further as Vice-Admiral by the capture of Dutch and French merchantmen. He was killed at Bergen in 1669, and was buried in his native place. Captain Henry Terne (MSS. and editions of 1829–30 Ferne) was killed in the first sea fight with the Dutch in 1665: Pepys mentions dining with him and Captain Berkeley at the Globe on 18 November, 1663. Captain Robert Mohun (MSS. and editions of 1829–30 Moon) commanded the *Oxford* in 1663, according to the Pepysian MSS., and the *Portsmouth* in 1665: he held commands in the naval actions of 1665 and 1666. Captain John King commanded the ketches *Hawk* in 1661, and *Hinde* in 1663, and was promoted to the *Mermaid* frigate in 1664.

Page 125. § 2.

Letters from Sir Richard Fanshawe, dated Torbay, 4–13 February, 1664, are extant in the Public Record Office. In the former he writes that he had got so far "to the wonder of us that are passengers, and see how contrary and brisk too the wind has been and yet is," which hardly corresponds with his wife's "good wind." The voyage from Torbay to Cadiz in eleven days was a speedy one, and Sir Richard describes it as made "with the most auspicious weather that could be imagined." From the

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text of the *Memoirs* it might seem that the Ambassador was prevented from landing at Cadiz for several days; but from his letter of 29 February—10 March it is clear that he landed on Friday, 26 February—7 March, two days after the fleet anchored outside "Fair Cadiz rising o'er the dark blue sea." According to this letter the fleet entered the harbour, and the party landed with some difficulty, a circumstance which Lady Fanshawe does not mention.[1]

The English Consul at Cadiz in 1664 was Mr. Martin Westcombe, who afterwards became English Agent at this port, and in 1670 received the honour of a baronetcy. The Heathcote MSS. contain many letters from him. His imprisonment in May, 1665, and again in April, 1666, by the Duke of Medina Celi was one of the special slights placed at this time on England by the Crown of Spain and its representatives; and similar slights were repeated in 1673 and 1674. From a certificate granted by the English Ambassador to Mr. Westcombe on 9 June, 1665, and signed by his secretary, Lyonel Fanshawe, it appears that the Consul accompanied the former to beyond Seville in March, 1664, and had ever since given useful and seasonable advertisements in matters of much importance, and had aided and assisted the several governors of Tangier, admirals of squadrons, captains of frigates, and masters of merchant ships.

Don Diego de Ibarra (who appears as de Juara in the MSS., and as de Zbarra in the printed letters of Sir R. Fanshawe (A.D. 1702), and as de Zbarro in the Heathcote MSS., p. 195), was Governor of Cadiz *pro tem.* only; the actual Governor, Don Antonio de Pimentel, came back before the Ambassador left that place, and visited him before going to his own house. Both men were public servants of note. Don Diego was appointed Almirante General de la Armada Real in July of the following year in succession to Don Pablo de Contreras, and was killed at the battle of Palermo on 1 June, 1676, when Admiral Duquesne crushed the Dutch and Spanish fleet. Don Diego, who had only just assumed the command of that fleet, was wounded early in the battle, and perished when his flagship was blown up; the Admiral whom he had superseded resumed command upon Don Diego being wounded, and fought gallantly to the end. The Dutch Vice-Admiral was also killed in this action, and the Spaniards lost seven men-of-war and most of their galleys, which were under the Marques of Bayona, and seventeen hundred men. Don Antonio Pimentel had been Spanish Ambassador at Rome and in Sweden, and had left the latter country with Queen Christina, and was the agent employed to arrange the preliminaries of the marriage of Louis XIV of France and the Spanish Infanta in 1659. He had been recently suspended from his government through the enmity of the Duke of Albuquerque, and the

[1] *The words of the "Memoirs" in the following bracket, "The Governor['s lady with a coach to receive me and to conduct me to the house provided for us, as the governor] to conduct my husband" are omitted in the editions of* 1829–30.

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same fate overtook him again from the same cause in 1665, when he was imprisoned first at Granada and then at St. Mary Port. Writing of him in April of that year, Sir Richard Fanshawe said: "I always took (him) for an exceeding honest gentleman and most accomplished minister, both in martial and civil affairs, of whose person also I have a particular esteem, wishing I knew how to serve him." In the June following the Ambassador doubted if his friend would ever be returned to his government. In 1667 and 1668 he was in employment in the Netherlands, apparently with the Marques of Castel Rodrigo.

Every one who has landed at Cadiz will readily recall how the towering sea-ramparts of the town would lend themselves to effective salvoes of artillery and musketry on any occasion. As a matter of fact, Sir Richard Fanshawe was not received with greater honours than the Earl of Nottingham had been at Corufia (the Groyne) in 1604, and Lady Fanshawe is mistaken in saying that the Spanish forts saluted the English ships first, as Sir Richard specially states that it was *after he had been three hours ashore* that an express (no doubt purposely delayed) arrived with orders that the fleet and Ambassador were to be pre-saluted from the city, and that he was to be the King's guest up to Madrid (*Letters* of 1702; letter from Cadiz 29 February—10 March). The orders of the King had been issued from a report submitted by the Duke of Medina Celi after the arrival of the Ambassador's secretary, Lyonel Fanshawe, at Cadiz on 7–17 February. They are printed *in extenso* on pages 71–73 of the *Original Letters of Sir Richard Fanshawe*, 1702. The secretary wrote to Sir Richard from Seville on 7 March, the day the Ambassador landed; it does not appear certain if he preceded the latter to Madrid or accompanied him thither from Seville. The courtesies paid to Sir Richard were those to which captain-generals alone were entitled, and doubtless had some political object. They were often contrasted in subsequent correspondence with the treatment afterwards extended to the Ambassador. Sir Richard reported to Mr. Secretary Bennet on 22 September, 1664, that the French Ambassador (see p. 500) "upon knowledge in this Court of my arrival in Spain, and the grand reception and entertainment that was ordered for me by this Crown, . . . entering in great choler to expostulate thereupon with his Catholic Majesty, said openly in the hearing of many persons of quality in the King's ante-camara, 'That why all this to an English Ambassador? And what need had Spain of any friend but France?' with other expressions of like resentment, not without something of menace to this Court," which was a fitting prelude to the line taken by him throughout regarding Sir Richard's embassy.

Page 127. § 1.

The Duke of Albuquerque was newly appointed Generalissimo of the sea. He had been Viceroy of Mexico 1654–1660, and had returned from there so full, Sir Richard reported, that he refused the same post in Peru. Lady Fanshawe saw his great stores of silver and gilt plate in Madrid

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(*Memoirs*, p. 189) previous to the Duke's conducting the Infanta to Germany to be married to the Emperor (*Memoirs*, p. 192), and Sir William Stirling Maxwell, in his *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, records that there was a monster buffet in the Duke's palace covered with gold and silver vessels, which were reached by the servants from silver ladders—truly a mine of Mexico. Madame d'Aulnoy also mentions that when the Duke died six weeks were needed to weigh his gold and silver, which, she noted, had been brought from the Indies, and so had paid no tax. The correct name of the Duke, the eighth of the title, was Don Francisco de la Cueva, and not as given by Lady Fanshawe; and as a matter of fact the Marques of Bayona and not he was General of the Galleys of Cadiz. His brother, Don Melchor (called Milcha in the MSS. and the editions of 1829–30), was married to his niece, Doña Ana, a union very common in the noble families of Spain in order to keep family estates and titles in the family; and their son, Don Francisco de la Cueva, became tenth Duke of Albuquerque. Lady Fanshawe met the Duke and Duchess again in Madrid (*Memoirs*, pages above quoted). After conducting the Empress from there to Rovereto, close to Trent, the Duke, whose Spanish reserve gave great offence to the Italians and Austrians, returned to Genoa early in November, 1666, and remained there awaiting his escort to Sicily, and perhaps seeking to obtain the Viceroyalty of Italy till March, 1667. He is mentioned in April, 1669, as having provided relief for the villagers rendered homeless by an eruption of Mount Etna. His wife, who was Doña Juana Francisca Diaz y Aux, Marquesa de Cadereita, became Camarera Mayor of Mariana of Bavaria, second wife of Charles II of Spain, and died in that office in 1696.

Pages 128 *and* 129.

Sir Richard Fanshawe also records that the King had given orders "that for more honour and security a guard of soldiers with a captain of it should be night and day in my house; which is practised where I now am, and is to be in like manner in all towns of note, a person of quality by the same Royal command conducting me from one to another." He also adds a detail to the ceremony of offering the town keys to him, viz. that they were brought in a great silver basin. The word given by him was "Viva el Rey Catolico." A similar incident to that of presenting the town keys is recorded in the *London Gazette* on the occasion of the Cardinal of Aragon making over charge of the Viceroyalty of Naples to his brother, Don Pedro of Aragon, in April, 1666, when the first offered the keys of the prison to the wife of the second, who gave them to her husband, who in turn restored them to the cardinal.

Page 129. § 2.

The Governor whose wife sent the present to Lady Fanshawe was Don Diego de Ibarra, as Don Antonio de Pimentel did not return till 13 March. Sir Richard also mentions that the Duchess of Albuquerque and her daughter

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were "both vastly rich in jewels." On 6—16 March Don Antonio entertained Sir Richard and all his company "with splendour and magnificence." *Voiders* were large baskets, in this instance no doubt of silver, for removing fragments and broken meats from the table.

Page 132. § 2.

Lucena wine came from the place of that name near Puerto Santa Maria.

Pieces of eight, real de à ocho, are here first mentioned by Lady Fanshawe. They were pieces of eight reales of old silver, and were worth 4s. 2d. to 4s. 4d. (*British Merchant*, A.D. 1721,), 1000 pieces at 51d. per piece being equivalent to £212. 10s., a hundred, therefore, being equal to £21. 5s., and forty to £8. 10s. The piece was supposed to be of the value of fifteen reales of vellon or copper money; but, as will be seen below, the value of the latter was being constantly tampered with by the Government. The piece of eight is now represented by the duro, or dollar, of five pesetas, varying of late from 3s. 2d. to 3s. 8d. in value, but now (1907) standing nearly at its full value of 4s.

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Sir Richard Fanshawe notes in his letter of 23 March—2 April, in which he describes the passage from Cadiz to St. Mary's Port (Puerto Santa Maria), that Van Tromp with his squadron was also lying in the bay, and apparently saluted him. He was detained several days in Cadiz, until the "rich gundela" (Lady Fanshawe's "*very rich* barge") could be fitted for his transportation.

The crossing from Cadiz to Puerto Santa Maria through the shipping of the harbour is a very charming one, affording as it does a full view of the city and the fortress with their lofty ramparts on the south, the open sea breaking over various ledges of rocks to the west, the recesses of the bay round the Trocadero, Puerto Real, and San Fernando to the east, and the higher coast from Santa Maria towards Rota on the north, with the Jeres mountains in the background on this side. One is tempted to wonder if, during the passage from Cadiz, Sir Richard Fanshawe gave a thought to the youngest brother of his mother, killed when the Earl of Essex captured that place. The approach to the Port is up the Guadalete, which has a troublesome bar that can only be crossed at certain times of the tide. On the left bank of the river, opposite the town, is a dark pine wood, and a small pier projecting into the river from the right bank now affords the facilities for landing which that great curiosity (!), a specially made bridge, gave to Lady Fanshawe and her party. The picture of her three little English daughters, aged from eleven and a half to nine, led on shore by stately Spanish gentlemen in their formal dark dress, must have been a very pretty one. The Duke of Medina Celi was Don Antonio Luis de la Cerda, seventh of that title, which was granted in 1491 to the eighth in descent from the eldest son of King Alphonso El Sabio, who abdi-

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cated in favour of his uncle. He was married to Doña Ana Maria Luisa Enriquez de Ribera y Portocarrero, fifth Duchess of Alcala, who was apparently dead at this time. The Duke, who was member of the King's Council and Captain of the High Seas, died in 1671, and was succeeded by his son, Don Juan Francisco Tomas Lorenzo de la Cerda, the Duke of Alcala[1] of the *Memoirs*, who was married to Doña Catalina Antonia de Aragon y Sandoval, daughter of the sixth Duke of Segorbe and Cardona. The eighth Duke held nearly every high office in Spain, including that of Sumiller de Corps (Lord Chamberlain) and El Privado (Prime Minister) under Charles II, and died in 1691. His son, again, was also Prime Minister in 1709; he added the Dukedom of Lerma to his other titles, and was seven times Grandee of Spain. Mrs. Kestian was governess of Lady Fanshawe's children (*Memoirs*, p. 218). The only building of any interest now remaining in Port St. Mary is the ruined Moorish castle with its grey towers; but the town is clean and bright, and the view from it of the broken outline of the towers and pinnacles of Cadiz under the evening light is very beautiful. The Duke of Medina Celi, it should be added, was, as Viceroy of Andalusia, the most determined opponent of the English occupation of Tangier (which his Government persisted in regarding as still belonging to Portugal[!]); and if he was personally courteous to Sir Richard, he was most discourteous to the captains of English men-of-war, and most arbitrary in his conduct towards merchantmen and English traders and even the English consul at Cadiz. Through him the Spanish Government did its best to stir up Ghailan, the Moorish chief of Arzila, against the British force in Tangier by sending him money and in other ways (see Appendix V); and the Duke not only forbade the export of lime from Spain to Tangier for the purpose of building the "mould," but imprisoned merchants for taking it there, and finally in May, 1665, imprisoned the consul, Martin Westcombe, because an English frigate left Cadiz without ducal permission, and that though she had gone out to fight two Dutch vessels, and he himself and his son, the young Duke of Alcala, and the Governor of Cadiz and thousands of people went out to see the fight! Perhaps the Duke did this to revenge himself for his disappointment that the engagement did not come off! Writing at the end of July, 1664, Sir John Lawson said: "The Duke of Medina Celi hath given many fair words, but few fair deeds, and I believe he was never a greater enemy to Tangier than now"; and in October, 1665, both Consul Westcombe and Lord Belasyse, Governor of Tangier, asserted that the Duke was directly encouraging Ghailan against the English. He resigned his office as Governor of Andalusia in October, 1668, on account of his ill-health. It may be mentioned also that the Duke was father of the Marquesa de Liche.

[1] *The Dukes of Alcala were the owners of the splendid house in Seville known as the Casa de Pilatos, still belonging to the Dukes of Medina Celi. They were also hereditary Alguacil Mayors of that city as the Dukes of Medina Celi were hereditary Viceroys of Andalusia.*

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Page 134.

The Marques of Bayona was, in 1664, the General of the Galleys of Spain, which had their permanent station at Puerto Santa Maria. He was connected with the family of Pimentel of Benevente. His wife, Sir Richard Fanshawe records in one of his letters, was the "heiress of the Marquisate of Santa Cruz, and so of a Grandeeship, noted likewise for eminent virtue and education at Court." A letter of Sir Richard's of 3—13 December, 1665 (p. 214, Heathcote MSS.), shows that there were Englishmen among the galley slaves under the Marques. The Marques escorted the Empress from Barcelona to Final, after a contest over priority of salute with certain French galleys which he met at sea, and was commander of this pre-torpedo fleet at the battle of Palermo on 1 June, 1676.

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The five days spent in Puerto Santa Maria were, of course, utilized in making preparations for the journey by land to Madrid. It seems curious that Lady Fanshawe does not record the manner in which this was made by their large party, beyond that she and her husband rode after they left Seville; but no doubt the little ladies and the women went in the coaches, and the gentlemen and servants on horseback. The stages up to Cordova were as follows:—

	March.		Miles.
Monday	24.	Jeres	10
Tuesday	25.	Lebrija	21
Wednesday	26.	Utrera	28
Thursday	27.	Seville	20 (six days' halt).
	April.		
Thursday	3.	Carmona	26
Friday	4.	Fuentes	20
Saturday	5.	Ecija	18 (three days' halt).
Tuesday	8.	Cordova	28 (seven days' halt).

All the places in Spain visited by Lady Fanshawe have also been visited by the author of these notes.

Sir Richard records in his account of his journey that Don Antonio Pimentel also escorted them out of Puerto Santa Maria, and that the Marques of Bayona's coach was placed on the roadside beyond the point where the Dukes took their leave. Jeres is an interesting town prettily situated in the valley of the Guadelete, long supposed to be the stream on which the Moors defeated Roderick the Goth in A.D. 711. The Moorish Alcazar, part of the old walls of the west side of the city, and the picturesque ruined Cartuja Monastery standing on the river three miles east of this place, are now its principal attractions. Lord (William, Viscount) Dongan (called Lord Duncan in the MSS. of the *Memoirs*) was married to a lady of Jeres of the

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name of Maria Eufemia Chambers,[1] who brought him a large fortune. He was the son of Sir John Dongan, Bart., an active Royalist leader in the West of Ireland in 1645–50, when Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe probably knew him. He was made Viscount Dongan of Claine, Kildare, in 1661; on the death of the Earl of Teviot he offered to go to Tangier until a commander could be sent there from England. He was made Earl of Limerick in 1685, adhered to King James II, and was colonel of the Earl of Limerick's Dragoons, but gave up the command to his son, who was killed at the battle of the Boyne. The father left Ireland thereafter, and was attainted in 1691. He died in 1698 at the age of sixty-eight. The Heathcote MSS. show he was on terms of close intimacy with Sir Richard Fanshawe. Writing to him from Dublin on 6 December, 1665, he says: "Lord Chief Justice Smith sends you a great bottle of Irish *aqua vitæ*," from which it would appear that even in the seventeenth century Irish whisky was appreciated by Britishers abroad! The Dongan estates, comprising over 25,000 acres, were granted on forfeiture to General Ginkel, Earl of Athlone.

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Lebrija, now a flourishing small place, lies high on green slopes to the east of a little hill, which rises two hundred feet above it, and is crowned by the remains of Moorish walls of tapia—i.e. rammed earth and stones. At the foot of the hill is a fine church, which encloses the original cupola, domes, columns, and horseshoe arches of the old Moorish mosque; there is a little cloister with large orange trees on the east side, and a grand detached tower at the south-east corner. Utrera, now the junction of the railway lines from Seville to Cadiz and from Utrera to Marchena and thence (1) to Cordova and (2) Bobadilla for Granada and Malaga, is also a flourishing little town built on two ridges, with a ruined medieval castle and the fine church of Santiago at the south end of the western elevation, and the church of Santa Maria on the same point of the eastern height. Both churches stand up finely with lofty towers, especially as seen from the railway embankment across the valley to the south of the town—a view which fully justifies the fineness of its situation recorded by Lady Fanshawe. To the east of Santa Maria is an old Moorish gateway and part of the old town wall with a large tower to it. Sir Richard describes Don Lopes de Mendoza as Alguacil Mayor of Seville, and Teniente (Deputy) of the Duke of Alcala. The English Consul at Seville at this time was Mr. Nathaniel Marston.

Of the Conde de Molina the Asistente Sir Richard notes, on the occasion of his death in February, 1664: "For lands, flocks, money and ornaments

[1] *A daughter of her name, another named Ursula, and a son Walter were naturalized by the Irish Parliament in August*, 1666. *A letter from her, dated* 11 *May*, 1664, *addressed to "Isabel" Lady Fanshawe will be found on page* 152 *of the Heathcote MSS.*

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of a house altogether he was reputed hardly to have his fellow in all Spain." He was beaten to death by sandbags upon being detected in an intrigue with the wife of an Oidor or Judge.[1] The title of Asistente was peculiar to the Governor of Seville and a few other cities of Spain. His brother was afterwards Ambassador of Spain at the Court of Charles II from April, 1665, to May, 1669. Poor Lady Fanshawe called him "fool" in her indignation at the news of Lord Sandwich's appointment as Ambassador Extraordinary (Heathcote MSS., p. 225), and wrote to her husband that the Queen of Spain intended to recall the Count for his presumption in this matter. Clarendon speaks of him as advised and assisted by Baron de L'Isola (see p. 544).

The details of the honours rendered to Sir Richard Fanshawe on his way to Madrid were carefully set forth in English news-sheets of the time, probably for the edification of the French. On the occasion of the entry into Seville the additional information is given that the Marques of Algava and the Conde de Arendas were in the coach with the Asistente and Sir Richard, and that the cavalcade entered the city by the Puerta Real, which lies between the present western railway station and the well-known picture gallery in the Museo.

Page 138.

Sir R. Fanshawe speaks of the King's palace in Seville as the Alcacera (Alcazar). It is well known for its beautiful portal and courtyard, its Patio de las doncellas and the rooms round the latter, and for its garden, enclosed by an angle of the old walls of the city, and still quaintly beautified with terrace walks, fish-ponds, statues and fountains. The rooms which Lady Fanshawe occupied, and which the present writer was permitted to inspect by the courtesy of the Intendente of the Palace, were no doubt those in the upper story of the west side of the court, which appear on the left of the photograph at this page, the east side containing fewer and larger rooms. The palace had been restored for a second time by the Conde Duque Olivarez while Alcalde of it. Sir Richard reports in his letter of 23 March—2 April that he was visited by the representatives of the city, the Regent of the Audiencia, the President of the Contratation House (Contrataçion—Guild of the Merchants). The Archbishop being sick excused himself by a message. It seems curious that Lady Fanshawe does not mention the cathedral, with its splendid tower (La Giralda) and magnificent courtyard planted with orange-trees, or the Great Exchange (Lonja), or the florid Ayuntamiento House, or the grand stream of the Guadalquivir.

[1] *In the "Antiquidades de Savilla," published in* 1634, *it is stated in mentioning the Asistente as Head of the Council (Cabildo) of the city: "Que sempre es señor de titulo e del consejo supremo. En ambas cosas se aventaja Sevilla a las demas ciudades en las quales el nombre deste officio es corregidor y lo son cavalleros; pero in Sevilla respecto de la grandeza desta ciudad se llaman Asistentes, y han de ser como dicho es senores de titulo o del consejo supremo."*

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Page 139. § 2.

The consul at Malaga in 1664 was Mr. John Vassall. Coffee-cups set in Moorish silver filigree work are still made in Seville and Granada.

Page 140. § 2.

Carmona is aptly described by Sir Richard as "a city formerly considerable for (its) lofty situation (and the) strong and pleasant palace there of the Kings of Castile, which were the last which held out for Don Pedro the Cruel." It stands on a lofty hill with a very steep slope on the south side, and is visible from Marchena, twenty miles to the south of it. At the south-east corner is an extremely fine gate, with a bold Moorish arch, and with grand flanking towers built on Roman foundations; and from this the old town wall runs all along the west side, almost complete, and with its square towers still in place. In front of the gate and on a lower level stands the large church of S. Pedro, with a very fine tower, closely copied from the Giralda of Seville. Altogether the situation of the place is one of the finest in Spain. Fuentes de Andaluçia, on the contrary, is situated on an easy slope in a long green valley which presents no striking characteristics. The low white-walled dark-tiled houses, spreading over the slope and suggestive of a great ant-hill or a broken field of land, are crowned at the head of it by two large churches and the keep of a Moorish castle. From the crest there is a fine view of the mountains round Bobadilla and of the snowy heights of the Sierras to the west of Alhama. There are some small springs in the valley not far from the railway station. The Marques of Fuentes, mentioned as Ambassador at the Court of Louis XIV, was Gaspar Perez Tello de Guzman, the envoy who in 1662 apologized to that king for the fray in London between the cavalcades of the Spanish and French Ambassadors, and promised that the former should never contest the precedence of the latter. He remained in Paris till the outbreak of war between France and Spain in 1667. It was from this Marques, then Spanish Ambassador in Venice, that John Evelyn obtained the pompous passport which he records under the date of 23 March, 1646. In that the Marques is described as holding the office of Alcalde Mayor of Seville among many other dignities. Ecija is picturesquely seated on the Genil, the famous stream which traverses the Vega of Granada and falls into the Guadalquivir to the west of Cordova, and is here about seventy yards wide. Sir Richard calls it an extraordinary place, and the remains of the castle in the south-east corner and of the Moorish walls and towers on the south and west sides show that it was once a city of importance. Seen from a distance, seven lofty towers of churches lend a special character to it. Probably the Ambassador was entertained in the palace of the Marques of Cortes, the walls of which, built in the Genoese style, are still bright with old frescoes, as the kings of Spain used to stay in it when they visited the place. It seems surprising that Cordova should have been able to turn out nearly one hundred coaches to meet the Ambassador; and it is curious again that Lady

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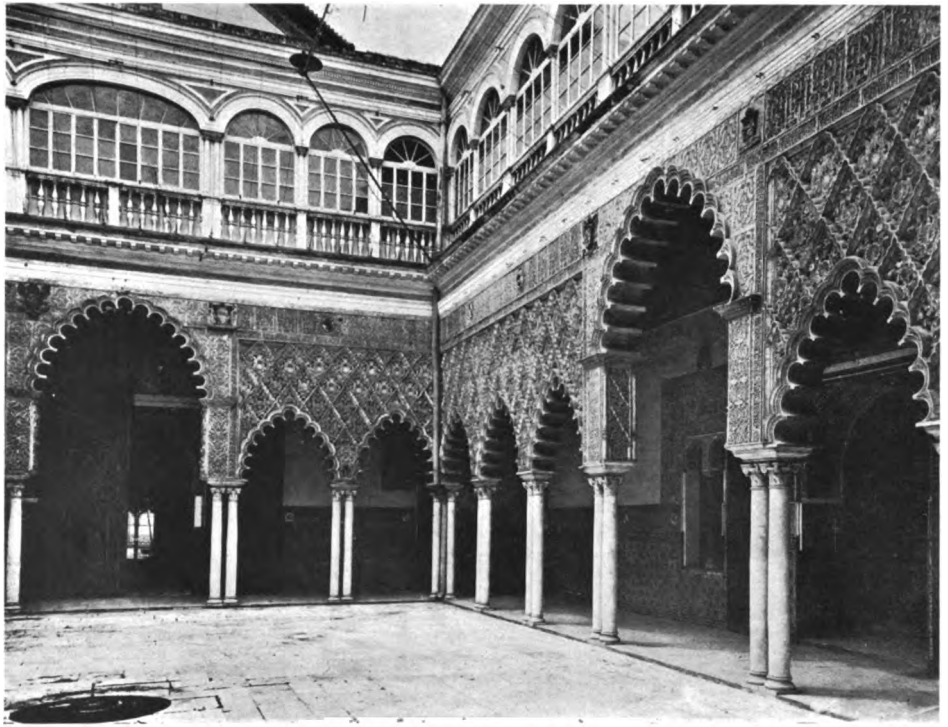

COURT OF THE ALCAZAR, SEVILLE

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Fanshawe does not mention the famous mosque-cathedral of the place, with its splendid court of oranges and massive towers, nor the great stone bridge across the Guadalquivir.

Page 141. *Line* 20.

The Corregidor of Cordova had orders to arrange for the Ambassador's journey from that place to Madrid, as the Duke of Medina Celi and the Asistente of Seville were charged with the same duty from Cadiz to Seville, and from Seville to Cordova. The following account of the Juego de Cañas recorded by Sir Edward Hyde will be found interesting. His account of the Juego de Toros of the seventeenth century is given at page 522:—

"The masquerade is an exercise they learned from the Moors performed by squadrons of horse, seeming to charge each other with great fierceness, with bucklers in their left hands, and a kind of cane in their right: which when they come within little more than a horse's length, they throw with all the strength they can; and against them they defend themselves with very broad bucklers; and as soon as they have thrown their darts, they wheel about in a full gallop, till they can turn to receive the like assault from those whom they had charged; and so several squadrons of twenty or five and twenty run round and charge each other. It hath at first the appearance of a martial exercise; the horses are very beautiful and well adorned; the men richly clad and must be good horsemen, otherwise they could not conduct the quick motions and turns of their horses: all the rest is too childish, the darts being nothing else but plain bulrushes of the biggest growth. After this they run the course; which is like our running at the ring; save that two run still together, and the swifter hath the prize; a post dividing them at the end: from the start they run their horses at full speed about fifty paces, and the judges are at that post to determine who is first at the end. (P.S. The appearance of the people was very great and the ladies in all the windows made a very rich show, otherwise the show itself had nothing wonderful.)"

Page 142.

The marches from Cordova to Toledo were as follows:—

April.	Miles.	
15th, Tuesday. Carpio . . .	15	
16th, Wednesday. Andujar . . .	32	
17th, Thursday. Linares. . . .	31	
18th, Friday. San Esteban . . .	23	
19th, Saturday. Torre Juan Abad . .	40	
20th, Sunday. Membrilla . . .	25	(halted one day).
22nd, Tuesday. Villarta . . .	23	
23rd, Wednesday. Consuegra . .	19	
24th, Thursday. Mora . . .	21	
25th, Friday. Toledo . . .	23	(halted three days).

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Carpio, the Marquesate of the family of the Favourite and Prime Minister, Don Luis de Haro[1] (d. 1661), is now only a large village standing on a gentle elevation five miles to the south of the Guadalquivir. A noble old keep tower rises in the centre of it. Andujar lies on the north side of the river, which is spanned below the town by a very fine stone bridge, on the edge of a table-land running back to the mountains to the north. The old walls of the place still stand up finely at the south-west angle near the bridge, and a grand keep tower marks the site of the old castle in the centre of the town. These and the three churches, whose lofty towers rise high above the place as seen from the railway and the bridge, are built of red sandstone. Linares lies in the centre of a mining district in a very desolate and exposed situation, swept by bitterly cold winds in the winter. Though a large place and old, it possesses nothing whatever of any interest. From this point the railway and the modern road to Madrid turn north and pass through the heart of the Sierra Monena; but the old road which Sir R. Fanshawe followed pursued its way further east up the valley of the Guadalimar, and passed San Esteban del Puerto and through the lower eastern end of the Sierra to Torre Juan Abad. The former place is most quaintly situated in a recess of mountain ridges with steep sides of a very deep red colour crowned by the remains of old Moorish forts, but is otherwise uninteresting: it is served by a diligence from the railway station of Vilches. The Counts of San Esteban were of the family of Benavides; the Viceroy of Peru from 1661–6 was Don Diego de Benavides y Bazan, eighth Count of San Esteban and first Marques of Solera, who died in Peru in March, 1666. His son was Viceroy of Naples and Sicily in 1678. Torre Juan Abad can be approached now only from Val de Peñas: in making the journey to it the writer was overtaken by night in a network of water-logged roads, to the undisguised alarm of his driver, the landlord of his hotel in Val de Peñas. The place is a very small village now, with a fine church standing up high at the north end of it: on the south side in the plain, and no doubt once guarding the pass from the adjacent mountains, is a fine tower from which presumably the name was derived. Membrilla is a fairly large village lying two miles south-east of Manzanares, famous as the centre of a very important wine district. A large church, a handsome casa del Ayuntamiento, and an interesting hermitage chapel on the site of the old Moorish fort, attest the former importance of the place. The plain all round is full of norias, the small water-wheels of the Moors: their presence is specially noted by the Moorish Ambassador sent to Madrid in 1690–91 (p. 498). Villarta de San Juan is situated on the south side of a reedy swamp crossed by a causeway and bridge under which the stream of the Guadiana struggles towards the west. At the north end of the long village street a pretty little church standing on a mound to the right affords a fine view of the valley of the river. The road on to Consuegra passes through Puerto Lapiche, situated

[1] *His father, Marques of Carpio, married Francisca Guzman, sister of the Conde Duque Olivares.*

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in a small gap in the hills and mentioned in *Don Quixote*, and Madridejos lying twenty miles west of Alcazar de San Juan, the junction of the lines from Seville and Valencia to Madrid. Consuegra nestles at the foot of a fine acropolis hill crowned by the ruins of a fort which must once have been very magnificent, and from which an extraordinarily wide view is obtained. On the hill outside the fort are also several picturesque windmills, as so often is the case in La Mancha. A number of fine churches stand out prominently in the little town, which was terribly desolated in 1891 by a great flood which is said to have caused nearly one thousand deaths. Don Juan of Austria, the son of Philip IV and the actress Maria Calderon, was born in 1629, and was therefore four years younger than Lady Fanshawe.[1] In 1647 he was sent to Naples and captured that city, putting down the revolt of Masaniello. In the next year he was in Sicily; and in 1652 he reduced Catalonia. He then became Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, where he met Charles II on several occasions, and was defeated by Turenne at the battle of the Dunes in June, 1658. In 1663 he commanded against the Portuguese, and was defeated by Schomberg at the battle of Evora (*Memoirs*, p. 112). After the death of Philip IV he gradually became the head of the Spanish party against the Queen Regent and her Confessor, and practically wielded the real power of the kingdom after Charles II assumed authority in 1677. He died in September, 1679, a few months before Lady Fanshawe, and was buried in the Escorial. He was "the bravest, most accomplished and most learned of his race." Both Clarendon and the Countess D'Aulnoy bear eloquent tribute to his abilities and capacity. Mora lies in a green valley bounded on the east by a low range of mountains, on which the white hermitage of La Antigua is perched: it is a long straggling village lining the high road for one and a half miles, and has a fine church in the middle of it.

Page 142. § 2.

The Ambassador and his family were no doubt accommodated in the great Alcazar Palace of Toledo which occupies the highest point in the city, and forms so important a feature of the view from the left bank of the Tagus gorge. It has been repeatedly gutted by fire, and no part of the interior now remains as it was in 1664. The main façade is very imposing in general effect, if the details of its decoration hardly bear detailed examination. The interior, as Lady Fanshawe saw it, is described by the Countess d'Aulnoy, who visited the Queen-Mother, Maria Anna, in the Alcazar after she was compelled to resign her authority to Don Juan of Austria. The cathedral, which Lady Fanshawe calls the great church, lies to the east of it at a very much lower level; it is the only Spanish building besides the Escorial of which she speaks with admiration in the *Memoirs*. It is once more remarkable that

[1] *He was brought up at Ocana, but resided at Consuegra when in Spain by reason of his being Prior of Castille.*

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she should neither mention the Tagus gorge nor the magnificent bridges over it, nor the Moorish gates, nor any of the other fine and interesting churches of the metropolitan cathedral city of Spain. In her letters to Sir Richard in 1666, she spells the name of the place "Tolethey." Who was the Marques who was governor of Toledo in 1664 cannot be now ascertained.

Page 144. § 2.

The stage from Toledo to Illescas is twenty miles, from Illescas to Vallecas twenty-two miles. The former place was well known as the first stage out of Madrid on the great road to the south, and the very long street which contains the major part of the houses is still the channel of a busy traffic between the capital and Toledo, and is lined with inns and farrieries. There are two fine churches in the place which stands in an undulating plain, from which the low mountains round Toledo are seen to the south, and the lofty snow-clad Guadarrama range to the north. Vallecas lies four miles south-east of Madrid in rather broken country draining steeply into the Manzanares. It is only a moderately sized village now, but a good deal of bread goes from it to Madrid. There is no old house in it at present in which any ambassador could possibly have put up. Sir Richard describes the house placed at his disposal in the village as being a straitened lodging, but as having "a very large and pleasant garden . . . to expatiate and refresh myself and my wearied family in." His meeting with the Duke of Medina de las Torres took place, according to the proposal recorded in the *Memoirs*, on 22 April—2 May, at Valdemoro, said to be half-way between Vallecas and Aranjuez, but really some miles nearer to the latter, where the Court then was. The Duke of Medina de las Torres, better known as the Duke of San Lucar, who was quasi Prime Minister of Spain at this time, was Don Ramiro Nuñez de Guzman, who had married as his first wife the daughter of the Conde Duque Olivarez. From the rank of Marques of Toral, in which he appears in *Gil Blas*, he was raised to that of Duke,[1] and on the death of Don Luis de Haro in 1661 he became titular Prime Minister, and divided the authority of that post with the Cardinal Archbishop Sandoval, of Toledo, and the Conde de Castrillo. He was also appointed Sumiller de Corps, or Lord Chamberlain. His son, Don Añelo de Guzman, was captured at the battle of Evora as well as his cousin the Marques de Liche, son of Don Luis de Haro and the sister of Olivarez. He gradually lost his power after the death of Philip IV, and died himself on 8 February, 1669, of a violent fever like his English friend. Lady Fanshawe records his proclaiming King Charles II at page 180 of the *Memoirs*. Clarendon writes of him that he was a man of parts and wanted

[1] *Through his second wife he acquired the title of Prince of Stillano. His titles and honours occupy twenty lines of print in the preamble of Sir Richard Fanshawe's treaty of* 16–17 *December*, 1665 ("*Lord Arlington's Letters*," 1701, *Vol. II, pp.* 114–116). *No one of his children left any male descendant.*

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nothing to be a very good statesman but application, but he was industriously without that. Sir Richard speaks of him on 18 November, 1664, as displaying towards him "transcendent personal civilities, very proper both to the nature and breeding of this Duke, as is well known at home and abroad."

The Count of Irvia is unknown to Major Martin Hume, and the name must be a mistake of the transcriber of the *Memoirs*. The Duke of St. Germain was, Major Martin Hume notes, a Neapolitan previously known as Baron de Tutavilla. He had been Governor of Badajoz and Estremadura for a number of years, and is said to have amassed enormous sums of money in his government. He defeated the Count of San Lourenço in 1657, and rallied the Spanish forces after the defeat of Don Luis de Haro at Elvas in 1659. Barrionuevo records that he refused the post of Governor of Navarre. In 1668 he was Viceroy of Sardinia.

Major Martin Hume most kindly drew my attention to the Avisos (newsletters) of Don Jeronimo de Barrionuevo, issued in 1664, from which the following interesting extracts regarding Sir Richard Fanshawe are taken. On 11 May he records that the Ambassador, with his family and following, was at Vallecas, and would not, it was rumoured, enter Madrid until the King and Queen returned from Aranjuez, which would be about the 19th instant. It was believed he had had a secret interview with the King, and had stated that he was charged to effect a more firm alliance by land and sea between England and Spain, and to arrange the interests of the Duke of Braganza in the best form possible. If these were really his objects, added the writer, they were due rather to the fears than to the love of the King of England, for every one was aware that his position at home was very insecure, that he was without sufficient revenues, and that he had no son, and a wife who could never bear him any son. And so badly was he served by his own party that it cost him as much to build four frigates as it used to cost Cromwell to build twenty! In the previous October, Don Jeronimo had written by way of welcome to Sir Richard Fanshawe: "It is now certain that our Ambassador from England is to come to this Court. He is to be the man who was recently Ambassador in Lisbon, and left there on very bad terms with the Duke of Braganza (i.e. the King of Portugal—this assertion was quite untrue), and hating the whole nation for treating him, and the English who helped in the war, so badly"; and again, "Complaints and ill-feeling (in London) are constant regarding the failure of the Portuguese to pay the dowry in full, and the trick they have played the English in India." On 15 June, 1664, Don Jeronimo noted: "It is said that the day after to-morrow the English Ambassador will make his entry into this Court. A house has already been provided for him; his long stay at Vallecas having been caused entirely by his not having a residence in Madrid, although the vulgar talk assigns all manner of strange reasons for it. The house he is to have is near Santa Barbara, and although it is built in rustic style—that is to say, is of low elevation—it is very spacious and cheerful, with fine rooms, and a water supply, and a garden where they may bury their dead, and the Ambassador

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too (!) should God be pleased to take him. They have assigned him the house called the Siete Chimeneas (Seven Chimneys), where the Venetian Ambassador lives, supposing that the latter would surrender it as he was returning home. But he has barricaded himself in, so that he may hand over the house to his successor when he arrives, as he is soon expected to do."

The quarter of Santa Barbara lay on the north-east side of the city, about three-quarters of a mile north of the Siete Chimeneas, to which Sir Richard moved two months later. Lord Arlington, in one of his letters, refers to the house in the Santa Barbara quarter as probably being in a cool situation for the summer. Sir Richard and his wife had resided in the street Santa Barbara in 1650, as we know from the record of the birth and death of their first daughter named Elizabeth (*Memoirs*, p. 215).

It may be noted here that, curiously enough, another Ambassador to the Court of Spain, the Envoy of the Sultan of Morocco, followed the same route as Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe, stage by stage, from Cadiz to Madrid, in 1690–91. The narrative of the journey, translated by Mons. H. Sauvaire, does not add any details of interest to Lady Fanshawe's account of hers. The names of various stages are spelt phonetically with wonderful correctness, e.g.:

Charich	=	Jeres.
El Bridjah	=	Lebrija.
Azikhah	=	Ecija.
Torry Kouan Abad	=	Torre Juan Abad.

Naturally Mohammedan envoys make special mention of the Mosque of Cordova and of the walls and gates of Toledo. They record also their admiration of the equestrian statue of Philip IV, and the fact of the English Ambassador (Sir William Godolphin) having recently joined the Roman Catholic Church. Their reception at Cadiz was much on the same lines as that of Sir Richard Fanshawe; and like him they visited the Escorial, Aranjuez, the Buen Retiro, and El Pardo. Their stage between Toledo and Madrid was Getafe instead of Illescas.

Page 144. § 2.

While residing at Vallecas Sir Richard Fanshawe received news of a serious reverse to the garrison of Tangier, viz. the loss on 3 May of the Earl of Teviot and over thirty officers and four hundred men of the garrison, who fell in an ambuscade laid for them by the Moors in a wood three miles outside the fort. Fortunately the losses of the Moors were very heavy also, and they made no immediate attempt to attack the defensive works; and the return of Sir John Lawson's fleet and the subsequent arrival of Colonel Fitzgerald with recruits saved the situation. Lady Teviot, poor soul, landed at Tangier just a month after her husband's death. The following incident in connexion with the Earl, related in Corbet's *England in the Mediterranean*, is deserving of special record: "Some of the English had been found mutilated. Instead

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of retaliating, he caused the bodies of the Moors which were in his hands to be washed and clothed in fine linen, and laid on biers strewn with flowers. Then preceded by a flag of truce, he and all his force in review order solemnly escorted them to his outermost lines, and delivered them to the Moors. The effect was profound, and the Moorish warriors bared their heads and ungirded their waistcloths, humbled almost to adoration."

The recognition of the importance of Tangier by Sir Richard Fanshawe and the English statesmen at home has been noticed in Appendix V. It is more curious to find an unknown poet writing in verses upon the marriage of Charles II in 1662—

> "Haste Good Queen, England with impatience waits
> Till Charles have Tangier and possess the Straights."

Mr. Martin Westcombe called Tangier "an incomparable jewel," and Sir Andrew King (p. 502) wrote of it: "Tangier hath not many friends; but it is better to be feared than pitied, and if the mould were up we were strong in these parts." The Spanish Agent in London persistently denied the ill services done to us in this connexion by his Government; but Sir Henry Bennet, writing to Sir Richard Fanshawe upon this, remarked drily, "As they have liberty to say what they please, so we have to believe."

Page 144. § 3.

The German Ambassador at the Court of Spain in 1664 was, Major Martin Hume has kindly informed me, Graf Francis Eusebius von Poëtting, Vice-Chancellor of Bohemia, Grand Marshal of the Court, and Governor of the County of Tyrol. He was made a Knight of the Golden Fleece in 1663, retired from the Embassy at Madrid in 1674, and died four years later. In addition to the Ambassador, there was then at the Court an Ambassador Extraordinary of the Emperor, the Baron de L'Isola. Both are mentioned in the account of the Infanta's marriage by proxy at page 190 of the *Memoirs*. In the editions of the *Memoirs* of 1829–30 the words "the German Ambassador's lady" are omitted from the text.

The Duchess of Medina de las Torres in 1664 was the third wife of the Duke, Doña Catalina Velez de Guevara, ninth Countess of Oñate and Villamediana, from whom the Duke derived the countship which appears in his title of Duque San Lucar y Conde de Onate, in the abortive treaty of 1665.

Count Marçin (Marchin in the *Memoirs*) was Jean Gaspar Ferdinand de Marcin, Comte de Graville, Marquis de Claremont d'Antraque, formerly a commander and marshal in the French army, who had carried his troops away from Catalonia in 1651 to join the great Conde, then in Guienne, in his opposition to the Court, for which that Court never forgave him. He entered the Spanish service in 1653, and was General in the Low Countries, where he showed various courtesies to the young King of England, then in exile. He was selected to command the forces which the Royalists hoped to gather for

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invading England (a plan which, happily for the chances of the King's restoration, never came to anything), and was made Knight of the Garter in 1658. In his final letter of instructions to Sir Richard Fanshawe in January, 1664, Sir Henry Bennet bade the Ambassador commend the King very kindly to Count Marçin; and Sir Richard, writing from Vallecas on 18—28 May, 1664, records a visit from the Count "in this obscurity, contrary to the style of Spain, but suitable to the freedom of a soldier and of a subject to his majesty as to his most noble sovereignty of the Garter." In April of the next year he notes that the Count, who had left the Spanish army on the Portuguese border in consequence of the arrival of the Marques of Caracena, explained to him "that having so often commanded armies in chief, he could not in point of military honour serve under any General but a Prince." On 14 January, 1666, Sir Richard took leave of the Count, "suddenly bound for Flanders." In the next year Count Marçin was badly defeated and taken prisoner by Marshal Crequi in an attempt to relieve Lille, the Spanish army being doubtless inadequately furnished in all respects. He died at Spa in 1673. His son became reconciled to the French Government, and, like his father, became a Marshal of France.

Page 145.

Sir Richard made an official report of his reception by the King in his letter dated 10—20 June, 1664. This, however, adds nothing of importance to the *Memoirs* narrative, except that the answer of the servants of the French Ambassador was made direct to the Marques of Malpica. The reception took place in the old palace, which stood on the site of the Moorish alcazar, now occupied by the modern palace. The Marques, who was the fifth of that title and head of the family of Ribera Barroso, was captain of the German Royal Guard, and as such took a prominent part in the proceedings of the Court upon the death of Philip IV. He was one of the majordomos of the King, and as such was the introducer of Velasquez when the great painter was made Knight of the Order of Santiago.

The French Ambassador at the Court of Spain was Georges d'Aubusson, Archbishop of Embrun (and afterwards Bishop of Metz), the dexterous instrument used by Louis XIV in his attempts to secure the crown of Spain, or at least some of its possessions, in the right of his wife, and a deep thorn in the side of Sir Richard Fanshawe throughout his residence at Madrid.[1] He resided at Madrid from 1661 to 1667, and his proceedings are fully recorded in Mignet's *Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne sous Louis XIV*,

[1] *In a letter of 23 November, 1664, Sir Richard, referring to the French Ambassador "whom you know to be an Archbishop," adds that he "seems to be of no ill humour, but when he talks with or of the Spaniards." In a letter from Lisbon to Lord Clarendon, written in November, 1662, Sir Richard had spoken of the Ambassador as "a fiery Archbishop."*

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to which Professor Firth kindly drew my attention. The indignation displayed towards him at the time of the breach of peace by France was so great that the Queen had to take special measures for his protection. He left Madrid in August, 1667, and paused on the frontier until the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, the Marques of Fuentes, arrived there also, and reached the French capital on 25 September, 1667. In the following year he exchanged his Archbishopric for the Bishopric of Metz, becoming thereby a prince of the Empire, and entitled to drive into the Louvre in his coach!

The courtesy rendered by him on this occasion was intended to be used for the foundation of a claim of the precedence of the King of France over the King of England, and consequently of the French over the English Ambassador!

Of the camarados of Sir Richard nothing more is known regarding Mr. Wycherley and Mr. Levine (printed Lorimer in the editions of 1829 and 1830), except that they appear in the list on page 218 below, and that the former returned to England in February, 1665; their names have not been found either in the private or public correspondence of the time. Mr. Godolphin, Sir Edward Turnor, Mr. Newport, and Mr. Bertie are mentioned above, and Sir Andrew King and Sir Benjamin Wright in the following note.

Sir Richard no doubt looked splendid in his Court dress, and was duly admired by his wife and three small daughters. "*Fille morte*" is of the colour of dead leaves, *feuilles mortes*. The picture of the King worn by the Ambassador was clearly that alluded to on page 95 of the *Memoirs*. The coach must indeed have been a magnificent one for Lady Fanshawe to drive about Madrid in. From Sir Richard's account it appears that he presented all his comrades to the King, and that they did obeisance to the Queen also. She was Maria Ana, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III, and second wife of Philip IV, her own uncle. The Empress was her daughter, the Infanta Margarita Teresa, betrothed to *her* uncle, the Emperor Leopold I, and usually called by the higher title even before her marriage. Sir Richard stated in his letter that the Prince (afterwards Charles II) was not present, "as it proved either his eating or sleeping hour." The 1829–30 edition of the *Memoirs* gave "company" for "compliments" in line 12 from the bottom of page 149, and omitted the words "making his obeisance to all the ladies there waiting."

The King, be it remembered, was the same monarch who had been so much a gentleman on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Madrid in 1623, and had met with so poor a return from that ignoble person, and who had received Sir Richard Fanshawe as *Chargé d'Affaires* in 1631. He was born on 8 April, 1605, and was to die on 17 September in the next year. The portraits of the King and Queen by Velasquez are among the treasures of the great Velasquez room in the Prado Museum; while in the greatest treasure of that room the child Infanta appears among the Las Meninas or girl attendants.

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Of the reception of the Ambassador by the King, the Intelligencer wrote: "As many good things are generally spoken here both of His Excellency and his fellows as can well be said. The English were very richly attired, and His Excellency's own coach was cried up for one of the noblest that ever entered Madrid. His Excellency has had his first audience and performed it singularly well in all respects. He was with the King half an hour, and with the Queen above an hour."

The following account of the reception of Lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde by Philip IV in 1650 is interesting for comparison with that of Sir Richard. They rode to it on horses sent to their lodgings by Don Luis de Haro, "it being the fashion of that court that the ambassadors ride to their first audience. And so they rode being attended by all their servants, and all the English merchants who lived in the town, together with many Irish officers who were in the service of his Catholic Majesty; so that their cavalcade appeared very fair, all the coaches of other ambassadors likewise following them. In this manner they came to the court about ten o'clock in the morning, being conducted by an officer who had been sent to their lodging and rode with them to the court."

Page 146. § 2.

Sir Andrew King was a merchant of London, who was in the King's quarters in the West in 1645–6, apparently with Sir Nicholas Crispe, and thence supplied Sir Thomas Fanshawe with bills of exchange on St. Malo (see p. 296). From the proceedings of the Committee for the Advance of Moneys it appears he was held to be a delinquent with the King in September, 1645; that he owned among other property ten houses in King Street, Westminster, and that he was interested in the wine trade with Seville. In the record of his compounding in 1647–8 he was accused by Colonel Thomas Bulstrode, who termed him a most dangerous malignant, of having been concerned with the Waller Plot and the King's Commission of Array to London; he himself alleged in his petition from France that his name had been put into the commission without any reference to him, and that he had contributed one-twentieth to Parliament. Later he claimed the benefit of the Exeter Articles and ultimately he was fined £240, and was made to settle £30 per annum on the Vicar of Wyrardsbury (Wraysbury, four miles from Windsor), in Bucks, where he owned a house; in 1652 he had also to pay further sums on certain goods which, he subsequently stated, had been concealed from him. After the Restoration he was knighted at Whitehall on 7 June, 1660, and he is often mentioned in the correspondence of Sir Richard Fanshawe published in 1702, and in the Heathcote MSS. On his leaving Madrid in February, 1665, Sir Richard gave him letters to the King, the Duke of York, and Lord Chancellor Clarendon. In that to the King the Ambassador speaks of Sir Andrew as a man "so well known to your Majesty and the world for his approved integrity and constant adherence to the crown that I shall not need to say anything of his person," and in that to the Chancellor as "a very

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honest discreet gentleman, an indefatigable student and labourer in the things of our master's service, with a perfect zeal towards the honour and interest of His Majesty and of the English Nation." Writing on 24 December, 1665, to Sir Richard, Sir Andrew confirmed the news of Lord Sandwich's special embassy to Spain, and that Mr. Godolphin, Lord Arlington's secretary, and Mr. Francis Godolphin would accompany him. He died in March, 1678, his will bearing the date of 1 March, and having been proved on 21st idem. Among other bequests in it is one "To my honoured friends the Lady Ann Fanshawe, Sir Richard her son, and her four daughters, to every (one) of them the sum of ten 'Guinneys.'"

Sir Benjamin Wright was the son of the Rev. Robert Wright, D.D., of Dennington, Suffolk, and brother of Mr. Nathan Wright of Cranham Hall, and of Ezekiel Wright, father of Sir Nathan Wright, Lord Keeper in 1700–1705. He was made a Baronet in 1645–6, but the patent of the baronetcy seems to have been suspended (*Complete Baronetage*). Clarendon writes of him at length in his *History of the Rebellion*, XII, 86–87, as follows:—

"Sir Benjamin Wright was a gentleman of good family in Essex; and being a younger brother had been bred a merchant in Madrid; where as a merchant he had great business and great reputation, and affected another and a higher after he had lived there above twenty years,[1] and was become a perfect Spaniard, not only in the language but in the generous part of their nature and customs, affected horsemanship and the use of his weapons, and excelled in both, and gave several testimonies of his courage upon particular encounters, most with his countrymen, who in respect of his being a merchant, exercised some insolences towards him. . . . He entered into treaties with the ministers of state to supply the king's affairs upon such assientos (assignments in revenue) as were usually made, with providing ships and supplying monies in these parts of Italy and Flanders, where the public affairs required it . . . and in his first entrance into that kind of commerce he performed some very acceptable services to that king and got very well himself. . . . He married into the family of Toledo—(presumably that of the Duke of Alba)—a young lady that brought little more than her noble blood into his house. . . . He always had performed great duty to his own king, and made himself still grateful to the English ambassador . . .; and by the ambassador's intervention his own king made him a baronet; the patent whereof no sooner came to his hands than he entered with it with the conseis de los ordines (Registry of Nobility), and with much difficulty and contest he caused it to be registered, and then was treated with the style of Don in all places.

"In 1640, when the affairs of Flanders were in great distress, he and friends in England and Flanders made assientos in return for revenues to be enjoyed after three years on very favourable terms. But when the time for the assignment of these came, a council of divines called by the king gave the opinion that the king might substitute another form of payment, which he did by

[1] *Lord Aston refers to him as a merchant of some note in* 1636.

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assigning the juros, or fee farm rents, of the crown, to those who had made the loans, and requiring them to accept these or to forego their own claims. By these means poor Sir Benjamin was reduced into great straits, when the king owed him over two hundred thousand pounds sterling, according to the account then stated; and some friends of his, both in England and Flanders, were exceedingly damnified, and others utterly ruined by this decree. He himself, though fallen from his usual splendour, and his wife being likewise very seasonably dead,[1] still enjoyed a good house into which (in 1650) he received the ambassadors (Sir Edward Hyde and Lord Cottington), . . . and he hoped and expected by (their) interposition . . . to receive some justice from the king in some extraordinary way."

The Clarendon Papers in the Bodleian show that when Sir Edward Hyde left Madrid in March, 1651, he acknowledged the good service of Sir Benjamin "Ruit,"[2] and a debt of 26,000 reals due to him, which he promised the English King should pay, and which doubtless the King never did pay. Hyde also wrote from Antwerp, in August, 1651, to the King in Scotland, urging him to acknowledge Wright's services, and to send a letter in his behalf to Don Luis de Haro. In 1655 Sir Benjamin was in correspondence with Secretary Thurloe in some fear and trembling, and in June of that year wrote in apprehension of Blake capturing the Plate fleet. "If this happens, all the English in this kingdom will suffer, yet none more than myself. God's will be done; my hope is to obtain some employment from His Highness (the Protector) by your Honour's intercession." He received Sir Henry Bennet also into his house on March, 1657; but Bennet wrote of him later that he desired to give him counsel on all his (Bennet's) affairs, which he (Bennet) could by no means accept, that his misfortunes had prejudiced his judgment and public affections, and finally that he (Bennet) thought Sir Benjamin had but little to recommend him. Sir Benjamin is also mentioned in Aarsen's Journey to Madrid in 1656. On his accompanying Sir Richard to Madrid King Charles II gave him a special letter of recommendation to King Philip IV, "being touched with pity for his unfortunate condition, and calling to remembrance his repeated services," and asked for the settlement of the debt due to him; and writing in June, 1664, to Sir Richard, Clarendon drew attention again to his hard case. The efforts made in his behalf were, however, of no avail, and we find him writing bitterly to Sir Henry Bennet on 4 October, 1664 (Papers of the Public Record Office):—

"My hope is that the King's majesty will be pleased to grant me letters of requital against the Spaniard. I am sure I had had them long since had I not forsaken the assistance of the then government, and received into my

[1] *He was married again in* 1664, *as writing to Sir Henry Bennet in July of that year, he said,* "*Mi señora doña Margarita de Cuniga me mando de enviar a vostra señoria sua besa manos. . . . Esta muy buena,*" *and if, as appears the case, Bennet knew her, he must have been married again in* 1658–60.

[2] *Lady Fanshawe spells the name* "*Right.*"

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house my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Cottington in the year 1649, entertaining them at my charge many months, and now I have not enough to maintain myself. God's will be done. I do not repent of what I did, for I know it was my duty and obligation to serve my King whose ministers they were. However, I cannot but grieve to see how little kindness I have found from my Lord Chancellor in my great necessities. I am sure if I had not assisted, his Lordship would have passed some time before he would have got from hence into Flanders. Sir, as in my formers I beseech your honour have me in your memory, and do me what good you can. And if you give me any encouragement I shall return with my Lord Ambassador; otherwise a convent I hope will not fail me there to end my days, and pray for your honour, whose pardon I crave for this my boldness." (Probably the poor baronet did end his days in Spain, as his will is not in Somerset House.)

This, however, did him no good; and speaking on 18 February, 1665, of the success of his negotiations in the Court of Spain, Sir Richard recorded: "Not one real for Sir Benjamin Wright. On the contrary, a clear declaration to him at last from the mouths of their officers after consulting upon a reference from the King, that he is not to expect anything, whether upon the account of his debt or by way of an Ayuda da costa (small amount for expenses) for the example sake"; and Sir Benjamin,[1] writing to Sir Henry Bennet in the April following, says the same thing. He was then going as Capetan de Lenguas en la Armada, under the Duke of Aveiro, and hoped to receive 2000 crowns per mensem, as remuneration, for he was in great want and necessity. A year later he reported to the Secretary that he had been ninety days at sea with the Duke in and off the Tagus; the Duke had, however, been recalled on the death of Philip IV, and so had missed the Brazil fleet. One of the latest references to him in the correspondence of the time is in connexion with the valuation by him and Mr. Goddard of Sir Richard's property taken over by the Earl of Sandwich from Lady Fanshawe.

Page 150. § 2.

According to Sir Richard Fanshawe's letter of Wednesday, 15 June, English style, his first private audience with the King took place on that date, 25 June, new style, and not on the 24th. Sir Richard reports that he delivered himself briefly, as the King's weak state of body would not allow of more, and that he had been commanded to reduce his discourse to writing. This interview, like that of Lady Fanshawe with the Queen, took place at the Buen Retiro, the famous park above the as famous Prado (or meadow valley). One wonders if she noticed at the Queen's on this occasion, or on any other at Court, the buffoons and dwarfs who now excite our pity only in the marvellous canvases of Velasquez, and one of whom is known as "El Niño de Vallecas."

[1] *His seal bears the blason of three leopards' heads in chief, and two bars across the shield below.*

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Lady Fanshawe does not mention her husband's audience with the King on 3—13 July, the birthday of the Empress, and afterwards with the Queen, which was the first occasion on which he saw the Prince, soon to be Charles II of Spain. Sir Richard notes that on the same day arrived the news of the defeat of the Duke of Ossuna at Castel Rodrigo and the capture of the brass cannon placed in Bargos by Charles V. This defeat occurred on 7 July, 1664, old style. A month later Sir Richard notes that Don Juan of Austria had given up the command of the Spanish army on the Portuguese frontier, and was on his way to Consuegra, bringing with him according to "the major voice of the court . . . for his own use every penny that was in the Frontier for the use of the Army."

The Marquesa of Hinojosa (spelt Isincessa in the editions of 1829–30) was Dona Maria Ramirez d'Avellano Mendoza y Alvardo, married to the Conde de Frigiliano, and Marquesa of Hinojosa in her own right through her mother. One Marques of the name succeeded Gondomar as Ambassador in London, and another was Viceroy of Milan.

It may be noted here that the recently published work of Senor A. de Beruete (Messrs. Methuen, 1906) contains a number of excellent reproductions of Velasquez's portraits of Philip IV, Queen Maria Anna, and the Infanta Empress Margarita Teresa. Of the first there are eight—one in the Prado of about the time of the visit of Charles I to Madrid in 1623; one in the National Gallery of about 1631; two in the Prado (one of these being the famous equestrian portrait) of the period 1635–7, when Sir Richard Fanshawe was first in Spain; and two (in Madrid and London) of about the date 1655–8, which must represent the King much as Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe saw him in 1664–5. Of the Queen there are four portraits—one reproduced from Vienna, believed to date from about 1652, when she was seventeen years of age, but perhaps from rather earlier; one now in America, when she was some years older; and one of perhaps 1657–8 representing her with a huge fardingale and monstrous head of hair, with which no doubt Lady Fanshawe often saw her. Of the Infanta there are three charming pictures, besides the "Las Meninas," showing her as a child of three (Vienna), of five (the Louvre), and seven (Vienna). A fourth, showing her perhaps at the age of ten or twelve, and therefore much as Lady Fanshawe saw her, was formerly known as the portrait of Maria Teresa, wife of Louis XIV. The picture is undoubtedly by Velasquez, and critics are now disposed to think that the head of the Infanta was painted in after the master's death in 1660 in the place of that of her elder half-sister.

Page 151. § 3.

The Master of the Ceremonies was, Major Martin Hume conjectures, probably Don Pedro Rojas (spelt Rocca in the MSS., and Roxo in the letters of 1702), a number of the members of that family being officials of the Court of Philip IV. In connexion with his intimation to Sir Richard that the

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coaches of the other ambassadors were not to accompany him to Court, the latter noted that he was "a new man in his place."

Alicante was the fourth Spanish city of which the English merchants made a present to the Ambassador and his wife, the others being Cadiz, Seville, and Malaga.

Page 151. § 4.

The house of the Siete Chimeneas, or Seven Chimneys, still exists, a good deal altered in parts, as the Bank of Castille. It was built on designs of Herrera, and is situated on the west side of the Plaza del Rey to the west of the Ministry of War and its fine garden at the point where the Calle de Alcala joins the Prado. The photograph of it at this page, specially taken for the present work, shows that the Seven Chimneys still rise on it. It was once occupied by a more notable Englishman than Sir Richard Fanshawe, viz. his first master, Charles I, when he visited Madrid as Prince of Wales in 1623. Some of the rooms still have fine moulded ceilings which may date back to the seventeenth century, and one of them was perhaps a chapel. In a letter of 27 July, Sir Richard wrote of the house: "Before closing hereof July 28th I have had possession delivered to me of the Siete Chimeneas, whereunto I shall remove as fast as hands can make it ready for tolerable habitation, being in itself (so much as there is of it) commodious and agreeable, but very ill handled." The ministers in England and the newspapers of the time considered that a serious affront had been placed upon the Ambassador by the failure of the Spanish crown to provide him with a proper residence in Madrid; but this was not the view of Sir Richard. Indeed, he had intimated to the Duke of Medina de las Torres, when the Venetian Ambassador refused to give up the Siete Chimeneas house and sought to retain it for his successor, that he was willing to stay where he was; but the Duke insisted that the King's order must be obeyed, and ultimately it was so about three months after the English Ambassador had arrived at Vallecas. Sir Richard had reported in a letter of 7 May, 1664, that the Baron de Batteville (see p. 446 above) had offered him his house in the Calle de Alcala.

Mr. Thomas Goddard is mentioned on several occasions in the Heathcote MSS., on the last as valuing Lady Fanshawe's goods with Sir Benjamin Wright. In her letters to her husband she spells the name Godart. Sir Richard refers to him in a letter of 1 February, 1665, as "the merchant whom your Honour (Sir H. Bennet) well knows."

Page 151. § 5.

The Casa del Campo lies across the Manzanares on the north side of the city, opposite the Royal Palace, and contains delightful woods. The "brave statue of Philip III," given as Philip II in the MSS. by a slip of Lady Fanshawe, now stands in the Plaza Mayor since 1848. It was

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modelled by Giovanni da Bologna from a painting by Pantoya de la Cruz, and cast by Pietro Tacca in 1613. The still bolder statue of Philip IV, executed by the same master in 1640, after a painting by Rubens, stood formerly in the Buen Retiro, and now stands in the Plaza del Oriente to the east of the palace. El Pardo is situated eight miles from Madrid on the north. Velasquez's picture of the "Boar Hunt" in the National Gallery represents the hoyo, or dingle, of that place, and at it Sir R. Fanshawe met the Earl of Sandwich on his arrival on 11 May, 1666. The summer palace of the King at El Pardo resembled the Escorial on a small scale; it was burnt, and a number of pictures and frescoes were lost in it, some twenty years after Lady Fanshawe's visit. The park contains many fine evergreen oaks. Lady Fanshawe visited it a second time in April, 1665 (*Memoirs*, p. 173). It has lately become more widely known as the residence of the English Princess, granddaughter of the Empress Victoria, during the week previous to her marriage to the present King of Spain.

Page 152. § 2.

Aranjuez, lying twenty-six miles to the south of Madrid on the railway to Valentia and to Seville, is a beautiful oasis on the Tagus and Jarama, which in spring is a perfect dream of soft loveliness with its grand trees and abundant waters. The famous elm[1] avenues were planted by Philip II. The Jardin de la Isla, in a bend of the Tagus, is perhaps the most beautiful portion of it. Two fine rather idealized views of this garden, painted by Velasquez in 1642, are among the treasures of the Prado Gallery at Madrid. In Sir Richard's translations of the *Festivals* (*Fiestas*) *of Aranjues* (spelt by him Aranwhez in accordance with the Spanish pronunciation of the name), the Garden of the Isle is described as follows:—

"This seat contains amongst many other miracles of amœnity a garden which Tagus embraces with two currents, sometimes in suspense, sometimes hasty, shaping it an Isle and serving it for a wall, over which trees are one way delightful battlements, another they are flowery margents. Amidst intricacy of matted herbs, of the galleries of flowers, of the meandering wildernesses, of the diversified plots, of the crystal fountains (competitors in plenty and novelty) there is reserved a most beautiful space; which hath the openness of a market place and wants not the pleasantness of a forest. This the Queen made choice of to celebrate therein the happy birthday of our Sovereign Lord the King (Philip IV) the seventeenth of his flourishing age and the second of his most blessed reign."

Among the actresses in the *Fiestas* in 1623 were the Queen, Isabella of Bourbon elder sister of Henrietta Maria, the Infanta Maria, so shamefully refused by Charles I, and afterwards Empress of Germany, and Lady Maria

[1] *Evelyn specially mentions the elms of Aranjues and of the Casa del Campo in his "Silva."*

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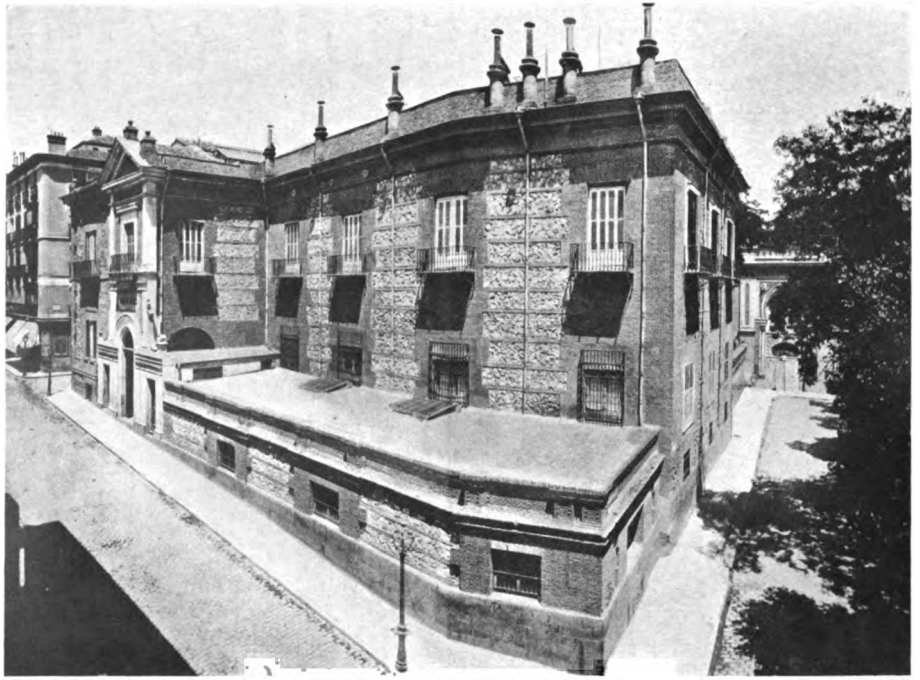

HOUSE OF THE SIETE CHIMENEAS, MADRID

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Guzman, daughter of Olivarez, and afterwards wife of the Duke of Medina de las Torres. The first stanza of the verses in the *Fiestas* ran—

> "The bounds where wandering Tagus meets,
> Himself in Gardens and long streets
> Of double elms, whose feet he drowns,
> And rains down from their lofty crowns—
> (Every April, every May
> Fair, green, flowery, rustling, gay)."

The palace which Lady Fanshawe saw was burnt down in the following year. Esquivias lies thirteen miles north-west of Aranjuez, and six miles south-east of Illescas. Sir Richard's letter of 17 October, old style, written on his return from the Escorial, confirms the assertion that the trip to Aranjuez was made on 10–12 October. He went, he says, with his family "man, woman and child."

Page 153. § 2.

The account given by Lady Fanshawe of the result caused by the Spanish Government tampering with the vellon or standard brass coinage of the country is somewhat obscure; but it may easily be supposed that this result was disastrous, as it had been on previous similar occasions in Spanish history. The pistole was the same as the silver real *à ocho* (see p. 487), and may have been of the value of 82 reales vellon, as from 8 to 12 vellon reales went to each real of silver. Writing on 24 September, 1664, to Sir Henry Bennet, Sir Benjamin Wright had observed: "This brass money is the utter ruin of this kingdom, and I am of opinion that ere long the vulgus will totally refuse to take it in payment as in some places of Spain they do already; the real of eight is now worth 20 reales in brass money and the double pistole 80 reales, so that the nobles and gentry that receive their rents in brass money are not able to live, for everything as well for the back as for the belly costs them treble the price that formerly it did"; and writing of this proceeding of the Government, Sir Richard reported on Wednesday, 15 October: "Upon Monday last all the people were in an uproar for want of bread, oil, candles and all other necessary provisions to be had for money, not so much because of the Dearth, though that has been great enough this year, as for a general opinion the brass coin would be immediately cried down; so that neither the villages would send in, nor the shops and stalls sell what they had in town. Till for a remedy thereof a proclamation came forth making it death to refuse it at the rate it had gone, or to report it would be cried down. Yet the very next day, Tuesday, another proclamation came out crying it down to half the value, which set the people again in a flame, he or she that had before 40 reales having thenceforth in effect but 20." Writing again on 21 October, Sir Richard noted that there had been fastened on the very palace walls a placard "Si el Rey no muere, el Reino muere;" and Viscount Dongan wrote at the same time from Jeres: "The fall of the money has done

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no small mischief in these parts, and does not a little discontent the people." At the capital steps had to be taken once again in the January following to compel the villagers to bring in supplies. Twenty-six years previously, on 16—26 June, 1638, Richard Fanshawe had reported the occurrence of another riot in Toledo, where "a great number of the common people gathered themselves tumultuously together, and laying hold of the corregidor carried him violently out of the town with intention to have hanged him up, which they had done if the canons of the Church and officers of the Inquisition had not with good words pacified them, he himself likewise condescending to set upon the bread a low price."

Page 153. § 2.

The Buen Retiro palace and gardens in Madrid constructed by the Conde Duque Olivarez in 1631, and by him made over to the King, stood on the site now occupied by the public park of that name on the east side of the Prado. In 1664, and long afterwards, this palace was a more favoured royal residence than that on the west side of the city. The beautiful gardens and valleys were destroyed during the French occupation of Madrid early in the nineteenth century, as were the two hermitages famous for their frescoes. A number of the masterpieces now in the Prado Museum were painted for the Buen Retiro, including Velasquez's celebrated picture of the "Surrender of Breda," Las Lanzas, executed in 1645–8; and, as she notes, Lady Fanshawe saw these in their original places in 1664.

Page 153. § 3.

The Escorial lies thirty-one miles north of Madrid, high up on the lower slopes of a spur of the Guadarrama Mountains. From it the capital may be clearly seen on bright days. It was visited by the Prince of Wales in 1623, as had been the Casa del Campo. Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe went there on 27 October, and returned on the 29th. Lady Fanshawe's descriptions of the monastery church and palace are by no means bad, though some of the details are not correct. The façade of the structure, built between 1560 and 1584, will probably strike the majority of visitors as the most imposing part of the great design of Herrera, the interior of the church being cold in effect and the frescoes in it poor and gaudy. The high altar is beyond the lofty open dome—an unusual feature in a Spanish church; the kneeling figures of Charles V and Philip II and of their wives on either side of the altar are perhaps the most interesting feature of the whole. Twenty-five steps lead from the church to the platform, with the entrances to the mortuary vault (called by the Spaniards El Pudridero) and the Panteon de los Infantes, which serve the ends explained by Lady Fanshawe, and thirty-five more lead down to the Panteon de los Reyes itself exactly under the high altar. What the authoress of the *Memoirs* means by

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"sixty foot over" is not very clear. The octagon is about thirty-two feet in diameter, and each side therefore measures about twenty-four feet. The effect of the free use of jasper and gilt is not altogether pleasing to a northern eye; this ornamentation was added by Philip IV, who completed the Panteon in 1654. The sarcophagi are of dark grey marble, not of jasper. In Lady Fanshawe's day the term "branch" was still used for a hanging chandelier. A "Last Supper," with one unusual and beautiful detail, and a "St. Jerome" by Titian are still in the chapter rooms, and several of the finest Titians in the Prado Gallery come from the Escorial. Lady Fanshawe was, however, sadly mistaken in ascribing to Titian the very feeble fresco of the battle of Lepanto in the palace of the convent, it being the work of Luca Cambiaso, or Cangiasi, of Genoa, who died in 1585. The same error is recorded by De Aarsens; doubtless some local cicerone was responsible for it in both cases. The great stones of marble which flank the principal portal on the west side must be nearer thirty feet high than the twelve feet stated in the *Memoirs*. The apothecary's shop and stillatory, which Lady Fanshawe admired so much, are specially mentioned in the account of the Escorial to which she refers on page 158. It is a work by "El P. F. Francisco de los Santos," printed at the Royal Press in Madrid in 1657, which, though very interesting in the details it gives, cannot be properly described as having cuts of every particular of the place, as these are confined to a bird's-eye view of the whole, drawings of the gate to the Panteon staircase, the staircase itself, two views of the royal sarcophagi, the central hanging-lamp and the lecterns, and a plan of the Panteon. A translation of the work was published by a member of the Earl of Sandwich's staff; and of this, or perhaps of the original, Pepys wrote on 6 May, 1668: "There did I see a book (of) which my Lord Sandwich hath promised one to me, a description of the Escoriall in Spain, which I have a great desire to have, tho' I took it for a finer book when he promised it to me."

Six and a half years after Lady Fanshawe paid her visit, the Escorial was terribly damaged by a fire, which raged for fifteen days.

Among the poems published by Richard Fanshawe in 1647 is one on the "Escoriall," which is accompanied by a Latin translation, headed "In Ædes magnificas quas Philippus Secundus Hispaniorum Rex Escuriis ædificavit et Sancto Laurentio dedicavit." This may be conjectured to be a poem of his first residence in Spain—a conjecture strengthened by the fact that it comes between verses upon the King's proclamation of 1630, and those upon the *Royal Sovereign* launched in 1637. For their age, the couplets of heroic verse in which the poem is written are very fair and smooth, as will be seen from the following extracts:—

> "That Phœnix Rome which burnt by barbarous foes
> More glorious since out of her ashes rose,
> Yet did not, doth not, such a building see
> In her youth's pride or age's majesty."

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"Another chamber at full length display'd
The cruel fight before Lepanto made.
The galleys shock'd, the ocean roar'd that day
Like a full Lion blooded with the prey;
And all the shores and all the billows round,
With noise of mortal's thunder did resound."

"Beneath the building is a darksome vault
Which after all the unwearied workman wrought,
Then decked it sumptuous, and a glimmering light
From the rich jasper breaks the thicker night."

The Duke of Montalto (page 154, line 1), who should have been named by Lady Fanshawe as Mayor Domo *mayor* to the Queen, is described by Sir Richard in a letter of 2—12 May, 1666, reporting the arrangements made for the reception of Lord Sandwich, of which the Duke had charge as "a person highly exquisite in point of curiosity and magnificence as well as of princely blood, graceful personage, and great office." He had declined to be conductor of the Infanta to Germany, as had the Duke of Alba. He was made a cardinal in 1667.

Page 158. § 2.

Lady Fanshawe's trials in connexion with the small-pox of her children reminds us how universal that scourge was in her day. Her eldest daughter, Nan, died of it in 1654 at Tankersley; the only son who survived his infancy before the last born in Madrid, died of it at Paris in 1659, where her two elder daughters, alive in 1664, also caught it (*Memoirs*, p. 92); and now in Madrid the two youngest daughters caught it, but luckily escaped being the least disfigured by it. In 1660 both the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess of Orange had died of it at the Court in Whitehall. In 1664 Lady Fanshawe's little child Betty was three and a half years old, and her daughter Ann was nearly nine. The sweet conclusion of a letter written by Sir Philip Warwick to Sir Richard Fanshawe on 21 October, 1664, may be quoted here: "My wife" (Sir Richard's sister) "prays for you and for all those that have outgrown the name of Little Ones. And to my sister and your lordship I hope I need not a profession, for I am very affectionately and humbly, my Lord, your etc., P. Warwick."

Page 158. § 2.

According to a letter dated 12 November, 1664, Sir Richard Fanshawe, upon the 7th of that month, gave the King, Queen, Prince, and Empress the *para bien* of the Prince's birthday, the other Ambassadors giving this the day before. Lady Fanshawe notes, under 1665, that the Prince's birthday was on 6 November (*Memoirs*, p. 181). The audience in 1664 must have been granted while the Ambassador's little daughter was suffering from small-pox,

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which one may suppose must have involved some little risk for the Infanta and the small Prince. For Don Alonso, one of the Duke's secretaries, see page 545.

Page 159. § 2.

The despensero (*confer* "spence" for buttery) was, Major Martin Hume has kindly informed me, a daily allowance of food made to notables of the Court, and was given even to Ambassadors. The practice at the Court of Spain was, perhaps, derived from the Moors; it is still common at all Oriental Courts. The allowance consisted of so many platos or diets from the royal kitchen, and was almost invariably farmed. It is needless to say the custom led to flagrant abuses and corruption. The value of the allowance granted to Sir Richard Fanshawe was £350 per annum, according to the statement of his wife at page 171, the ducat or pistole working out to the equivalent of 4s. 8d.

Page 159. § 3.

Mr. W. T. Lynn has kindly pointed out to me that both this comet and that mentioned on page 173 of the *Memoirs* are entered in the catalogue in Chambers' *Handbook of Astronomy*, both having parabolic orbits and retrograde motions. The former was visible for some seventeen weeks, and passed its perihelion on 4 December, 1664; it was discovered about a month before the date when it was viewed by Lady Fanshawe at Madrid. The latter was visible for four weeks only, and passed its perihelion on 24 April, 1665. Dryden refers to both in the *Annus Mirabilis*, stanzas xvi.-xviii. :—

"To see this fleet upon the ocean move,
Angels drew wide the curtains of the skies;
And heaven as if there wanted lights above,
For tapers made two glaring comets rise."

It is conjectured that the later comet gave rise to Milton's famous simile:—

"Like a comet burned,
That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge
In the arctick sky, and from his horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war."

Sir Richard wrote of the former comet on 24 December: "These five or six nights past here hath appeared a very strange blazing star, so high and so clear that I presume it must needs have been seen in England likewise, and therefore forbear to give you any description or judgment thereof, the people of this country not being so curious in such matters as ours are there." And Consul Maynard, writing on 12—22 December from Lisbon, says: "At this time here appears a prodigious comet, which hath been seen these twelve nights in the constellation of the Hydra betwixt Corno and the Pot in 24 degrees south latitude, and comes upon the meridian about half an hour past

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five o'clock in the morning, the influence of which is extremely feared in this country" (Heathcote MSS.).

Anthony Wood mentions the appearance of the first comet on 16 December, 1664, and states it was observed by the King and Queen at Whitehall. Pepys mentions it as follows: "17 Dec. 1664. Mighty talk there is of this comet which is seen at nights: and the King and Queen did sit up last night to see it, and did, it seems. And tonight I thought to have done so too: but it is cloudy, and so no stars appear." Pepys failed again to see it on 24 December, though the porter informed him that the bellman had said the star could be seen upon Tower Hill, and he went there. On 1 March, 1665, Pepys heard a lecture on the comet by Mr. Hook at the Gresham College, "among other things proving very probably that this is the very same comet that appeared before in the year 1618, and that in such a time probably it will appear again, which is a very new opinion." On 6 April Pepys records of the second comet: "Great talk of a new comet; and it is certain do appear as bright as the late one at the best; but I have not seen it myself." Between 22 and 28 December, 1665, Evelyn noted: "It was now exceeding cold and a hard long frosty season, and the comet was very visible"; but he makes no other mention of it.

Page 159. § 4.

Writing on 14 December, old style (24 December, new style), 1664, Sir Richard reported: "Yesterday I went to give the King and Queen the Enhora Buena of her majesty's birthday, which was the day before"; and again, writing on 13—23 December in the following year, he recorded: "Yesterday being the Queen's birthday I gave her Majesty in the King our master's name the Buenos Años together with my new credentials (suspended till then by the advice of the Duke of Medina de las Torres), both the one and the other very well accepted and thanks returned unto his majesty." The Queen was born in 1634, and, therefore, nine years younger than Lady Fanshawe. She was betrothed to her first cousin, the Prince Balthasar, and on his death married her uncle, Philip IV, on 6 October, 1646, and bore him five children, of whom the surviving son succeeded as Charles II of Spain, and the surviving daughter, Margarita Teresa, married her uncle, the Emperor Leopold I, on 12 December, 1666. The Queen entered Madrid on 15 November, 1649 (Major Martin Hume's *Queens of Ancient Spain*), and was therefore in the capital when Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe were there in 1650. On the death of Philip IV she became Regent of Spain, and maintained her position till 1677, when her son assumed power at the age of fifteen, and presently banished her to Toledo. She became reconciled to him two and half a years later, on the death of Don Juan of Austria, and was the advocate of the Austrian marriage of Charles II, and a firm supporter of the Austrian succession to the throne of Spain. She died in May, 1696, at the age of sixty-two.

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Page 160. § 2.

The show described by Lady Fanshawe was a Juego de cañas (see page 493 above). Her account of it, brief as this is, corresponds, as will be seen, with that of Sir Edward Hyde. The real reason why the English Ambassador did not join the other Ambassadors on this occasion was no doubt that given on page 174 of the *Memoirs*, viz. that he could not sit below the Papal Nuncio.

Page 161. § 3.

"*Buenas pascuas.*" This was the ceremony of offering congratulations (*dar buenas pascuas*) on the occasion of Christmas and Easter, as the *para bien* was the term for offering congratulations on ordinary occasions, and the *pesáme* was that of condolence. In a letter of 29 December, 1664, Sir H. Bennet wishes Sir Richard "a happy new year—*y buena salida de pascuas.*"

Page 161. § 4.

Major Martin Hume has kindly informed me that Juan Araña, or Raña, was the most famous of all the comic actors of Spain, and a spoilt favourite of the Court of Philip IV. Readers of *Gil Blas* know how disreputable the society of actors could be in Spain in the seventeenth century.

Page 161. § 5.

The Duke of Alba, of 1665, was the seventh Duke Antonio Alvarez de Toledo. Born in 1612 he was made Councillor of State in 1674, and Knight of the Golden Fleece in the following year, and died in 1690. Villars reported of him in 1680: "Le duc d'Albe n'a jamais eu d'emploi dedans ni dehors le royaume; genie mediocre mais un peu malin, sans experience des grandes affaires, et sans application." Major Martin Hume has kindly supplied this information to me.

Page 161. § 6.

The somewhat violent line of action adopted by Sir Richard Fanshawe in the matter of the removal of Don Francisco de Ayala from his Ambassadorial precincts does not seem to have met with marked approval at Whitehall. There is no mention of the incident in the public records of the time; but on the occasion of a similar further dispute with the President of Castile, in October, 1665, it was intimated to Sir Richard that it was to be regretted he was embroiled with justice, "which depending upon the Conde de Castrillo (the President of Castile) according to the course of things we must not wonder that the Duke is not hastier. However, you must labour yourself by the properest ways to make up the quarrel as much to your honour and satis-

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faction as you can." The Ambassador had, it seems, on this occasion deprived an alcalde who entered his street of his vara, or wand of office; and it appears that about this time he threatened to withdraw to Valladolid on account of the indignities put upon him through his servants.

The action adopted was strongly disapproved from England, the Lord Chancellor himself writing on 25 November: "The taking away the vara was an act of so high a nature, and I believe so unheard of, that I do not wonder at any resentment that followed it, the whole Justice of the Kingdom being so highly concerned, and it may be the privilege itself." And to this he added: "I must tell you the King believes [your disputes of privilege] were prosecuted with more passion and earnestness than was necessary in a conjuncture when more serious matters were to be intended." How the Earl of Sandwich acted on a similar occasion may be gathered from the following extract from the *London Gazette* of 20–24 November, 1666:—

"Last week the Alcalde, or officers of justice, informed His Excellency of several malefactors that had sheltered themselves in the streets of his jurisdiction, whom His Excellency gave them leave to search for; as accordingly they did with great caution and civility, passing by those places which His Excellency desired to be protected; and returned their thanks for the leave given them, whereby they apprehended six coachfuls of suspected persons whom they sent to Prison."

It is a curious coincidence that the nephew of Sir Richard, Charles Fanshawe, while Envoy Extraordinary at Lisbon, should in December, 1682, have rescued an English merchant arrested near his house, and had (?an officer of) a Justice beaten. It is not surprising to learn that the Prince Regent thereupon suspended him from all audience.

It is difficult to understand the exact purport of Lady Fanshawe's remark upon the incident of 1664, "and now violation of privileges should only have been used to his Majesty the King of England." The facts of Ascham's murder have been narrated above at page 414. It appears that on that occasion the privilege of sanctuary was successfully defended by the Archbishop of Toledo, and that the murderers were returned to the churches by the civil authorities who had captured them; but that one of them, Mr. Sparks, was subsequently induced by treachery to leave sanctuary, and was thereupon recaptured and finally executed. The President of Castile, who was the second personage in the kingdom, ranking next to the Prime Minister, was in 1665 Don Luis Mendez de Haro y Sotomayor, a cadet of the family of Don Luis de Haro, who was married to Dona Maria de Avellaneda, second Countess of Castrillo. He had previously been Viceroy of Naples, and after the death of his kinsman shared the power of Prime Minister with the Duke of Medina de las Torres. He became Member of the Council of Regency upon the death of Philip IV, and succeeded the Marques of Castel Rodrigo as Governor of the Low Countries in 1668. The conflict between him and the English Ambassador was probably all the less palatable at Whitehall, as the latter had been originally instructed to introduce himself to "the Conde de

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Castrillo and assure him of our esteem and affection for his person." Among his credentials was one addressed to the Conde, which assured the latter that the Ambassador was "much inclined to serve all that belong to the family of my late cousin Don Luis de Haro," and especially the Conde's nephew, the Marques de Liche.

Page 165.

Modern travellers are not likely to concur with Lady Fanshawe in her enthusiastic estimate of things eatable and drinkable in Spain. Escabeche is salt pickle and pickled fish. The small, fat birds were no doubt becaficos (Italian beccaficos). One would hardly suppose that dolphins would be excellent eating. Madame D'Aulnoy also commends the blancmange of Spain: "Je trouvai de la gelée et du blanc manger admirable." The Spanish eggs and olives may be deservedly commended. It is not very clear what is meant by *perfumes* of amber, but amber gloves and amber waters are spoken of in the correspondence of the time. Perhaps they were scented with the perfume of orange flowers.

Page 166. § 1.

How Lady Fanshawe makes out that she had been in seven Courts is not quite obvious. The English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish would seem to comprise all she ever visited, according to the *Memoirs*. Perhaps that of Charles I and that of Charles II while in exile, or that of his mother in Paris make up the tale of seven. She could hardly include the Protector's Court as one of the number.

Page 166. § 3.

That the Spanish nation was superstitiously devout in 1665 is an undoubted fact. The Inquisition had full sway at that time as also in Portugal, and public correspondence shows that there were constant *autos-da-fé*, a terrible picture of one of which may be seen in the Prado Gallery. Lady Fanshawe records in her note upon Portugal (*Memoirs*, p. 117) that a Jewish girl of fourteen had been burnt at Lisbon the year before she was there; and Charles Fanshawe, while Envoy Extraordinary at Lisbon, reported in August, 1683, the strangling and burning of three Jews by order of the Inquisition. Mr. James Wadsworth, writing of the Spaniards in 1630, said: "Nothing is more fearful to them than the Inquisition"; and all readers of *Westward Ho!* will recall Kingsley's dramatic treatment of this fear after the execution of the Bishop and Fray by Amyas Leigh on board the captured Spanish vessel.

Page 167. *Last line.*

The description of singing as "between Italian and *Spanish*," must be an error of the MSS. for "between Italian and *English*." Other travellers in Spain in the seventeenth century record the free use of paint by the Spanish

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ladies. This may be notably seen in the portraits of Queen Maria Anna by Velasquez. Mr. James Wadsworth, in his *Present State of Affairs in Spain*, published in 1630, had already noted of Spanish women, "They are stately in carriage and much addicted to painting and perfuming themselves. Neither they nor their children drink any wine, but (only) water" (see *Memoirs*, p. 170). The plant "like our sweet basil" is, Major Martin Hume informs me, the Spanish Albahaca—a name derived from the Moors. It is still grown commonly in pots in the south of Spain.

Page 168. § 2.

The piece called the *Festivals* (*Fiestas*) *of Aranjuez*, translated by Sir Richard Fanshawe, was acted mainly by children of noble families, a few elder ladies being added to them. The other play translated by Sir Richard, *Querer por solo querer*, to love for love only, was acted (in part probably) by his own little daughters, as we find him writing to his wife when he brought Sir Robert Southwell with him to Madrid in March, 1666 (Heathcote MSS., p. 236): "His stay being so short I wish my girls will give us their *Querer* over again, and that Dick also lug his new puppy by the ears very unconcerned." On the title page of the translation the play is said to have been acted by "the Meninas which are a set of ladies of the nature of ladies of honour in that court, children in years, but higher in degree (being many of them daughters and heirs to Grandees of Spain) than the ordinary Ladies of Honour attending likewise that Queen." Hence the name of Velasquez's famous masterpiece, "Las Meninas."

Page 169. § 1.

Spaniards travelling by train or diligence still often offer to share their food and drink with their fellow-travellers; and probably many another Englishman besides the writer of these notes has experienced no small difficulty in evading repeated and pressing offers of wine without risk of giving serious offence.

Page 169. § 2.

The practice of royalties to dine in public was common in the seventeenth century. Aarsens records how by the favour of Sir Benjamin Wright he and his friends were got into a corner (!) from which they were able to see the Queen of Philip IV so dining.

Page 170. § 1.

At this date, viz. 18 February, 1665, Sir Richard wrote the following letter to the Lord Chancellor upon the death of his son, Edward Hyde, which took place on 10 January. This son was born on 1 April, 1645, about five weeks after the birth of the eldest son of Lady Fanshawe. The letter which Sir

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Edward Hyde wrote to his friend upon the loss of Sir Richard's son in November, 1659, has been quoted above. The correspondence of the two, which is by no means limited, breathes throughout a spirit not only of friendliness but of affection; and as Mrs. Lomas has observed in her introduction to the Heathcote MSS., Lady Fanshawe was certainly wrong in attributing feelings of jealousy and malevolence to Lord Clarendon.

"My very Singular Good Lord,

"Though I have much to say to y^r^ Lordship at the present time, (at least something of much moment as I do humbly conceive) in order to His Majesties special service, with reference to my Province, Spain; I shall remit it to another approaching Conveyance within my view, giving the present opportunity wholly to a sincere condolement, on the part of me and my Family to your Lordship and my Honourable Good Lady, of a loss we come to understand this day, you have made, of a most dear and hopeful Pledge; the which I will not so much as name at this time, lest I should rub thereby a private sore, which (I trust in God) your Lordship's public Capacity (especially at a season of so high Action[1] and Concernment of the King and Kingdoms requiring your Lordship's thoughts intirely to them) and your Lordship's Diviner Meditations, to my knowledge conceiv'd and penn'd in the days of Publick Calamity, will have moderated and asswaged before the arrival of this; which further assures your Lordships, how much (if myself could tell how much) I am my Lord, your Lordships, etc.,

"RICH. FANSHAW."

Page 170. § 2.

The letters written by Sir Richard to King Charles II on behalf of his nephew, Mr. Charles Bertie, and Sir Andrew King when they left Madrid in February, 1665, have been noticed above. From the Heathcote MSS. we learn that Sir Edward Turnor was seriously ill with fever while at the Spanish capital. Mr. Hatton and Mr. Smythe are not mentioned in the Ambassador's retinue on page 124, and perhaps they joined him after he arrived at Madrid. Both no doubt were cousins of his. Mr. Price is only known as second secretary to Sir Richard Fanshawe in Lisbon and Madrid. Perhaps he was some relation to Sir Herbert Price (p. 443), or of Mr. Price, Chaplain to the Duke of Albemarle.

Page 170. § 3.

The editions of the *Memoirs* of 1829–30 and the MSS. have the Marques of Liche. But he was still prisoner in the Castle of St. George (Castello de San Jorge, the old Moorish citadel), in Lisbon, and remained so till the treaty between Spain and Portugal was signed in February, 1668, on which occasion he was in reality the principal Spanish negotiator. At this very time—

[1] *War with the Dutch was declared on* 22 *February*, 1665.

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25 February—7 March—the Marques wrote to Sir Richard from his prison, in which he says he had been confined twenty-one months (Heathcote MSS., p. 180). He and Don Añello de Guzman, the eldest son of the Spanish Prime Minister, the Duke of Medina de las Torres, were both captured at the battle of Evora in June, 1663, and Sir Richard Fanshawe had been instructed to interest himself in their release both in Lisbon and Madrid; but naturally the Portuguese declined to give up such important captives on any terms. The Marquesa de Liche was daughter of the Duke of Medina Celi, and was one of the most beautiful and noble women at the Spanish Court. Her husband, who was also Marques of Carpio and Conde Duque Olivarez, and five times Grandee, after obtaining his release was sent, much against his will, as Ambassador to Rome, in spite of his wife's pleadings; but having judiciously offended the Pope he secured his transfer from there, and died as Viceroy of Naples in 1687 at the age of fifty. The family owned an immense mansion near to the Royal Palace in Madrid. One would have expected that the Marquesa's abstention from visiting (*Memoirs*, p. 172, § 2) would have dated only from 1663, and not from seven years back.

Page 171. § 1.

Don Juan de Gongora (in the editions of 1829–30 Congro) was Master of the Mint and President of the Council of Finance till 1663, when he was dismissed. He was of the same family as the poet Luis de Gongora, whose sonnets Sir Richard Fanshawe translated, and a great personage about Court. In 1658 he sought to oust Don Luis de Haro from his place of favourite. He is often mentioned by Barrionuevo, and generally with malice. He had a splendid house at Chamartin, four miles north of Madrid, and owned a coach as fine as any of the King's. I am indebted to Major Martin Hume for drawing my attention to these facts. Vicalvaro lies five miles from Madrid on the east side. A residence of the Duke of Pastrane at Chamartin became famous in 1809 as the head-quarters of Napoleon. Lady Fanshawe spelt the name Cham St. Martin.

Page 171. § 1.

It appears from the public records, though Lady Fanshawe does not mention the fact, that Sir Richard proposed to leave Madrid early in 1665[1] in

[1] *In a letter of* 23 *November*, 1664, *Sir Richard informed Sir Henry Bennet that he had stated to the Duke of Medina de las Torres that his orders to go home were positive, and that he did not consider these would be modified by any assurance of the Spanish Resident in England that His Catholic Majesty had given satisfaction on various points. This Resident was Patricio Muledi, or Omuledi, apparently an Irish priest, who had been received as Resident in September*, 1664, *and whose name often occurs in the correspondence of the time up to the arrival of the Spanish Ambassador, the Conde de Molina.*

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order to bring the Spanish ministers to business. Though his instructions authorized him to do this in certain contingencies, the time chosen by him for doing so was not approved at Whitehall, and in a dispatch of 16 March, Sir Henry Bennet wrote: "His majesty is not a little scandalized at the strong reports given out throughout all Christendom of your returning home, and a little unsatisfied with yourself for having contributed more to the belief of it than you were warned to do. It hath not only prejudiced us in France and disturbed our merchants at home, but endangered the disappointing the Conde de Molina's journey hither." Sir Richard was also warned that without express orders he was not to make use of the permission to return to England granted him before leaving for Spain. Later, on 4 May, he was directed to give out that the arrival of the Spanish[1] Ambassador in London and the satisfaction the King had received in the profession of the friendship of His Catholic Majesty, obliged the King to command his further stay in Madrid. Several times during the summer the Secretary of State alluded to the so ordinary a progress made by the Ambassador after so fair and hopeful a beginning, and the expectation entertained at Whitehall for a visible improvement in his treatment by the Spanish Court. The sending of Mr. Price to Lisbon was also disapproved, but on what grounds does not appear, as the second important duty with which Sir Richard was charged was to effect a peace or truce between Spain and Portugal, and obviously sending an agent to the Portuguese Court, at which there was no English Envoy or Ambassador at this time, was a necessary preliminary to any effective action in this direction.

Page 171. § 2.

Apparently (see p. 173, § 1) Lady Fanshawe accepted the jewel sent her by the Queen of Spain, though of so large a value as £2000; and if so we may be sure she did this with the approval of her husband, and in accordance with acknowledged custom of that day. No such jewel is specially mentioned or reserved in her will, in which she ordered all her jewels not so specified to be sold: but she may have parted with it herself during her lifetime. As noted above, the value of the ducat or pistole according to Lady Fanshawe's calculation was at that time 4s. 8d.

Page 173. § 1.

Philip IV was born on 8 April, 1605. He was therefore sixty years old on his birthday in 1665, and sixty years and five months and eleven days when he died on 17 September following.

[1] *The Conde de Molina, brother of the murdered Asistente of Seville (p. 491), arrived in London early in April, 1665. On 25 May he dined with Lord Arlington, and the King, who also came to the dinner, carried him off to Greenwich to his great content. He remained at the Court of London till 1670, and was then succeeded by the Marques del Fresno.*

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Page 173. § 5.

Viscount Fanshawe died on Easter Day, 26 March, 1665 (see p. 301). The actual day of the marriage of his eldest son to his second wife Sarah, daughter of Sir John Evelyn of West Dean and widow of Sir John Wray of Glentworth, Lincolnshire, is not known; but the letter of Sir Philip Warwick of 3 April (p. 301) shows it was before that date, or some five and a half months after the death of her first husband on 24 October, 1664. Sir John Wray, like his father, was on the side of Parliament in the Civil War, a fact which Lady Fanshawe judiciously ignores, and was taken prisoner at Newark. He had been previously married to the widow of Sir Symonds d'Ewes. His sister was married to Captain Hotham, while another lady of the family was married to the younger Sir Henry Vane. Glentworth went to his daughter (born 23 February, 1664), who married the son of Viscount Castleton, the third husband of her mother (p. 306); but on her death in 1714 it returned to the Wray family. The children of Viscount Fanshawe and his wife Sarah were three daughters, Sarah, Anna Maria, and Katherine, of whom the first two died in childhood, and Thomas Evelyn, third Viscount Fanshawe, who was baptized 9 August, 1669, and died on 10 October, 1687.

Page 174. § 1.

The feast of bulls, Fiesta de toros, to which Lady Fanshawe refers, was held in the Plaza Mayor of Madrid, which still bears marks of the time when the houses round it served as an amphitheatre for the spectators of the bull fights celebrated in it. The vivid description of one of these given by the Countess D'Aulnoy, and subjoined to that of Clarendon, written thirty years earlier, brings the whole scene brilliantly before us; both descriptions show how vastly different the bull fights of those days were from the professional displays, "the ungentle sport" of the present times. Sir Richard Fanshawe writing to the Secretary of State on 17—27 May, and reporting an interview with the King two days previously, on which he gave him both Buenas Pascuas and Buenas Venidas de Aranjuez, mentions, "Tomorrow all their majesties are to see the Bulls of St. Isidro in the Plaza Mayor where three cavaliers are to run, not ordinary at this feast of San Isidro."

"The next day the Ambassadors (Lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde) had a box prepared for them to see the *toros*, which is a spectacle very wonderful. Here the place was very noble, being the market place, a very large Square built with handsome brick houses, which had all balconies, which were adorned with tapestries and very beautiful ladies. Scaffolds were built round to the first story: the lower rooms being shops and for ordinary use; and in the division of these scaffolds, all the magistrates and officers of the town knew their places. The pavement of the place was all covered with gravel, which in summer time was upon these occasions watered by carts charged with hogsheads of water. As soon as the king comes, some officers clear the whole

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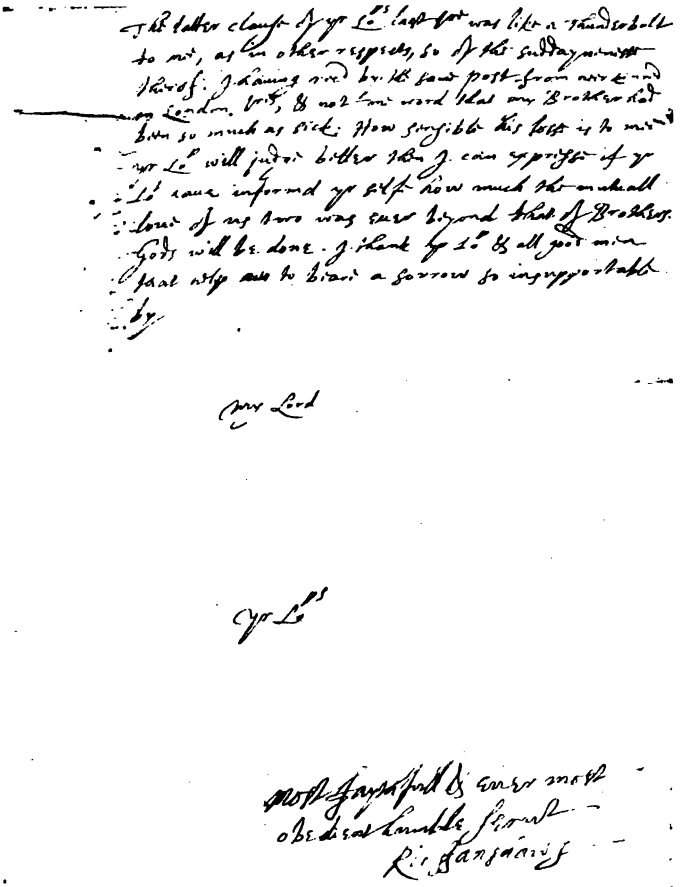

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER OF SIR R. FANSHAWE, MAY, 1665

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ground of the common people; so that there is no man seen upon the plain but two or three alguazils, magistrates with their small white wands. Then one of the four gates which lead into the street is opened; at which the toreadors enter, all persons of quality richly clad, and upon the best horses in Spain; every one attended by eight or ten or more lacqueys, all clinquant with gold and silver lace; who carry the spears which their masters are to use against the bulls; and with this entry many of the common people break in, for which sometimes they pay very dear. The persons on horseback have all cloaks folded up upon their left shoulder; the least disorder of which, much more the letting fall, is a very great disgrace; and in that grave order they march to the place where the king sits, and after they have made the reverences, they place themselves at a good distance from one another and expect the bull.

"The bulls are brought in the night before from the mountains by people used to that work; who drive them into the town when nobody is in the streets, into a pen made for them, which hath a door that opens into that large space, the key whereof is sent to the king; which the king when he sees everything ready, throws to an alguazil who carries it to the officer who keeps the door; and he causes it to be opened when a single bull is ready to come out. When the bull enters, the common people who sit over the door, or near it, strike him, or throw short darts with short points of steel, to provoke him to rage: he commonly runs with all his fury against the first man he sees on horseback; he watches him so carefully, and avoids him so dexterously, that when the spectators believe him to be even between the horns of the bull, he avoids him by the quick turn of his horse; and with his lance strikes the bull upon a vein that runs through his pole, with which in a moment he falls down dead. But this fatal stroke can never be struck, but when the bull comes so near the turn of the horse, that his horn even touches the rider's leg; and so is at such a distance, that he can shorten his lance, and use the full strength of his arm in the blow; and they that are the most skilful in the exercise, do frequently kill the beast with such an exact stroke; insomuch that in a day two or three fall in that manner; but if they miss the vein, it only gives a wound that the more enrages him.

"Sometimes the bull runs with so much fierceness (for if he escapes the first man, he runs upon the rest as they are in his way) that he gores the horse with his horns, so that he falls before the rider can get from his back. Sometimes by the strength of his neck he raises horse and man from the ground, and throws both down; and then the greatest danger is another gore upon the ground. In any of these disgraces, or any other by which the rider comes to be dismounted, he is obliged in honour to take his revenge on the bull by his sword and upon his head; towards which the standers-by assist him, by running after the bull and hocking him, by which he falls upon his hinder legs; but before that execution can be done the bull hath his revenge upon many poor fellows. Sometimes he is so unruly that nobody dares to attack him; and then the king calls for the mastiffs, whereof two are

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let out at a time; and if they cannot master him, but are themselves killed, as frequently they are, the king then, as a last refuge, calls for the English mastiffs; of which they seldom turn out above one at a time, and he rarely misses taking the bull, and holding him by the nose, till men run in; and after they have hocked him, they quickly kill him.

"In one of these days there were no fewer than sixteen horses, as good as any in Spain, the worst of which would that very morning have yielded three hundred pistoles, killed and four or five men; besides many more of both hurt, and some men remained perpetually maimed; for after the horsemen have done as much as they can, they withdraw themselves, and then some accustomed nimble fellows, to whom money is thrown when they perform their feats with skill, stand to receive the bulls, whereof the worst are reserved till the last; and it is a wonderful thing to see with what steadiness these fellows will stand a full career of the bull, and by a little quick motion on one foot avoid him, and lay a hand upon his horn, as if they guided him from them; but then the next standers-by who have not the same activity pay for it; and there is no day without much mischief. It is a very barbarous exercise and triumph, in which so many men's lives are lost and always ventured; but so rooted in the affections of that nation, that it is not in the king's power they say to suppress it; though if he disliked it enough he might forbear to be present at it.

"There are three festivals in the year whereof Midsummer is one on which the people hold it to be their right to be treated with these spectacles; not only in great cities, where they are never disappointed, but in very ordinary towns, where there are places provided for it. Besides those ordinary annual days upon any extraordinary accidents of joy, as at this time for the arrival of the queen, upon the birth of the king's children, or any signal victory, these triumphs are repeated, which no ecclesiastical censures or anything can suppress or discountenance; for Pope Pius the Fifth in the time of Philip the Second, and very probably with his approbation, if not upon his desire, published a bull against the toros in Spain, which is still in force: in which he declared that nobody should be capable of Christian burial who lost his life at these spectacles: and that every clergyman who should be present at them stood excommunicated *ipso facto;* and yet there is always one of the largest galleries assigned to the office of the Inquisition and the chief of the clergy, which is always full; besides that many religious men in their habits get places; only the Jesuits out of their submission to the supreme authority of the pope are never present there."

The Countess's description is as follows:—

"On sable la Plaza mayor et l'on met tout autour des barrières de hauteur d'un homme, qui sont peintes des armes du Roi et de celles de ses royaumes. Cette place est, ce me semble, plus grande que la place Royale. Elle est plus longue que large, avec des portiques, sur lesquels les maisons sont baties, et sont toutes semblables, faites en manière de pavillons à cinq étages, et à chacun un rang de balcon sur lequel on entre par de grandes portes vitrées.

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Celui du Roi est plus avancé que celui des autres, plus spacieux et tout doré. Il est au milieu d'un des côtés avec un dais audessus. Vis-a-vis sont les balcons des ambassadeurs, M. le Nonce, l'ambassadeur de l'Empereur, etc.: ceux d'Angleterre, de Hollande et des autres princes protestants, ne tiennent pas rang là. Les conseils de Castille, d'Aragon, de l'Inquisition d'Italie, de Flandre, des Indes, des Ordres, de Guerre, de la Croisade, et des Finances sont à la droite du Roi. On les reconnait aux armes qui sont sur leur tapis de velours cramoisi tout brodés d'or. Ensuite le corps de ville, les juges, les grands et les titulados sont placés chacun dans son rang, et aux dépens du Roi ou de la ville, qui louent les balcons de divers particuliers qui demeurent là.

"Depuis le niveau du pavée jusqu'au premier balcon l'on fait des échafauds pour placer tout le monde. On loue un balcon jusqu'à quinze et vingt pistoles, et il n'y a aucun qui ne soit occupé et paré de riches tapis et de beaux dais. Il y a seulement trois portes ouvertes par lesquelles les personnes de qualité viennent dans leur plus beaux carrosses, particulièrement les ambassadeurs: et l'on y fait plusieurs tours quelque temps avant le Roi arrive. Les cavaliers saluent les dames, qui sont sur les balcons sans être couvertes de leur mantes. Elles sont pavées de toutes leur pierreries et de ce qui elles ont de plus beau. On ne voit que des étoffes magnifiques, des tapisseries, des carreaux et des tapis tout relevés d'or. Je n'ai jamais rien vu de plus éblouissant. Le balcon du Roi est entouré de rideaux vert et or, qu'il tire quand il ne veut pas qu'on le voie.

"Le Roi vient sur les quatre heures et aussitot tous les carrosses sortirent de la place. . . . Le carrosse du Roi est précéde de cinq ou six autres où sont les officiers, les meninas, et les pages de la chambre, et le carrosse de respect, où il n'y a personne dedans marche immediatement avant celui de sa majeste, dont le cocher et le postillon vont toujours tête nue, et un valet de pied porte leur chapeau. Le carrosse est entouré de gardes à pied. Ceux que l'on nommes gardes de corps ont des pertuisanes et marchent fort près du carrosse. Aux portières sont en grand nombre les pages du Roi, habillés de noir et sans épée, qui est la seule marque que les fasse connaître pour être des pages. . . . Toutes les choses étant ainsi disposées, les capitaines des gardes et les autres officiers entrent dans la place montés sur de tres beaux cheveaux et suivis des gardes espagnole, allemande et bouirguignonne. Ils sont vêtus de velours ou de satin jaune qui sont les livrées du Roi, avec des galons veloutés cramoisi, or et argent. Les archers de la garde que je nomme gardes du corps ont seulement un petit manteau de la même livrée sur des habits noirs. . . .

"Après que le peuple est sorti des barrières, et s'est rangé sur les échafauds, on arrose la place avec quarante ou cinquante tonneaux d'eau qui son tirés chacun par une charette. Les capitaines des gardes reviennent alors prendre leur postes sous le balcon du Roi, où tous les gardes se mettent aussi et font une espèce de haie, se tenant fort serrés; et quoique les taureaux soient quelquefois prêts à les tuer, il ne leur est pas permi de reculer ni de sortir de

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leur place. Ils leur presentent seulement la pointe de leurs halbardes, et se défendent avec beaucoup de péril de leur part.

"Aussitôt que les gardes occupent le quartier du Roi il entre dans la place six alguacils ou huissiers de ville, tenant chacun une grande baguette blanche. Leur cheveaux sont excellents, harnachés à la morisque, chargés de petites sonnettes. L'habit des alguacils est noir. Ils ont des plumes . . . et ce sont eux qui vent querir les cavaliers qui doivent combattre. . . .

"Il y a des lois établies pour cette sorte de course que l'on nommé Duelo, parcequ'un cavalier attaque le taureau et le combat en combat singulier. . . . Il n'est pas permis de tirer l'épée contre le taureau, qu'il ne vous ait fait insulte. On appelle insulte quand il vous arrache de la main le garrochon, c'est à dire la lance, ou qu'il a fait tomber votre chapeau ou votre manteau; ou qu'il a blessé vous ou votre cheval ou quelqu'un de ceux qui vous accompagnent. En ce cas le cavalier est obligé de pousser son cheval droit au taureau, car c'est un *empeño*, cela veut dire un affront qui engage à le venger ou à mourir; et il faut lui donner *una cuchillada*, c'est à dire un coups du revers de son épée à la tête ou du cou, mais si le cheval sur lequel le cavalier est monté résiste à avancer, l'on met assitôt pied à terre, et l'on marche courageusement contre ce fier animal. Il faut que les autres cavaliers qui sont là pour combattre descendent aussi de cheval et accompagne celui qui est dans *l'empeño;* mais ils ne le secondent point pour lui procurer aucun avantage contre son ennemi.

"Les alguacils vinrent à la porte qui est au bout de la lice querir les six chevaliers qui se présentaient pour combattre. Leur cheveaux etait admirablement beaux et magnifiquement harnachés. Sans compter ceux qu'ils montaient, ils en avaient chacun douze que les palefreniers menaient en main, et chacun six mulets chargés de rejones ou garrochons qui sont des lances de bois de sapin fort sec, longues de quatres ou cinq pieds, toutes peintes et dorées avec le fer très poli, et par dessus les mulets avaient des couvertures de velours aux couleurs de ceux qui devaient combattre. . . . Les cavaliers etaient vêtus de noir brodé d'or et d'argent, de soie ou de jais. Ils avaient des plumes blanches mouchettés de différentes couleurs qui s'élevaient toutes sur le côté du chapeau, avec une riche enseigne de diamants et un cordon du même. Ils portaient des écharpes, les unes blanches, les autres cramoisies, bleues, jaunes brodées d'or passé; quelques-uns avaient autour d'eux d'autres mises comme un baudrier et d'autres du bras. Celles-ci etaient étroites et courtes. C'étaient sans doute des présents de leur maitresses; car d'ordinaire ils courent pour leur plaire et pour leur témoigner qu'il n'y a point de péril auquel ils se n'exposassent pour contribuer à leur divertissement. Ils avaient par dessus un manteau noir qui les enveloppait, dont les bouts étant jetés par derrière les bras n'en étaient point embarrassés. Ils portaient des petites bottines blanches avec de long éperons dorés, qui n'ont qu'une pointe, à la mode des Maures. Ils sont aussi à cheval comme eux, les jambes raccoucies, ce qui s'appelle cavalier à la gineta.

"Ces cavaliers étaient fort bien à cheval et mis de bon air pour le pays.

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Chacun d'eux avait quarante laquais, les uns vêtus de moirè d'or garnie de dentelle; les autres de brocart incarnat rayé d'or et d'argent; et les autres d'une autre façon. Chacun était habillé à l'étrangère, soit en Turc, Hongrois, Maure, Indien ou sauvage. Plusieurs laquais portaient des faisceaux de ces garrochons dont j'ai parlé, et cela avait beaucoup de grace autour d'eux. Ils traversèrent la Plaza Mayor avec tout leur cortége conduits par les six alguacils, et aux fanfares des tompettes. Ils vinrent devant le balcon du Roi, auquel ils firent une profonde révérence, et lui demandèrent la permission de combattre les taureaux: ce qu'il leur accorda en leur souhaitant la victoire. . . . Ils se séparèrent ensuite et vinrent saluer les dames de leur connaissance. Les laquais sortent de la lice, et il n'en resta que deux à chacun charges de rejones. Ils se tenaient aux côtés de leur mâitre et ne quitterent guère la croupe de leur cheveaux.

"Il entre dans la place beaucoup de jeunes hommes qui viennent exprès de bien loin pour combattre ces jours la. . . . Pendant qu'un cavalier combat, les autres se retirent sans cependant sortir des barrières: et ils n'attaquent point le taureau qu'un autre a commencé à combattre, au moins qu'il ne vienne à eux. Lorsqu'il a blessé le cavalier on crie *Fulano es empeño*. . . . En effet il est engagé d'honneur d'aller à cheval, ou de mettre pied à terre pour attaquer le taureau, et lui donner un coup d'épée à la tête ou à la gorge. Il peut ensuite le combattre de telle manière qu'il veut, et le frapper où il peut, mais c'est une chose qui ne se fait pas sans hasarder mille fois de perdre la vie.

"Quand le Roi jugea qu'il etait temps de commencer la fête, deux alguacils vinrent sous son balcon et il donna a Don Juan (d'Autriche) la clef de l'écurie où les taureaux sont enfermés: car le Roi la garde, et quand il faut le jeter il la remet entre les mains du *privado*, ou premier ministre, comme une faveur . . . et les alguacils allerent tout tremblants ouvrir la porte où les taureaux etaient enfermés. Il y avait un homme qui etait caché derrière, qui la renferma vite, et grimpa par une échelle sur l'écurie; car c'est l'ordinaire que le taureau en sortant cherche derrière la porte et commence son expedition par tuer s'il peut l'homme qui est là. Ensuite il se met à courir de toute sa force après les alguacils, qui pressent leur cheveaux pour le sauver parce qu'il ne leur est point permis de se mettre en défense. Ces hommes qui sont à pied lui lancent de flèches et de petits dards plus pointus que les alénes, et tous garnis de papier découpé. Ces dards s'attachent sur lui de telle sorte que la doleur l'obligeant de s'agiter le fer entre encore plus avant, et le papier qui fait bruit lorsqu'il court et auquel on met le feu l'irritent extrémement. Son haleine forme un brouillard épais autour de lui, le feu lui sort par les yeux et par les narines; il court plus vite qu'un cheval léger à la course, et il se tient même beaucoup plus ferme. Le cavalier qui le doit combattre s'approche, prend un rejon, le tient comme un poignard: le taureau vient à lui, il gauchit et lui appuie le fer de garrochon: il le repousse ainsi, et le bois qui est faible se casse. Aussitôt les laquais qui en tiennent dix ou douze douzaines en présentent un autre et le cavalier lui lance encore dans le

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corps; de sorte que le taureau mugit, s'anime, court, bondit, et malheur à lui qui se trouvera sur son passage. Lorsqu'il est sur le point de joindre homme, on lui jette un chapeau ou un manteau, ce qui l'arrête: ou bien on se couche par terre et le taureau en courant passe sur lui. . . . Ce qui guarantit encore c'est que le taureau ferme toujours les yeux avant de frapper de ses cornes, et dans cet instant les combattants ont l'adresse d'esquiver le coup; mais ce n'est pas une chose si sûre qu'il n'y en périsse plusieurs. . . . Quand un taureau est tué quatre alguacils sortent et vont querir quatre mules que des palefreniers vêtus de satin jaune mêlé d'incarnat conduisent. Elles sont couvertes de plumes et de sonnettes d'argent: elles ont des traits de soie avec lesquelles l'on attache le taureau qu'elles entrainent. . . . Quand les taureaux se defendent trop longtemps, et que le Roi veut faire sortir d'autres (car les nouveaux sont agréables parce que chacun a sa manière particulière de combattre) l'on amène les dogues d'Angleterre. Ils ne sont pas si grands que ceux que l'on voit d'ordinaire c'est une race semblable à ceux que les espagnols amenaient aux Indes lorsqu'ils en firent la coquête, mais si forts que quand une fois ils tiennent une goulée ils ne lâchent point, et ils se laisseraient plutôt couper par morceaux."

An illustration of the "Plaza or Sumptuous market-place of Madrid and the Bull Baiting there," published in *James Salgado's Description*, printed for Francis Clark in 1683, no doubt exactly represents the bull-fights as seen by Lady Fanshawe in 1665–6. In the centre of the end of the enclosure is the royal balcony, and on the right and left of it are the seats of the King's Councillors and the Ambassadors. Below the King's box stand his guards—each of the two mounted cavaliers in the arena is attended by a large troop of lackeys. On the unfortunate bull, which is studded all over with darts, is a rider, who compels him to advance against one of the cavaliers.

Page 174. § 2.

The total rout of the King of Spain's army under the Marques of Caracena, of which news reached Madrid on 20 June, was that which occurred on 17 June, 1665, at Montes Claros, near Villa Viciosa, in Portugal, when the Spanish General and forces were disastrously defeated by the Marques of Marialva (who as Count Cantanhede had won the victory of Elvas in 1659) and Count Schomberg,[1] one half of the army being either slain or captured. Sir Richard knew of what had happened before 13—23 June, and Consul Westcombe wrote to him from Cadiz on 18—28 June saying: "After six hours' dispute from one of the clock at noon, the Spaniards were totally routed of their whole army with bag and baggage and guns by the Portugals, which

[1] *Count Schomberg had written to Sir Richard Fanshawe in March expressing a hope that the negotiations of the latter would soon be successful and would set him free to serve more usefully and more to his satisfaction than during the last year.*

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makes this nation in these parts look very blue upon it." This defeat was the sixth in succession suffered by the Spaniards, and the news of it practically killed Philip IV, who never recovered from the blow. The Marques of Caracena, Don Luis de Benavides Carillo y Toledo, had been distinguished in the wars in Italy and the Low Countries, where he had succeeded Don Juan of Austria after his defeat in the battle of the Dunes in 1658, and he had followed that General again with less good fortune after the latter's defeat by the Portuguese at Evora in 1663. Sir Richard noted the Marques' arrival at Madrid in October, 1664; and on 1 April, 1665, he further recorded that the Marques had solemnly declared "that if preparations did not prove as royal and real in all respects as he had been promised, he would not budge a foot, whereby without any fault of his own he might dishonour his master and forfeit to the world such reputation as he had purchased in the wars"; but a fortnight later he reported that the Marques had gone to the army and people were big with expectation what would be done. On his taking up the command Count Marçin declined to serve under him and was sent to Flanders. Caracena had stipulated that the fleet under the Duke of Aveiro should demonstrate against Lisbon at the same time as he moved on the Spanish frontier; but the admiral was totally unable to sail before the defeat of Montes Claros, and though he afterwards proceeded to the Tagus he was recalled on the death of Philip IV, having effected nothing (page 543).

Lord Clarendon, writing of Caracena in 1664, observed that he had never been civil[1] to the King during his exile; and indeed he was suspected of having plotted to detain him in Flanders just before the Restoration, news of the design being sent to the King by General Monk. In spite of his defeat he remained in command of the Spanish forces on the Portuguese border, apparently because there was no other General to take his place, and died at Madrid of an old wound in 1668. His daughter was married to the eldest son of the Duke of Alba.

In writing of the Spanish defeat Sir Richard recorded that the prevailing heats in Madrid were excessive and beyond the proportion of common summers.

Page 174. § 4.

The battle of 3—13 June, 1665, was that in which the Duke of York defeated the Dutch fleet, Admiral Opdam being killed by the explosion of his vessel, as the Earl of Sandwich was in 1672. In this battle Sir John Lawson received the wound of which he died (see page 482 above), and Sir Charles Berkeley, Earl of Falmouth, was killed.

Among the papers of the Harleian MSS., numbered 7010 in the British

[1] *The instructions of Sir Richard had required him to state that the King his master had experienced but little satisfaction in the behaviour of the King of Spain's servants towards him, especially the Marques of Caracena and the Baron de Batteville.*

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Museum, and relating to Sir Richard Fanshawe, is one which, though undated and unsigned, bears its own mark of having been received from Lord Holles, the English Ambassador in France, and which was probably the source of "the happy news of our victory against the Dutch." The letter gives a brief account of the running battle of 1 and 2 June, and describes the great engagement of Saturday, 3 June, as follows:—

"Saturday morning at sunrising they could not get from us, they bore up to Vice-Admiral Minnes and gave him a broadside, who received them accordingly, and so their whole fleet passed by ours firing at every ship as they went and receiving returns from them, not one of either side being out of play on their first encounter. Immediately upon which His Royal Highness made his sign of the tacking, that we might still keep the wind of them, which was as happily executed, though the enemy also strove for it. In the second pass the *Swiftsure*[1] bore the first brunt which was performed on both sides as the former. In the third, where we also kept the wind, Prince Rupert and Captain Minnes led the way; but the enemies (ships) endeavouring to get the head of our whole fleet were engaged in a line, and as we bore towards theirs they still bore off yet steering the same course, so that it was not then a fight of board and board, but offending one another with great shot, we being at too great distance to make use of our small shot. Which way of fighting seeming tedious to us about one of the clock we pressed so near to the middle of them that we divided their fleet. About three of the clock Opdam's ship was blown up as we suppose by a lucky shot, which amazed their whole fleet as it encouraged ours. So we fell in pell-mell with them. After which it will be hard till stories are compared to give a particular account of what happened. Upon the whole matter God hath been pleased to give His Majesty a glorious and signal victory, our enemy being driven into Texell as far as draught of water and condition of our ships could permit, the day being also very far spent. The sum of all is the enemies' whole fleet is defeated, the greater part of them gone into Texell, some into the Maas, about 30 sunk and taken. Opdam with his ship blown up . . . on our side only one single ship, the *Charity*, lost, Sir John Lawson a slight hurt on his knee, Lord Marlborough, Lord Portland, Rear-Admiral Samson, Lord Falmouth, Lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle killed, these three latter by one unhappy shot on board His Royal Highness and close to his own person." Writing again on 18—28 June, Lord Holles said: "I do not think that upon one day we ever played a greater stake, and which whether lost or won could have a greater operation both abroad and at home. God be thanked it hath happened right."

Another most interesting letter from Sir George Downing, dated the Hague, 8 June, 1665, relates that they heard a "wonderful shooting with a continued terrible thunder from about two of the clock in the morning upon Saturday

[1] *This was the vessel on which the Duke of Gloucester sailed from Scheveling to Dover.*

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till about 11 and 12 at night; and about four in the afternoon there was such a blow that it shook many houses and made many windows blow open in the outward parts of the Hague, and the like at several other times. Between 10 and 11 at night sitting in my dining room (though my house be in the middle of the Hague) there was such a blow that it made all my windows rattle, and blew open my casements; and about one at night it shook the whole house and the very beds, as if it had been a great earthquake." The next morning a number of Dutch men-of-war arrived before the Maas, and news of the victory of the English fleet was received. Opdam's ship, Sir G. Downing reported, had "84 brass guns and 500 men on board her, besides many gentlemen of condition, volontiers." The English Envoy added: "This is a mighty victory—they never received such a blow before. They confess themselves beaten, and one may read it in the countenance of every man that passeth in the streets . . . The ship *Charity* which they have taken from us is none of His Majesty's Friggots [*sic*], but an old Dutch Prize, and they all say that the men in her behaved themselves most gallantly."

Page 174. § 5.

Very little has been preserved regarding Sir Richard Fanshawe, second baronet. The date of his birth was Sunday, 6—16 August. This is clear from a letter of his father written on 19—29 August, in which he states that he had fallen sick on the previous Wednesday, and had been compelled to postpone a visit to the Duke of Medina de las Torres. "In the meantime upon the occasion of my wife being brought to bed on Sunday the Duke hath been with me to give me joy of my son, yet so as not to mingle therewith a single word of business, making that an express piece of compliment: the rest consisting of great riches of jewels upon his person and extraordinary splendour of equipage." The 10—20 August therefore was a Thursday, as stated in the *Memoirs*. The only record of the child's babyhood is preserved in the charming letters of Lady Fanshawe to her husband while absent in Portugal, which are printed in the Heathcote MSS. In one of these she writes, "Dick, God be praised, is both a very fine boy and very well," and in another, "God's name be praised, he grows a lovely fine boy"; and the Ambassador wrote to his wife that the stately Duke has bestowed him "high commendation on Dick." As his mother has noted, the poor little chap was only ten months and ten days old when his father died, and he was only fourteen and a half when he lost his mother. When he died is not known, but at the time of his death he was bodily and mentally, according to an old rumour, crippled. He was buried first in St. James's, Clerkenwell; but his body was afterwards removed in 1694 to the resting-place of his father and mother in Ware Church. He was the subject of a discussion in the House of Lords at the tender age of one and a half, and it was solemnly decided with reference to his case that the sons of Ambassadors employed by the King, born in foreign countries, were not aliens. Nevertheless his name was left in the

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Naturalization Bill then under consideration, "according to the direction and desire of the said Sir Richard Fanshawe upon his deathbed to have his son naturalized." A patent roll of 4 December, 1674, directed George Porter, supervisor of the lesser customs of the Port of London and of the outports, to pay £300 per annum during his natural life to Sir Richard Fanshawe filio, in recognition of the "plurima acceptabilia servicia impensa et perstita tam nobis quam percharissimo nuper patri nostro beatæ memoriæ per fidelem et perdelictum servientem et subditum nostrum Ricardum ffanshawe Militem et Baronettum nuper defunctum." No payment of this pension is, however, to be found in the Pell Issue Books between 1674 and 1694, and it would seem certain therefore that though granted it was never enjoyed. This may account for the provision in Lady Fanshawe's will that if her son should ever "possess his office in the custome House, or any other employment by which he shall receive five hundred pounds the year, then he shall pay to his sister Katherine Fanshawe twelve hundred pounds or deliver up into her possession quietly the lease of the manor of Frinton, as my dear son Sir Richard Fanshawe shall like best." On attaining his majority he duly confirmed the sale of his mother's house of Little Grove in East Barnet, made to Mr. John Richardson by his sister Katherine under the provisions of their mother's will, Sir Edmund Turnor, brother-in-law of Lady Fanshawe, and Richard Harrison, her half-brother, being witnesses of the confirmation. A signature of his of the date of 1679 exists below that of his mother in the volume of the *Works of Ben Jonson*, now in the possession of Mr. Evelyn Fanshawe of Parsloes. It seems possible that the engraving of Sir Richard Fanshawe, made by E. Harding, jun., and published by E. Harding in 1793, is really that of a portrait of the son, of which the ownership is no longer known to the family, and not that of a portrait of the father, as it has no resemblance to various family pictures of the latter.

Page 174. § 5.

Mr. Henry Bagshawe, Sir Richard Fanshawe's chaplain, was a graduate of Oxford, having proceeded to his B.A. from Christ Church in 1655. He was younger brother of Mr. Edward Bagshawe, of whom Baxter wrote so touchingly: "About the day it" (the Church told of Mr. Edward Bagshawe's scandal) "came out Mr. Bagshawe died a prisoner though not in Prison, which made it grievous to me to think that I must seem to write against the dead. While we wrangle here in the dark we are dying and passing to the world that will decide all controversies; and the safest passage thither is peaceable holiness." After the death of Sir Richard he became chaplain to the Archbishop of York, and later again of the Earl of Danby; and having held the rectories of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate,[1] London, and Houghton-le-Spring, he finally became a Prebendary of Durham, and died in 1709.

[1] *At page* 213 *of the "Memoirs" Lady Fanshawe speaks of him as "Parson of the Parish of Bishopsgate."*

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In the possession of Mr. Fanshawe Royle is a copy of Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of *Querer por solo Querer*, bearing the impaled Fanshawe-Harrison arms on the cover, with the name of "Mr. Baggshawe" written in it, and below the name the note: "This book was sent me by ye Honourable the Lady Anne Fanshaw widow to Sir Rich. Fanshaw Nov. 19, A.D. 1670."

No mention of Mr. Cooper or of Mrs. Kestian occurs in any of the correspondence of the time, or in any family papers still existing.

Lyonel Fanshawe, secretary to Sir Richard in both Portugal and Spain, was the son of an older Lyonel, who was in the Commission of Peace for Derbyshire in 1642, and was returned as a Deputy-Lieutenant of the county with Sir John Curzon and Sir Thomas Burdett, and great-grandson of Robert Fanshawe of Fanshawe Gate (see p. 272). He was born in 1627, and was therefore two years younger than Lady Fanshawe. He married, after the death of Sir Richard, Frances, the daughter of Anthony Senior of Cowley Hall, near Darley, Derbyshire, and called his eldest children, born in 1673 and 1675, Richard and Ann after his patron and patroness.

Pepys records a drinking bout with him on 26 August, 1661, before Sir Richard went to Lisbon the first time: "In my coming home I called in at the Three Crane Tavern at the Stocks by appointment, and there met and took leave of Mr. Fanshaw, who goes to-morrow and Captain Isham toward their voyage to Portugal. Here we drank a great deal of wine, I too much, and Mr. Fanshaw till he could hardly go. So we took leave one of another."

The Secretary remained in Lisbon when Sir Richard returned to England at Christmas, 1661, and again in August, 1663; and letters from him from Lisbon to Sir Richard, dated 8—18 January, 1662, and 16 September and 5 October, 1664, are in the Heathcote MSS. He preceded the Ambassador to Cadiz, being at Seville when the latter arrived at that seaport. He was sent by his master to the Earl of Teviot at Cascaes, fifteen miles west of Lisbon, on 29 June, 1663, and to wait on the Duke of Medina de las Torres on 24 May, 1664, in order to inquire after his health and to deliver to him Sir Richard's letter of credence from Lord Clarendon. Sir Richard recommended him to be Secretary at Lisbon on 22 November, 1663, noting that he had been in his service for two and a half years, and to be Resident at Madrid, when he himself proposed to return to England in November, 1664. He then wrote of him as one, "who (besides that possession of the papers with more than three years' painful exercise of the function, without looking homewards, may be accounted eleven points in his favour) doth want no other necessary qualification for the employment, at the utmost peril of my judgment and my integrity too, in the opinion of all with whom I should be troubled to forfeit it, if my being his kinsman, or any other respect whatsoever (neither he nor any other person living expecting what I am now writing) makes me partial to him in this particular."

Writing to Lady Fanshawe from Frexinal on 29 January, 1666, in order to explain the use of a cypher to her, Lyonel Fanshawe concluded: "God

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be praised, my Lord hath had his health well all the journey hither, which blessing I earnestly beg He will continue to you and all with you, and humbly crave leave to remain, Madam, your ladyship's ever obedient and most obliged humble servant, Lyon ffanshaw." Shortly afterwards Sir Richard, writing to the Lord Chancellor from Benevente on 22 February, 1666, proposed to remove Consul Maynard from Lisbon as a person against whom the Court was highly incensed, right or wrong, and to appoint Lyonel Fanshawe in his place, describing him as "a gentleman of industry, integrity, discretion and fidelity, with a silent and stout modesty to boot." As his hopes would have been entirely dashed to the ground by the recall of Sir Richard, we find him writing anxiously to one of Lord Sandwich's staff to know if that nobleman was bringing letters of revocation or not. On 13—23 June, Wednesday, he wrote to Mr. Joseph Williamson, saying that ever since his letter of 7—17th my Lord Ambassador "hath had almost a constant fever which hath brought him to an extreme weakness, but yesterday and to-day he hath found himself somewhat better and his Physicians give us hopes that the danger is past"—hopes which remained sadly unfulfilled. He and Mr. Bagshawe accompanied Lady Fanshawe back to England, and buried Sir Richard in All-Hallows Church at Hertford. In December, 1666, we find him soliciting the recommendation of Lord Arlington for the post of Surveyor in the Customs House of London. The portrait of him at p. 534 is from one of the family pictures in possession of Mr. H. E. Fanshawe of Dengey. On the scroll in his hand is written: A. D^{n} Leonel Fanshaw g. de Dios Secr^{o} Princ^{l} del ex^{mo} Ricardo Fanshaw Embax^{dor} del Sereniss^{mo} Rey de La Gran Bretaña &c. Madrid." He died in 1687, six years after Lady Fanshawe, and was buried in Dronfield Church on 3 March in that year. His son was the last member of the family who was interred in the chancel there.

Page 175. § 2.

The Marquis of Aitona became one of the members of the Advisory Council of the Queen Regent on the death of Philip IV. (see note on that Council at p. 536).

Page 176. § 1.

At the end of July, 1665, Sir Richard had reported that the King's infirmities were something more sharp upon him . . . than ordinary at other times; and on 5 August that though the King came to the feast of bulls to stop reports about his health, he had come "somewhat more infirm than ordinary and therefore went away somewhat more wearied with sitting." The Prince, too, was unwell since the Court had moved from the Buen Retiro to the Palace, "though to me he looked like a little angel, being indeed a delicate child of hue as ever mine eyes beheld, but very weakly." Writing on Wednesday, 6—16 September, the English Ambassador noted the approach of the end in the following terms: "This (interview with the Duke

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LYONEL FANSHAWE, SECRETARY TO SIR RICHARD

From the painting in the possession of Mr. H. E. Fanshawe

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of Medina de las Torres, on Saturday, 12 September) was at the Buen Retiro, and within two hours afterwards the Duke was hastily sent for to the Palace his majesty being suddenly taken ill, the which has increased to that degree ever since that I cannot say with confidence that great monarch at the instant I am writing this is alive, much less that he will be so to-morrow at this hour." It would seem from this that the King must have been passing away when the letter was written, as he died between four and five on the morning of the following day, as will be seen from the following extract from a letter of Sir Richard written on the 7—17 September: "My letter to your lordship of yesterday delivered his Catholic Majesty Philip IV, in a condition utterly deplored by most though with a little spark of hope in some even Physicians upon a lightning which showed itself before death as it proved, his majesty giving up the ghost this morning between 4 and five of the clock, witnessed immediately by all the bells in Town, this being observable (in my opinion) that neither his majesty's sickness nor death was concealed one moment from the people." Though Spain experienced her saddest humiliations during his reign, he seems to have acted in public life as a prince and a gentleman, never more than towards the Prince of Wales, who so basely repudiated his sister, and towards the young King Louis XIV who married his daughter. On the third day of his illness the relics of the churches of Nuestra Señora de Atocha and of San Isidro were taken to the Palace; and on 15 September Don Juan of Austria came to see his father, but was bidden to return to Consuegra. Lady Fanshawe's account of the lying in state of the King and of his burial at the Escorial is extremely interesting. His son Charles II, who was not even a man according to Mignet's bitter summing up of this dynasty, was born on 6 November, 1661, and was therefore scarcely four years old at the death of his father. He lived till 1 November, 1700, marrying first Louise d'Orleans, daughter of the Princess Henrietta of England in 1679, and secondly Maria Anna of Neuburg, sister of the Empress of Germany and the Queen of Portugal in 1690, and died at the age of thirty-eight looking like a man of seventy.

The Council appointed by the will of Philip IV to assist the Queen Regent consisted of the Cardinal Sandoval, Archbishop of Toledo, the President of Castile, Conde de Castrillo, Don Pascual de Aragon, Grand Inquisitor, and at the time Viceroy of Naples, the Marques of Aitona, Don Fernando de Moncada y Castro, the Vice-Chancellor of Aragon, Don Christoval Crespi, and the Condé de Peñaranda, Don Gaspar de Bracamonte, President of the Council of the Indies and Italy. The first died the day after the King and was succeeded by the third, the Queen's Confessor, Nethard becoming Grand Inquisitor in his place. The Count of Peñaranda had been the great oracle of Don Luis de Haro in all foreign affairs, as Don Giorgio de Gongora was in internal affairs, and is described as a man of vast knowledge of the world and great dexterity in negotiations. He was a principal agent in the framing of the Treaty of the Pyrenees, and a Spanish plenipotentiary at the peace

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of Westphalia on 24 October, 1648, and lived on till 1676. Sir Benjamin Wright noted in June, 1655, that when the Count was sent as Ambassador to Rome he received as mercedes the post of Gentleman of the King's Chamber, and the title of Conde for his son, his own title being derived from his wife. The Marques of Aitona (Itonia in the first edition of the *Memoirs*) was descended from Don Pedro de Moncada, an illegitimate son of King Pedro II. He was a supporter of the Queen Regent against Don Juan of Austria, and commanded a regiment raised for her protection against the Madrid mob. Both the Marques and the Count were advocates of the French alliance, and opponents of a treaty with England and reconciliation with Portugal, and both seem to have treacherously given information to the French Ambassador, the Archbishop of Embrun, telling him among other things that when the proposal for the alliance with England came before the Council only one member was in favour of it, whom the Archbishop easily divined was the Duke of Medina de las Torres. The latter in particular was vehemently opposed to the English negotiations, and attacked Sir Richard Fanshawe severely for having sent a letter to the Duke of Medina de las Torres after starting for Portugal, in which he openly referred to "His Lusitanian Majesty." Such was the stiff-necked, childish folly of the Spanish statesmen (?) with whom Sir Richard had to deal.

The Emperor of Germany was Leopold I, who reigned from 1658 to 1705: his wife, the Infanta Margarita Teresa of Spain, was married to him on 12 December, 1666, and died on 12 March, 1673. His own descent from the Spanish Royal Family was treble, as he was the son of Ferdinand III (died 1657) and Maria Anna of Spain, sister of Philip IV, was great-grandson of Ferdinand I (Emperor 1556–64), younger brother of Charles V, and was about to be married to the daughter of Philip IV.[1] His younger son by his second wife Eleanor Madeline of Neuberg, afterwards the Emperor Charles VI, claimed the Spanish crown on the death of Charles II, but abandoned it after attaining the higher imperial rank in 1711.

The Duke of Savoy, in 1665, was Charles Emmanuel II, who was born in 1634, and died in 1675. He was the son of Victor Amadeo I, born in 1585,

[1] *The intermarrying of the houses of Spain and Hapsburg was appalling. Maximilian II, son of Ferdinand I, married his first cousin Maria, daughter of Charles V. The daughter of these, Maria, married her uncle, Philip II, and the son of the latter, Philip III, married Margaret, daughter of the younger brother of Maximilian II and sister of Ferdinand II. The daughter of Philip III, Maria Anna, married Ferdinand III, and his son Philip IV married as his second wife his niece Maria Anna, the daughter of that Emperor and his sister. She became mother of the half-idiot Charles II, and of the Infanta Margarita Teresa of the "Memoirs," who at the age of twelve married her own uncle Leopold I. And all the while the Roman Catholic Church looked on and gave special dispensations for these marriages, every one of which was contrary to her marriage law.*

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who again was the son of Charles Emmanuel I, who in 1583 had married the Infanta Catherine of Spain (born 1567), daughter of Philip II.

The Queen of France was Maria Teresa, daughter of Philip IV by his first wife. She was born in 1638, married in 1659, and died in 1683. Both she, on her marriage to Louis XIV, and Philip's sister Anne of Austria, on her marriage to Louis XIII, in 1615, had renounced all right of succession to the Spanish crown; and it was the determination of the French King to obtain the cancellation of this renunciation, or to disregard it, which led to the war between France and Spain in 1667, when he seized parts of Flanders in the right of his wife, and later to the war of the Spanish Succession, which resulted in his grandson Philip obtaining the Iberian throne, when his competitor withdrew on becoming Emperor of Germany.

Sir Richard had received special instructions that if the King of Spain should die during his residence at the Court, he should inform the Queen that—

"We (foreseeing this misfortune and apprehending that in this tender age of the King the monarchy of Spain might be exposed to many ill accidents from abroad as well as at home) as a duty incumbent upon us had commanded you in our name to offer them our protection, of which they shall find the effects in our doing and performing all the good offices they should stand in need of . . . . remembering always that no considerable progress can be made herein unless the Peace or Truce with Portugal goes forward, and there be advantages given to the trade and commerce of our subjects by extending it to the West Indies in the manner expressed in your other instructions."

No doubt he duly communicated his master's disinterested views to the Duke of Medina de las Torres soon after the accession of Charles II.

Page 177. *Lines* 7 *and* 9.

A counterpoint (corrupted from the old French *cuilte pointe*, and since into the modern counterpane) was a quilted cover for a bed. A vallance (said to be derived from Valence, near Lyons, both famous for silk manufactures) was a fringe or drapery hung round the tester and stead of a bed. Mention of the latter term is of common occurrence in the wills of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when beds were valuable household assets.

Page 179. *End of* § 2.

It is customary in Spain, Major Martin Hume has kindly informed me, that coffins should be locked, instead of being fastened down, and the keys are handed by the undertaker to the next of kin. In this case the Lord High Chamberlain, the Lord High Steward, and the Prior each received a key to keep; the first two great officers of State no doubt resumed custody of their keys as soon as the Prior had been satisfied that the coffin contained the body of Philip IV.

In his account of the burial of Philip IV, the Archbishop of Embrun adds

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that the body was escorted from Madrid by the lancilla guard, by gentlemen of the King's chamber, by his almoners and chaplains, and by members of the religious bodies of all the convents of Madrid. He states also that the body was at once placed in its niche in the Panteon; but Lady Fanshawe's account is no doubt right on this point, though by a slip she names the chamber of the Infants and not the other vault mentioned on page 510 as the temporary resting-place. She was repaid £650 after her husband's death on account of the mourning expenses of his household, to which he was put by the death of the King of Spain.

Page 180. § 2.

The French Ambassador at Madrid informs us that the Queen Dowager remained in strict retirement for nine days after her husband's death, and had cut her hair and assumed the fullest mourning known in Spain. After that period she received ladies in a dark room, but said next to nothing to them, so that most returned from the visit ill satisfied. This may have been on 4 October, the date given by Lady Fanshawe. She would not, he reported, give audience to men till after the royal obsequies had been celebrated on 30 October in the church of the Encarnaçion Real.[1] The Queen had been appointed sole Regent with absolute authority until her son should reach the age of fourteen, and the Council selected by the King was merely consultative, and had no power to limit that authority. Writing on the date of Wednesday, 18—28 October, Sir Richard reported that he had that day had audience of the young King, "giving him in our master's name first the *Pesame* and then the *para bien* of the time." He also noted that the *honras* of the late King would begin on Friday, the 30th, and that the Queen would probably receive the Ambassadors on 5 November. The Archbishop again informs us that the child-king received the Ambassadors seated in an arm-chair, in which he was tied back by ribands held by his Aya. The poor little boy was able to say Cubrios (*couvrez-vous*) at the commencement of the audience, and *agradesco mucho* (*je vous remercie bien*) at the close of it. The French Ambassador describes the King as "le visage toujours abattu, la tête penchée, les jambes sans force, l'intelligence inactive, qui jusque à l'âge de cinq ans eut besoin d'être soutenu, fut incapable d'ôter son chapeau aux ambassadeurs et ne put leur dire que cette seule parole, Cubrios."

Page 180. § 3.

Sir Richard gives the date of the proclamation of King Charles II as 27 September—7 October, but Archbishop d'Embrun confirms the 8th of Lady Fanshawe. The small son Dick was then just two months old. The Duke of

[1] *This convent lies on the north side of the Plaza del Oriente in front of the Royal Palace at Madrid.*

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Medina de las Torres, as one of the Regidors of the city, took the place of the Conde of Chinchon, hereditary Mayor Alfarez Mayor of Madrid, who had died a few days previously. As the royal standard was raised in each place the heralds cried "Castilla y Leon por el rey Don Carlos." Writing of the Duke at this juncture the Ambassador said: "His Majesty hath left him out of the Junta of the Government to the admiration of all the world, and compassion of most even of such whose fortunes were altogether unconcerned in his, judging it somewhat severe to omit an old servant as manyfoldly qualified for a part in such a trust, moreover whose person the King was always thought to love, and is thought by all (over and above his duty and allegiance) to have ever loved the person of the King entirely." The convent of the Descalzas Reales, built for the retreat of Queen Dowagers of Spain, lies in the Plaza de San Martin, 500 yards east of the Palace and 300 yards north of the Plaza Mayor, and the Town Hall, or Ayuntiamento, lies 150 yards west of the latter and 300 yards south-east of the Palace. The gate of Gudalajara no longer exists.

Page 181. § 3.

The King was born on 6 November, 1661, and was therefore only four years old in 1665, not six years, as stated by Lady Fanshawe. He was the last of the five children of Philip IV and his wife Maria Anna of Austria, the only other who survived being the eldest of all, Doña Margarita Teresa. It would have been interesting to know what Lady Fanshawe thought of his physical appearance if she believed him to be two years older than he really was.

Page 181. § 4.

The Marquesa of Hinojosa (*Memoires*, p. 109) was Camarera Mayor of the Queen. The Marques da los Veler was Governor of the young King, and his wife was the King's Aya or governante. The Marques was head of the Fajardo family and hereditary Grand Captain of Murcia: he had been Master of the Horse, Viceroy of Naples, and President of the Council of the Indies. His wife was Doña Maria de Cordova, Segorbe y Aragon, daughter of the Duke of Segorbe and Cardona, and sister of the Duchess of Medina Celi.

Page 181. § 5.

The treaty of 17 December, which was signed on the 16th by Sir Richard and on the 17th by the Duke of Medina de las Torres, consisted of thirty-four Articles, and is printed *in extenso* at pages 114–60 of Volume II of Lord Arlington's *Letters* (1701). The question of its shortcomings and of the action of the Privy Council of England upon it is fully discussed in Appendix IV. It is regrettable that Lady Fanshawe's indignation at the treatment of her husband, even though this was probably the cause of his death, should have led her ten years after those events to speak in these terms of the Earls of Sandwich

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and Clarendon, when the one had perished fighting heroically for his country in 1672, and the other had died two years later in exile, due to the base ingratitude of his King. It was natural enough that she should write bitterly of the former in her letters to her husband in 1666; but time and subsequent events might have led her to modify that view in 1676.

Page 182. § 2.

The Queen Dowager of Spain, Maria Anna of Austria, was born in 1634, and was therefore thirty-one years of age in December, 1665, as stated by Lady Fanshawe. Madame d'Aulnoy, who saw her thirteen years later during her banishment at Toledo, describes her as "little lean and white. She is very pale, her complexion pure, her face long and flat. Her looks are agreeable and her stature of middle size." She was dressed as a nun, the widow of a King of Spain being required to assume that dress in the seventeenth century.

Page 182. § 3.

The reason why Mr. John Price was again sent to Portugal is explained in the following note of the French Ambassador, to whom Sir Richard Fanshawe paid a visit on 14 January, 1666, at which he informed the Archbishop that he was starting the next day for the frontier of Portugal (*Negotiations under Louis XIV Regarding the Spanish Succession*, Mignet). The interview was reported to the French King as follows:—

"J'ai compris du discours de M. Fanshawe qu'il s'est jeté en cette affaire tant por les orders généraux du roi d'Angleterre de ne point perdre d'occasion pour le faire réussir, que par son zêle pour le service des deux royaumes; et il m'a fait entendre que quoiqu'il âit toujours eu cette intention fixe depuis son arrivée en cette cour, l'on n'avait point voulu en écouter la proposition jusqu'au dernier changement qui est arrivé de la mort de roi catholique, et qu'aussitôt qu'il a trouvé ouverture, il a tâché de savoir les partis à quoi l'on pouvait se reduire du côté de deça; qu'il reconnait le succès comme impossible ou au moins très difficile suivant la connaissance qu'il a des pensées de l'Espagne, et encore suivant ses anciennes lumières des celles de Portugal; qu'il ne laisse pas toutefois de hasarder son voyage et son travail pour une tentative toujours fort glorieuse quand même elle serait tout à fait inutile; qu'il a envoyé en cette vue le 6 de ce mois un gentilhomme à Lisbonne pour faire avancer M. le Comte de Castel Melhor à la frontière de Castille, ou il prétend l'aller trouver, ayant permission du roi catholique d'entrer en Portugal, et le Comte de Castel Melhor n'en ayant point de venir en Castille; qu'il ne peut pas prévoir l'événement de ce qui se passera entre le Comte de Castel Melhor et lui; qu'il sera peut-être obligé d'aller jusqu'à Lisbonne."

The efforts made by Sir Richard and Sir Robert Southwell to effect an understanding between Spain and Portugal, and the success with which these met,

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are fully discussed in Appendix IV. The Archbishop tried his best to thwart[1] them by offering the good services of France between Spain and Portugal, and later he frankly declared that a closer alliance between England and Spain, following upon an accommodation between Spain and Portugal, would mean a rupture between France and Spain. The Duke of Medina de las Torres had, it appears, repudiated to him both the proposal for effecting an understanding with Portugal and the idea of a close alliance with England; but various members of the Council (see above) admitted the former at least, and excused themselves from accepting the proposed mediation of France on the ground that they did not desire to publish their dishonour!

Dryden summed up the position of the French King very neatly in the *Annus Mirabilus* when he wrote—

> "See how he feeds the Iberian with delays
> To render us his timely friendship vain;
> And while his secret soul on Flanders preys,
> He rocks the cradle of the babe of Spain."

Page 182. § 4.

On 13 January Sir Richard had an audience with the Queen previous to his leaving Madrid, and represented to her (1) what he had reported to England regarding the unlimited ambition of the French king, and (2) the case of the British consuls and merchants in the Canaries and in all Spanish ports; to which "her majesty's answers were as gracious and promising as could be expected" (*Arlington Letters*). The letter of the Duke de Medina de las Torres announcing the presents of the Queen to Sir Richard and his wife is printed in the Heathcote MSS. with the defective heading of "Duke and Count of Onate (which should be Duke of San Lucar and Count of Onate) to Sir Richard Fanshawe."

According to the calculation on page 487, by which the value of the piece of eight is taken at 4s. 3d., these presents amounted to the very large sums of £21,250 and £10,625, which again may be estimated at treble that amount according to present values. No wonder, therefore, poor Lady Fanshawe must have experienced very bitter feelings when she thought how this sum had been lost to her and her children, and that in her bitterness she should have ascribed the fault of this to others than those to whom it was really due, if, indeed, the fault lay actually at the door of any one in particular.

The second paragraph on page 183 is added to the faired MSS. of the *Memoirs* in Lady Fanshaw's own handwriting. It and the footnote on page

[1] *Sir Richard was well aware of the policy adopted by the French Ambassador under the instructions of Louis XIV, and wrote to Lord Arlington on 6 January*, 1666, "*The French Ambassador doth threaten them in plain terms to their faces with a war from his master*" *in case of an alliance between Spain and England.*

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194 are curiously enough included in the editions of 1829–30, though the other additions to the MSS. after they were faired are not so.

Page 183. § 3.

The general details of Sir Richard Fanshawe's journey to the frontier of Portugal and of his return to Madrid are to be gathered as follows from the correspondence of the time :—

6—16	January.	Left Madrid.
8—18	,,	Toledo.
19—29	,,	Frexinal, fifty miles south of Badajoz.
7—20	February.	Benevente.
12—22	,,	Cruche, four leagues from Benevente.
18—28	,,	Merida and Medellin.
24	,,	Estremoz, west of Badajoz.
5	March.	Oropesa-Talavera de la Reina.
6	,,	Sant Olalla.
7	,,	Casa Rubias.
8	,,	Madrid.

At Benevente he was met by Sir Robert Southwell and the Conde de Castel Melhor—apparently he did not actually see the King of Portugal—and the three formulated certain terms, which the two first then took to Madrid for acceptance by the Spanish Government (see Appendix IV). The reason why Sir Richard went so far south as Frexinal was probably to avoid all touch with the Spanish and Portuguese armies which were facing one another in their usual perfunctory way round Badajoz ; but he must have been in close touch with the latter at least at Estremoz. Benevente does not appear on the map, but is described as being near the Portugal Court at Salva Tierra.

The whole negotiation seems to have been hopeless from the first, Spanish obstinacy refusing to acknowledge existing facts, and Sir Richard Fanshawe having received no adequate support from his Government to enable him to adopt a firm attitude with either side. The only pleasant feature in connexion with this winter journey are the charming letters, printed in the Heathcote MSS., which passed during the two months of his absence between Sir Richard and his wife, and the pretty notes of his daughters. That of Catherine Fanshawe, reproduced at this page, shows that this little lady was becoming a very fair Spanish scholar during her two years' sojourn in Spain, if her orthography in that language was shaky.

"Madrid, 18 (?February), 1666.

"Ex^mo^ Señor,

"No quiero que V. Ex^cia^ Juzge a falta de voluntad la que se tenido en escrivir y pidir su benedicion accordandome de de [*sic*] desseo con que vivo de saver de su salud [*sic*] Suplico V. Ex^cia^ se acuerde dela buen voluntad del corason [*sic*] aunque el mano no se explique como deve. Guarde Dios ã V.

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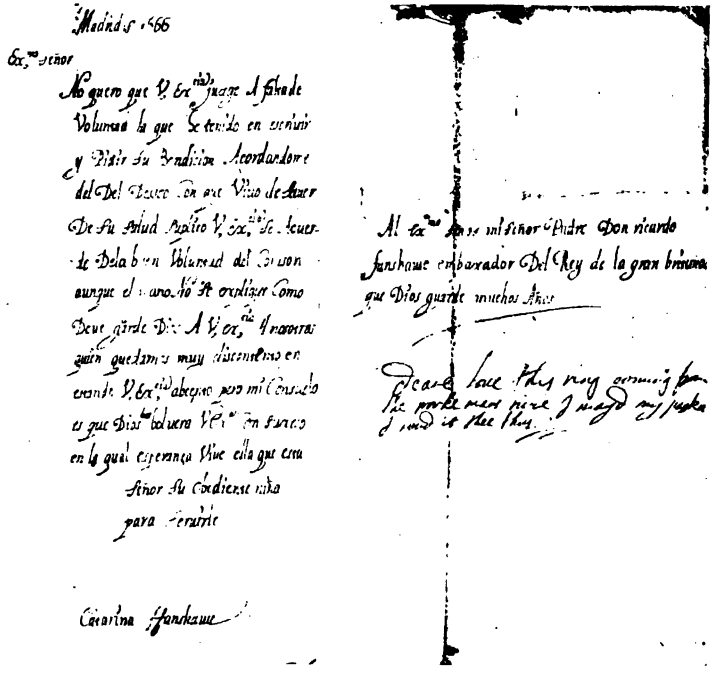

Madrid 1666

Ex.mo Señor

No quiero que V. Ex.cia juzgue A Sido de Voluntad la que Se tenido en escriuir y Pidir su Bendicion Acordandome del Del Deuer Con que Viuo de Azer De su Salud Pasito V. Ex.cia Se Lleue de Dela buena Voluntad del Criado aunque de mano No Se explicar Como Deue serle Dicho A V. Ex.cia Y asegurar quien quedamos muy desconsolados en ausencia de V. Ex.cia Abrigo para mi Consuelo es que Dios bolueru V. Ex.cia En Salud en la qual esperanca Viue ella que era Señor Su Criadisima Hija para Seruirle

Catarina Fanshawe

Al Ex.mo Señor mi Señor Pidre Don ricardo Fanshawe embaxador Del Rey de la gran bretaña que Dios guarde muchos Años

Deare Sister this may serue to
the poore mens pure I wish my pooke
I send it thee thy

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER OF KATHERINE FANSHAWE TO HER FATHER, JAN., 1666

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Ex^cia a nosotros quien quedamos muy discontento en estando V. Ex^cia abcento [*sic*]. Pero mi consuelo es que Dios volvera V. Ex^cia con suxeso [*sic*] en la qual esperança vive ella que esta.

"Senor su obediente niña
"para servirle
"CATARINA FFANSHAWE.

"Al ex^mo señ(or) mi senor Padre Don ricardo Fanshawe embaxador del Rey de la gran britaña que Dios guarde muchos años."

Lady Fanshawe added at the foot of this note: "Deare love, this ring coming from the workman since I mayd my packet, I send it thee thus."

Page 184. § 2.

Sir Richard was no doubt very well advised in using hired carriages only for a winter journey in Spain off the few properly maintained high roads of his day, and especially in the very broken country on the southern border of Spain and Portugal. The sumpter clothes no doubt bore the emblazoning of the Fanshawe-Harrison arms, as did the "close wagons with the coat of arms above them" (*Memoirs*, page 219). "Machos" is Spanish for mules, "mozo" for any servant, and here for a muleteer.

Probably "hz-mules"

Page 185. § 3.

For some reason, perhaps because he was of royal Lancastrian descent, Charles II of England was specially interested in the Duke of Aveiro, a Portuguese nobleman who was also Duke of Arcos[1] and Conde of Bailen in Spain, and instructed Sir Richard Fanshawe to visit him and his sister in Madrid, and give him assurances of the King's favour should any opportunity arise of showing this. The Duke, who adhered to the side of Spain on the revolution of Portugal, was the seventeenth holder of the first title, and to the other dukedoms he added that of Maqueda in 1664. In November of that year Sir Richard complained of a discourtesy on his part in declining to see the Ambassador's secretary, Lyonel Fanshawe. He also mentions him as an outspoken supporter of the Dutch against the English. In the next year he was made Admiral of the Spanish fleet, on which Sir Benjamin Wright served under him as Chief Interpreter (page 505), and was sent to the Tagus to effect a diversion of the Portuguese forces facing the Marquis of Caracena on the Spanish border. He did not, however, arrive before Lisbon till after the defeat of the Spanish army at Montes Claros on 17 June, 1665, and was

[1] *The family was descended from the famous Ponce de Leon, so distinguished in the Moorish wars of Ferdinand and Isabella, and bore the royal arms of Portugal.*

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not able to effect anything when he did.[1] According to a letter of Sir Richard Fanshawe, dated 8—18 November, 1665, he died at Cadiz in that month, just after a vessel of the Portuguese fleet had deserted to him there. The Duke who called upon Lady Fanshawe must therefore have been his successor, or the husband of his sister, who became Duchess in her own right on his death. She was Doña Maria de Guadalupe de Lancastre, and, according to Sir William Stirling Maxwell, was an accomplished linguist, a lover of letters, and a painter of taste. She showed her good taste at least in giving handsome presents to Lady Fanshawe's four small daughters (*Memoirs*, page 189). Her son renewed the allegiance of the family to the Crown of Portugal, and became Duke d'Abrantes in that kingdom.

Page 185. § 3.

The Marques of Trucifal was a Portuguese noble to whom Philip IV of Spain gave his title. Perhaps Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe were acquainted with his family in Lisbon. The only mention of him found in correspondence of the day is that he was Maestro de Campo General in Sicily.

The Baron de L'Isola (Lesley in the MSS., and in previous editions of the *Memoirs*) was François Paul de l'Isola (de L'Isle), who was born at Salins in Franche Compté in 1613, and entering the Austrian service was throughout his life a bitter opponent of the French king. He had been sent by Ferdinand III to be Ambassador in London in 1643, and by Leopold I to be Ambassador Extraordinary to Spain in 1666, and served also at the courts of Poland and Portugal, and in Italy. He was in England for a brief time at the end of 1666, Lord Arlington mentioning in a letter of 21 December that he and the Spanish Ambassador had dined with him that day; and Lord Clarendon spoke of him in 1667 as a man of great experience and very subtle parts, and recorded that the Conde de Molina, Spanish Ambassador at the English court, was entirely under his direction. He was at Brussels and the Hague in 1667, and at the peace of Aix la-Chapelle on 2 May, 1668, and died at Vienna in 1673.

Page 186. § 2.

There seems to be some confusion of dates here. In her letter of 24 January —3 February (Heathcote MSS.) Lady Fanshawe speaks of her husband's letter of 19 January from Frexinal, and the letter preceding that is one of the 19—29 January from Lyonel Fanshawe from that place. But she could not have received a letter of the 19—29 January, dated Frexinal, on the same day in Madrid, and indeed it seems doubtful if she would have received it in four

[1] *The Spanish fleet, according to Sir R. Southwell, consisted of twenty-two vessels, seven of them inconsiderable merchantmen or adventurers; one man-of-war of eighty guns, one of sixty, and a third of fifty; the rest of from forty to fifty guns—all good ships, but very ill-manned.*

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days even, i.e. by 2 February. Possibly this paragraph should have followed the next in the *Memoirs*.

Page 186. § 3.

Don Nicholas de la Navas, Major Martin Hume informs me, subsequently became Secretary to one of the Councils of State. Don Alonso, whom Lady Fanshawe mentions at page 159 of the *Memoirs* and in her letters to her husband (Heathcote MSS.) as another Secretary of the Duke of Medina de las Torres, was probably Don Alonso de Carnero, who ultimately became Principal Secretary, and lived till 1721.

Page 186. § 4.

In a letter to her husband dated 12 February (Heathcote MSS.), Lady Fanshawe wrote: "The Marquesa de Liche this day sent me a little greyhound puppy, so fine a creature I never saw in my life, which I take care of much for thee, but Dick lugs her by the ears and is very fond of her. God's name be praised he grows a lovely fine boy, and all the girls are very well, and so am I, but wish thee with me a thousand times." The Marquesa had already (*Memoirs*, p. 170) presented the Ambassadress with two perfect greyhounds, so small that she could put them into her pocket.

Father Patricio was Father Patrick O'Duffy, an Irish Franciscan. Sir Richard noted of him on 4 November, 1664, that he was "lately returned from Rome, with a new title of Definidor of his Order, a place (as I am told) of great eminence." The letters of Lady Fanshawe to her husband in the Heathcote MSS. show he was much used as an agent by the Duke of Medina de las Torres. The real date of the death of Queen Luisa of Portugal was 18—28 February, 1666, not the 17th of that month. The visit of the Duke and Duchess of Medina de las Torres to Lady Fanshawe in great state was a compliment doubtless deeply appreciated by her.

Page 187. § 2.

Lady Fanshawe made a slip in saying that her husband returned from Lisbon, as he did not go further west than Benevente and Estremoz, both in the neighbourhood of Villa Viciosa, the home of the Braganza family, on the east border of Portugal.

Sir Robert Southwell was the son of Robert Southwell of Kinsale, in Ireland, who was well known to Sir Richard Fanshawe as his principal coadjutor in provisioning and fitting out the fleet of Prince Rupert in the summer of 1649: and he speaks in his letter to Lady Fanshawe on 23 September—3 October, 1666, written in defence of himself against aspersions cast upon him for ungrateful behaviour towards Sir Richard, as treated by the latter as "his friend and the son of his friend." He was born on the last day of 1635, and was educated at Queen's College,

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Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn; he was appointed one of the clerks of the Privy Council in September, 1664, and was knighted the following year. He arrived at Lisbon on 16—26 January, 1666, eighteen days before Sir Richard reached Portugal, and returned with him to Madrid on 8 March. He had been especially commended to Sir Richard Fanshawe by a letter from the King, dated Oxford, 20 December, 1665, addressed to "Our Right trusty and well beloved Councellor." He was in Lisbon in November, 1667, when the revolution by which King Affonso VI was deposed occurred, assisted in the conclusion of the peace between Portugal and Spain in 1668, and was recalled in 1672. He was envoy at Brussels in 1690, and afterwards became Chief Secretary for Ireland; he was member of Parliament upon three occasions, and President of the Royal Society upon five. He died in 1702. John Evelyn mentions him as "a sober, wise, and virtuous gentleman." We learn from Lady Fanshawe's letter to her husband on 7 March, 1666 (Heathcote MSS.), that the lower quarter of the Siete Chimeneas had been well dressed up for him and his man that waited on him, and we learn from the *Memoirs* that Sir Robert occupied these for between three and four weeks. The Ambassador's lady was seriously exercised in her mind lest Sir Robert should on arrival "use the northern custom to salute me and mine—a thing never to be forgiven or forgotten in this Court," and earnestly desired that her "cousin Fanshawe or some other way (might) be found to advertise that here that is not to be done!" There was long delay in granting him an interview with the Queen Regent, and at one time it seemed likely that this would be refused; but finally it took place on 15—25 March, and Sir Richard Fanshawe wrote of it: "This very day I have introduced Sir Robert Southwell, whose reception from her majesty (after a thousand minds in these ministers whether he should be admitted) was exceeding gracious, commanding him as to the business he came upon to open himself to Don Blasco de Loyola, or else to know from him to whom he should do it."

The Archbishop of Embrun writing on 26 March stated that the Marques of Aitona had told him that the Queen had up to that time refused to see the English Ambassador since his return to Madrid on the eighth idem, and that she wished to ignore his journey to Portugal altogether. On the point of the interview taking place he was misinformed by his friend on this occasion, as also no doubt regarding the Queen's attitude towards the journey made by Sir Richard. The probable explanation of the delay lies in the difficulty in which the Queen was placed in receiving an envoy accredited to a Court which she did not recognize. Sir Robert Southwell left Madrid on 13—23 June, three days before the death of Sir Richard Fanshawe, and returned there to meet the Earl of Sandwich again in September, 1666. In February, 1668, Mr. William Godolphin complained of his being a very forward young man and unmannerly towards Lord Sandwich. In a letter to Sir Robert, dated 6 November, 1666, Lord Arlington wrote: "You have had the misfortune to be employed in a difficult negotiation, but you have the justice done you here to have it believed by his majesty and ministers that you have

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acquitted yourself well therein." It is almost needless to add that the letter goes on to deal with the large expenses of the envoy, and scanty remittances made to him. In his lengthy epitaph in Hanbury Church, Gloucester, it is recorded *inter alia*, "He was employed in several negotiations, first in quality of envoy, with power to negotiate a peace, between Spain and Portugal, proving happily instrumental in giving a period to that war which had continued twenty-eight years without interruption."

Page 187. § 2.

Lord Sandwich, to whom Lady Fanshawe has alluded as Colonel (Edward) Montagu, at page 48 of the *Memoirs*, was the eldest son of Sir Sidney Montagu, youngest brother of the first Earl of Manchester, who was Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, 1616–1620, and Lord Treasurer under James I. Sir[1] Sidney was M.P. for Huntingdon and stood for the King: he was also a Master of Requests, and as such was probably acquainted with Thomas Fanshawe and Sir Henry Fanshawe, of Ware Park: his wife was the daughter of John Pepys, of Cottenham, Cambs. Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, was born in 1625, and was therefore of the same age as Lady Fanshawe, and seventeen years younger than her husband. He was connected with Cromwell, and this connexion drew him to the popular side, on which he served with distinguished gallantry at Marston Moor, Naseby, Bristol, and Basing House; he was also M.P. for Huntingdon, and under the Commonwealth for Dover. He became one of the Council of Fifteen in 1653, and served with Blake off Cadiz in 1656. He was appointed to command the fleet by the restored House of Parliament in 1659, and again later in conjunction with General Monk on 20 February, 1660, and gave his adherence to the cause of the Restoration in April. Next to securing the support of General Monk and the Army, it was of course of the utmost importance to King Charles II and his advisers to gain that of Colonel Montagu and the Fleet. The letters in the Clarendon State Papers in the Bodleian which passed between the King and the Admiral at this juncture are extremely interesting. The King wrote early in April, 1660: "I do not think it agreeable to the confidence I have of you, or the trust I intend to repose in you, to say anything of what hath been done in former times, in which I know well by what reasons and authority you were led; and I do assure you I am so far from remembering anything to your disadvantage, that I look upon you as a person to be rewarded by yours," etc. In reply, Admiral Montagu wrote on 10 April: "My accepting the commission under which I now act was not without communication with, and advice of, faithful servants of

[1] *The King had been nobly treated at Hinchinbrook House (bought by Sir Sidney Montagu in 1627) while on his way in June, 1647, from Holmby House to Newmarket, and finally to Hampton Court, just a year before Lady Fanshawe was in St. Neots* ("*Memoirs*," *p.* 48).

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your Majesty that I might honestly do your Majesty a service in this capacity, and my signification I would hold it no longer than I might see it conducing thereto; and I hope your Majesty has been informed thereof before now"—a protestation which the King and Sir Edward Hyde were no doubt able to gauge at its exact value. One of the faithful friends of His Majesty, who was mainly responsible for reconciling the Admiral to the Royalist party, was his own cousin, the second Lord Montagu, of Boughton. Mr. Samuel Pepys, who was with his kinsman on the *Naseby*, soon to be the *Royal Charles*, records a most interesting account of the proceedings of the Fleet, culminating in the restoration of the royal arms, of the meeting of his patron and the King, of the journey from Scheveling to Dover (on which the King told the story of his escape after Worcester for the first time of many hundreds of times on English ground), and of the landing in England; and Sir Edmund Walker, King-at-Arms, records the investiture of the Admiral with the Garter on board his ship at Dover, on Sunday, 27 May, 1666, the Duke of Albemarle, General Monk, having been invested by the King himself on the 25th at St. Augustin's Abbey at Canterbury. Edward Montagu was the first commoner who received the Garter after the reign of Queen Elizabeth. On 29 June he was created Earl of Portsmouth, but thirteen days later this title was changed for that of Sandwich. On the former date, and again on 30 June, his faithful henchman was in consultation with the Latin Secretary, Sir Richard Fanshawe, regarding the preamble of the Latin patent,[1] and in anxiety that it should not be in less high style than that of the Duke of Albemarle, which the Secretary "had done . . . very well." In September the Admiral brought over the Princess of Orange to England, and in October the Queen-Mother and the Princess Henrietta. Pepys specially mentions on the occasion of the Coronation procession on 22 April, 1661, "Among others my Lord Sandwich's diamonds and embroidery were not ordinary among them." On 19 June following he sailed for Malaga, Algiers, Tangier, and Lisbon, and on 13 April, 1662, started from the Tagus with Queen

[1] *The following extracts from this patent will show how high the style was, if not very classical:—*

Cum nihil majus muniat magisque illustret regale solium quam ut nobiles militent aut milites nobilitentur; cum que prædelictus et perquam fidelis consiliarius noster Edward Montagu . . . . genus virtute superans postquam summam totius classis Anglicanæ gubernationem ante divisam adeptus esset propter egregiam indolem, et solus et admodum adolescens, arrepta ansa ita nautarum sensim animos inflexit ut marinam feritatem (!) exuerint, et in obedientiam pristinam singulari nostri amore incredibili voluptate redierint: interim in fluxu maris, contribuente non parum refluxui terrarum regnorum trium, . . . unde præfatus consiliarius noster retulit naves, retulit portus, retulit maria, altera regna, nos demum et charissimos fratres nostros retulit acceptos Skevelings Hollandicis in regiam classem jubilantem et redditos Dorobernie duce scilicet et auspice Montacuto quod nulla ætas tacebit.

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Catherine of Braganza, to whom he had been married as proxy for his master. It seems curious that he should not have been inside the rail at the marriage of the King and Queen on 31 May at Portsmouth; but Lady Fanshawe does not mention him as one of those admitted to the upper part of the room (*Memoirs*, p. 99). In 1665 he won the battle of 3 June against the Dutch off Lowestoft, while serving as Rear-Admiral to the Duke of York. He sailed again in command of the fleet at the end of July, but returned home shortly afterwards, "to our great grief," Pepys notes, after failing in an attack on the Dutch vessels at Bergen on 2 August. Before September he was out once more, and on the third of that month he captured eighteen Dutch vessels; and having allowed his captains to open the cargoes of the prizes, and having himself appropriated silk, cinnamon, nutmegs and indigo to the value of £5000, according to Mr. Pepys' bargaining for him, he incurred the enmity of the Court and the suspicion of the country; and Pepys recorded at the end of the year that the great evil of it was "the fall of my Lord Sandwich, whose mistake about the prizes hath undone him, I believe, as to interest at Court, though sent for a little palliating it Embassador into Spain which he is now fitting himself for." On 6 December the Duke of Albemarle had surprised Pepys "with the news that my Lord Sandwich goes Embassador to Spain speedily," on which the shrewd Diarist comments, "though I know not whence this arises, yet I am heartily glad of it." The real nature of his appointment to Spain is discussed at pp. 239–43. Pepys[1] took leave of his lord at Windsor on 25 February, 1666, and Lord Sandwich sailed from Portsmouth on 3 March, reaching the Groyne (instead of San Andrea (Santander) as he had intended)[2] on 12—22 March, and Madrid on 28 May (*Memoirs*, page 193). There is an interesting account (probably written for the information of his family) of the journey through Spain to Madrid (during which he was once stopped by a sharp indisposition) among the Clarendon Papers in the Bodleian. As noted below, he seems to have treated Sir Richard Fanshawe with all courtesy and consideration in Madrid, and to have assisted Lady Fanshawe as far as in him lay, and especially by purchasing her household property. It does not appear from the public papers that he ever occupied the Siete Chimeneas House: he was located on arrival in the residence of the Marques of Santa Cruz, and like his predecessor was entertained for a time at the King's charge. His first private audience with the Queen Regent was on 6 June, 1666, and his first public audience on the 30th, four days after the death of Sir Richard Fanshawe. At first he found the Spanish Court as impracticable as ever, and at one time

[1] *At this time Lord Sandwich told Pepys, as he afterwards told Sir Robert Southwell, that he was the real author of the proposal to sell Dunkirk, which he considered useless as a naval station, and a great burden to the nation, but that he had wished to make the place over to Spain, not to France.*

[2] *The original proposal was that he should land at Cadiz, and Sir Richard expected him for some time from that side.*

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he proposed to offer them the same treaty as that negotiated by Sir Richard.[1] In May, 1667, however, he was able to effect a treaty of commerce with Spain, of which Lord Arlington wrote that it had been read in the Council "with universal applause and approbation, of which I give your Excellency *nova buena* with all my heart," and Pepys recorded that it was "acknowledged by all the merchants to be the best peace that ever England had with them," adding, "This I am mighty glad of, and it is the first and only piece of good news or thing fit to be owned that this nation hath done several years." At the same time, an agreement was made between England and Spain touching the cessation of arms between the latter and the *Crown* of Portugal (see Appendix IV), but this failed for the moment; and so little was success then expected from further efforts that letters of recall were sent to the Earl of Sandwich at the end of November, 1667. The difficulties raised on the side of Portugal were, however, diminished by the deposition of Affonso VI in the same month, and with the new year Lord Sandwich made a journey to Portugal, as Sir Richard Fanshawe had done two years before, arriving at Lisbon on 22 January, 1668, and on 13 February signing the peace there which Sir Robert Southwell conveyed to Whitehall on the 29th idem. The Ambassador Extraordinary returned to the Court of Madrid[2] in April, 1668, and left for Cadiz on 20 July, sailing from that port on 21 August. Visiting Tangier *en route*, he arrived at Spithead in the *Greenwich* frigate on 28 September. Like his predecessor in Spain, he had been put to great straits for money, a fact duly noted by his faithful relation, Pepys, and commented on by Lord Arlington; and early in January, 1669, he told the former that £8000 had been disallowed out of the £20,000 due to him for the expenses of his Embassy. In 1672 Lord Sandwich became President of the Board of Trade; and when the Dutch war broke out in that year he went to sea again, and was killed by the blowing up of his vessel, the *Royal James*, in the battle of Solebay, off Lowestoft, on 27 May, 1672. Among those who perished with him were his son-in-law Philip Carteret, married in August, 1665, to "my Lady Jem" of Pepys, and Sir Charles Cotterill (page 553). Sir Charles Lyttleton, writing to Lord Hatton early in June, recorded:—

"My Lord Sandwich's body was found last Tuesday at sea at least forty miles from the place of battle floating upon the water, and was known by the George and Star on him; though when he first came in it was easy enough to know him. He had in his pocket three rings, one a white sapphire with his crest and garter, and the most glorious blue sapphire I ever saw in my life. . . . He lies now in his coffin in my chapel with black bays over it, and some black

[1] *Pepys records on 29 January, 1667, that there had been a serious affray between the servants of Lord Sandwich and of the French Ambassador, and that two of the former had been killed and twenty-five of the latter.*

[2] *The old acquaintances of Sir Richard, the Duke of Marialva and Baron Batteville, went as Ambassadors of Portugal and Spain to Madrid and Lisbon.*

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bays and scutcheons round the chapel, which is all the ceremony this place will afford."

His character and achievements have been very variously judged, and with considerable disparagement by the author of the notice of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Evelyn, writing of him "as an incomparable person and my particular friend," describes him in the following terms, and it is not obvious why he should have recorded a false panegyric: "He was learned in sea affairs, in politics, in mathematics and in music; he had been on diverse embassies, was of a sweet and obliging temper, sober, chaste, very ingenious, a true nobleman, an ornament to the Court and his Prince; nor has he left any behind him who approach his many virtues." *Pepys' Diary* had been closed three years previously, and we have no account, therefore, from him of the death and funeral and character of his patron. He was buried on 24 June—3 July, in the same vault as the Duke of Albemarle in the south side chapel of the chapel of Henry VII, at Westminster Abbey: the account of the funeral procession shows that among the six banneroles were Mr. Samuel Pepys, Sir Charles Cotterill, and Sir Charles Harbord. His wife, who survived him two years, died at the house of her daughter, wife of Sir Richard Edgcumbe, at Cotehele (page 457). She was Jemimah, daughter of the first Lord Crew.

Page 187. § 2.

The *London Gazette* of 18–23 April, 1666, contained a letter of the 8th idem from Madrid to the effect that a royal coach, a litter, two saddle-horses, and two well-paced mules had been sent by the Queen to meet Lord Sandwich, and orders had been given for his courteous and civil reception everywhere. This, however, could not include bull-fights or comedies (!), as these were prohibited throughout Spain during the year of mourning for the King. It was added that "the English Ambassador's Lady, Daughters and attendants intend to set out the next week towards England. My Lord her husband stays behind, how long we know not." Lord Sandwich was detained at Coruña on account of plague in England till 27 April—7 May, and reached Madrid on 13—23 May. That a letter from Coruña should have reached Madrid under four days seems to be a very good performance. Sir Richard's letter of 30 March, however (p. 561), gives the date of arrival as the 29th.

Page 187. § 3.

In his letter of 1—11 April to the Earl of Sandwich, Sir Richard Fanshawe states that his wife was "taking her leave this very day of the Queen and Empress (and was) bound for England at her good old father's long importunities to have his dear daughter and all her children rest with him before he dies." This explains these leave-takings by Lady Fanshawe so early in April, so long before her husband was likely to be able to depart from the Court. She must have changed her intention very soon after this time, as

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Sir Richard wrote to Lord Sandwich on 2 May, 1666, that her departure from Madrid was suspended by her husband "upon an intimation given me by way of opinion from more than one person (who may know more certainly thereof than they will yet disclose) that your Excellency brings from his Majesty either letters of revocation or a command for me to go home, in which case it must be more comfortable and likewise better husbandry for us to go together, and therefore the certain knowledge thereof, Ay or No, will much import us both." It appears from official letters that she was again about to start early in June, when she was detained by her husband's sickness in that month, and that it was intended she should precede him to the northern port of embarkation.

Page 187. § 4.

From a letter of Sir R. Fanshawe to Lord Arlington, dated 7 April, 1666, it appears that Mr. Werden was detained at Chamartin, three miles north of Madrid, and that the Ambassador and Sir Robert Southwell took the air that way on the above date, and received the letters brought from Lord Sandwich "in an open place at a distance from his lodging first fumigated at the will of his landlord whose eye is to be constantly over him, as well to serve him (I presume) in what he may need as to keep him from spreading his contagion by unallowed accesses; for such only (it should seem) contaminates, their own subordinate ministers here going and coming hourly (I may now say) between him and the nearest and most assiduous about his Majesty's sacred person, the which nobody will doubt to be most tenderly and scrupulously regarded in whatsoever imaginable danger of that nature, or whatsoever else." Lord Sandwich subsequently sent his secretary, Doctor Taylor, to make further arrangements for his reception; but his arrival is not noticed by Lady Fanshawe, nor is his name on the list of the suite of the Ambassador Extraordinary.

Page 188.

Of the staff of Lord Sandwich various members are not unknown to fame. Sidney Montagu, his second son, is mentioned by Pepys on 20 June, 1664, as lately come out of France—"and a pretty youth he is, but not so improved as they give him out to be, but like a child still." Lord Sandwich sent him back to England in 1668, to raise £2000 for his expenses, of which Pepys contributed £500. From 1678 to 1715 he represented Huntingdon in Parliament, and afterwards Peterborough. He married the daughter of Sir Francis Wortley of Yorkshire, whose name he assumed, and died in November, 1727. His son married Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, great-granddaughter of Sir John Evelyn (whose younger child was second wife of Thomas, second Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore) and great-niece of the Earl of Kingston, who was with Viscount Evelyn Fanshawe at the time of his death.

Sir Charles Harbord (spelt Herbert by Lady Fanshawe and by others of

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that time) was the son of Sir Charles Harbord, Surveyor-General to the King. He had served with the Earl of Sandwich previously, and the latter wished him to be Treasurer for Tangier instead of Pepys, to the sad confusion of the Diarist. He was killed in the battle of Solebay on 27 May, 1672, perishing with his chief, to whom he was first lieutenant on the *Royal James*. The inscription on his grave in Westminster Abbey states "he (tho' he swome well) neglected to save himself as some did, and out of perfect love to that worthy soul whom for many years he had constantly accompanied in all his honourable employments and in all the engagements of the former war, died with him at the age of xxxii, much bewailed by his father, whom he never offended, and much beloved by all for his known piety, virtue, fortitude, and fidelity." He was only twenty-six, therefore, when he accompanied Lord Sandwich to Madrid in 1666.

Mr. William Godolphin, secretary to Lord Arlington, and by him lent to Lord Sandwich, was born in 1634, and was the great-grandson of Sir Francis, the builder of Star Castle, on St. Mary's Isle, Scilly, through his younger son, John, as Sidney, Earl Godolphin, born 1645, was through his elder son, Sir William. He became first Envoy Extraordinary and then Ambassador in Spain after the departure of the Earl of Sandwich, and on ceasing to be so in 1674, remained on in that country till his death in 1696, by reason of having joined the Roman Catholic Church. This change of church is noticed by the Ambassador from Morocco in the record of his travels mentioned at page 498. He is referred to below in connexion with the death of Sir Richard Fanshawe. Pepys records on several occasions how valuable the services of the secretary were to his lord, and what a high opinion the latter had of his assistant.

Mr. Cotterill, afterwards Sir Charles Cotterill, was son of the Master of Ceremonies at the Court. Mr. Werden's name appears often in Lord Arlington's letters as that of a bearer of State dispatches. The Mr. Shere of the MSS. of the *Memoirs* was, no doubt, Mr. Henry Sheres, or Shires, who, as we know from Pepys, accompanied Lord Sandwich to Spain, and who was in London on his lord's business and a good deal in Pepys' company during 1668–9. He brought the treaty of commerce signed by Lord Sandwich on 13—23 May, 1667, to Whitehall early in September; and writing of him on the 26th idem, Lord Arlington said, "He hath very diligently and discreetly acquitted himself of his commission, and will consequently be more worthy of your favour at his return." He gave Pepys a copy of Mariana's *History of Spain* in two volumes, and a silver candlestick of form seen in Spain to keep the light from one's eyes. He also gave him at the Mulberry Garden "an olio by a cook of his acquaintance that is with my Lord in Spain." Pepys left him a ring by his will. He served subsequently with Lord Dartmouth at Tangier, was knighted in 1685, when he served as Surveyor of the Ordnance in charge of the artillery at Sedgemoor, and died about 1713. (Mr. H. B. Wheatley's edition of *Pepys' Diary*.) The names of Mr. Moore and Mr. Gately cannot be traced in the records of the day. A Captain Ferrer, who was a sea captain, is often mentioned by Pepys, and Mr. William Ferrer is

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named as secretary at Lord Sandwich's funeral. Mr. Vallavin, also named there, was perhaps the Mr. Velleam of the *Memoirs*.

Page 189. § 2.

Don Diego Tinojo, or Tinoco, was, Major Hume informs me, a Portuguese gentleman of no particular mark. In the passage "*are* to return to Sicily," and in a few others in the *Memoirs*, e.g. "to whom he *is* affianced," on p. 176, Lady Fanshawe speaks in the present tense, as if she were quoting from letters or notes written at the time.

The description "*Her Excellency* Doña Maria" would seem to indicate the Duchess, but her name was Juana, and her daughter's was Ana. If the Duchess is meant, then the preceding Duchess in the text must be a mistake for Duke. "*His* voyage to that court" in this paragraph is apparently a transcriber's mistake for "*her* (the Empress's) voyage."

Pages 190 *and* 191. § 3.

The name of the Infanta was not Maria, but Margarita Teresa, the little lady of the Las Meninas. The Queen gave her precedence when receiving Sir R. Fanshawe and Sir R. Southwell, because the daughter then ranked as Empress. This interview is not mentioned in the public correspondence of the month. Archdeacon Coxe writes of her as Empress: "She was of a meek and humble disposition and chiefly distinguished for attention to her husband, and for skill and industry in working coverings of altar-pieces. She gained the affections of her husband by her domestic virtues and endearing attentions. She had a weak and sickly constitution,[1] and after bearing four children died in childbed in 1673 (March 12th)." She was actually married to the Emperor at Vienna on 5 December, 1666, and her first son was born on 30 September, 1667, when she was only fifteen years old. Her only surviving child, Maria, was married to Max Emmanuel, Elector of Bavaria; and their son, Joseph Ferdinand, was the Prince chosen under the first partition treaty of 1698 to succeed Charles II as King of Spain, but he died the following year.

Ocana (page 191, § 2) lies ten miles south-east of Aranjuez. Denia lies halfway between Valencia and Alicante.

The record of the journey of the Empress in the *London Gazette* is not a very happy one. She was detained at Denia awaiting arrival of the galleys to escort her till 15 July, and was then compelled by the general sickness there to remove from Barcelona. Among others who died during this part of the journey were the Countess of Benevente and the Mayor Domo of the Duke of Albuquerque. She left Barcelona and arrived at Final, west of Savona,

[1] *Though fourteen years old in* 1666, *she did not look eleven.* "*Sa taille petite et sa construction grêle portaient l'empreinte de la degeneration physique de sa race.*"

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towards the end of August, and was met there by the Duke of Savoy, and by the Spanish Governor of Milan, Don Luis Ponce de Leon. There also Cardinal Colonna died. Lady Fanshawe does not mention him among the Empress's escort, but a royal princess was always conducted by one spiritual and one temporal lord. Thence she proceeded in a sedan chair through Acqui and Alessandria to Milan, which she entered privately by torchlight procession on 11 September, and publicly with all pomp and circumstance on the 25th. The following is the account of her state reception given in the *London Gazette* of 18–22 October:—

"First marched the Marques de los Balbaces (Spinola), a Grandee of Spain and at present General of all the Milan cavalry, with a great number of officers, trumpets and led horses richly caparisoned, at the head of eight troops of cuirasseurs completely armed and habited with scarfs and feathers all of the same fashion and colour. After them a great company of private Lords, Knights, Counts, Marqueses, Dukes, and other persons of greatest quality very richly habited, mounted on excellent horses, who ride without any order of precedency in a confused heap attended by a great number of footmen in excellent variety of liveries. After them came the College of Jurists, the sixty decurions, all the officers of the long and short robe, with the magistrates, the Chief Justice, the whole Senate with the Swiss Guard, and then the Privy Council all on horseback.

"Then followed the Duke d'Albuquerque, a Grandee of Spain and Mayor Domo (Mayor) for the present to the Empress with the Governor on the left hand, immediately preceding the Empress, who was carried in an extraordinary rich and magnificent chariot made like an Imperial throne, having a canopy all the way carried over her successively by twelve Doctors of the Colleges of Jurists. After her chariot followed many rich coaches with six horses, and in them a great number of ladies richly covered with jewels to an infinite value. Next after them were led 37 mules with their sumpter cloths nobly embroidered with gold, of which 25 bore the arms of the King of Spain, the other 12 those of the house of Cueva de Albuquerque. The rear of all closed with several troops of horse.

"In this order after three salvoes from the ramparts with the like from the artillery of the Castle, she was received at the gate of the city under a triumphal arch by the Sieur Girolamo Visconti, the Vicar-General, who presented her with the cross which she kissed. Passing afterwards through the principal streets which were on both sides hung with tapestry, the citizens arranged on each side of the way in order, she arrived at the great church which was richly hung with tapestry of excellent work and lighted by an infinite number of tapers of white wax; where at the door she was again received by the Bishop and clergy of that Province, the Cardinal Litta, Metropolitan, being then absent. After the Te Deum sung with excellent music, and the usual service for such solemnities finished, the Empress returned to her chariot and in the same order as before went to the Ducal Palace, where the night approaching the windows were filled with infinite number of torches, as were

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also the streets through which she passed to the church. After which she was entertained with a Spanish comedy and a great banquet; that night and the two following being solemnised through the city with lights and bonfires with all possible testimony of joy."

The Empress left Milan (where the Spanish and Italian nobles were greatly offended by the high carriage and extraordinary gravity of the Duke of Albuquerque) on 10 October, had a splendid reception from the Venetian Republic at Brescia, and on 17 October reached Rovereto with her escort. The next day she was conducted to Mass by the Duke of Albuquerque, and in the evening received Prince Dietrichstein, "sitting under a canopy of state of crimson velvet, on her right hand attended on by her ladies and on her left by the Duke of Albuquerque. Near him the Prince taking his place the Secretary of the King of Spain read the contract of marriage, which ended, the Duke upon his knees kissed the Empress's hand and taking his leave committed his charge to the Prince. The Empress then rising up gave her hand to all her Spanish Train who with tears in their eyes took their leave; and a little after rising to her closet gave there her last and private audience to the Duke of Albuquerque. After which he left the city with his whole train and lodged that night in a village near it in order to his return. The Empress preparing the next day to go forwards for Trent."

Escorted by the Prince and Cardinal d'Harach she reached Ebersdorf on 2 December, and was married to the Emperor in the Church of the Augustins in Vienna on the 5th idem. In the January following the *Gazette* recorded the divertisement of the Emperor and Empress on the ice, escorted by seventy-six sledges.

Page 190. § 2.

On the 18—28 April Sir Richard wrote to Lord Arlington: "Upon the 25th instant S.N., being Easter Day, having had notice from the Master of the Ceremonies that I was to give the Queen the Buenas Pascuas that afternoon at three of the clock, but not to take any notice of the Empress's marriage (which was to be secretly an hour afterwards, the Duke of Medina de las Torres being his Imperial Majesty's proxy), and for that end to visit upon the Queen in my long mourning, I did accordingly; and after the function was over planted myself in the way to see the manner of the Duke's passing to the Palace, which was thus." Then follows a description similar to that in the *Memoirs*, the narrative in which was clearly taken from Sir Richard's letter. The marriage was not perhaps viewed by the English Crown with any particular satisfaction, as the King had instructed Sir Richard Fanshawe to let the Duke of Medina de las Torres know "how little compliment or friendship we received from (the Emperor) when we were abroad, and how he hath abstained since our return home to send us any congratulatory Embassy or message, in which point no other Prince or State of Christendom hath been defective to us." An Envoy of the Emperor seeking aid against the Turks was in London in May, 1664.

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The Duke of Pastrana, head of the illustrious family de Silva, was Don Rodrigo de Silva y Mendoza, fifth holder of that title, eighth Duke of Infantado and Lerma, and fifth Prince of Eboli. He was born in 1614 and died in 1675. He was member of the Councils of State and of War, and was at one time Mayor Domo Mayor to the Queen Maria Anna. He was married to Doña Catalina de Mendoza y Sandoval.

Page 192.

In a letter of the following day Sir Richard Fanshawe noted that the Empress had carried off in her train on 18—28 April "so vast a treasure in money plate and jewels (as) in that respect will much enfeeble this summer's campaign against Portugal." His old acquaintance at Cadiz, the Duke of Albuquerque, was appointed in August, 1665, to be Conductor of the Empress only after much consideration, and then "with considerable mercedes y ajudas de costa," though he would seem to have been a much richer man than his master the King. Eighteen months previously, in January, 1664, Sir Richard, reporting that the Infanta was to be sent in the spring to her Imperial Crown, noted that the Duke of Cardona was to be her conductor, the Dukes of Alba and Montalto having refused the office. The Ambassador tells an amusing story of him that before consenting he demanded to be made a Grandee of Spain ("and His Excellency is so I take it 3 or 4 times over"), to have the Toison ("he has it long since"), and to be treated by the Conde de Chinchon with "Excellency"!

The Atocha Church (Basilica de Nuestra Señora de Atocha), lying to the south of the Buen Retiro Park, contained one of the most sacred images in all Madrid, and the Court often had recourse to the church on state and private occasions. The present structure was built only ten years ago, and is still incomplete. The Marques de Salinas del Rio Pisuerga was a nobleman of recent creation of the family of Velasco, of which the Duke of Hijar was the head, and perhaps a brother of the Marques of San Roman. The Condesa de Benevente was the wife of the twelfth Count Don Francisco Pimentel de Quinones y Benavides, a nobleman of Portuguese origin, who was Sumiller de Corps in 1699. The Counts of Benevente held large estates in Estremadura. This luckless lady died before her mistress left Spain for Italy and Vienna (see p. 554 above).

Page 193. § 3.

There is no village called Salva Tierra in the neighbourhood of Madrid. Major Martin Hume conjectures that the place visited by Lady Fanshawe was one belonging to the Duke of Alba, whose son bore the title of Conde de Salvatierra.

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Page 193. §§ 4–6.

Lord Sandwich, in his letter of Thursday, 24 May—3 June, from Madrid, to Lord Arlington, reports: "We came on Friday morning last to the Pardo where Sir Richard Fanshaw, Sir Robert Southwell, and the conductor of the Ambassadors met me and conducted me that evening to a good house in this town belonging to the Marques of Colares, where I have been ever since handsomely entertained at the King's charge." On Tuesday, 1 June, Sir Richard wrote requesting a *private* audience for the Ambassador Extraordinary (his letter is in the Heathcote MSS.), and this was granted on Sunday, 6 June, as Sir Richard, writing on Wednesday 9th, *stilo loci*, records that it had taken place "upon Sunday last."[1] Lady Fanshawe was therefore mistaken in referring it to the Sunday after 9 June (see note), i.e. Whit Sunday, 13 June, upon which, according to the note added to the *Memoirs* by her, her husband received Holy Communion for the last time. On that day Lord Sandwich and his train came to visit her, and Sir Richard entertained them all in honour of the birthday of the English King according to the modern way of reckoning. The private audience was sought before the public because it could be granted with less preliminary formalities, and the Ambassador Extraordinary hoped to gain something by it which would enable him to send Sir Robert Southwell with some sort of message back to Portugal, where his presence was much needed. In his letter above referred to Lord Sandwich added: "Being informed by Sir Richard Fanshawe that it was known in this town that I brought letters of revocation for him, and being very much pressed by him to give a positive answer whether I had any such letters or no, and also upon all the circumstances I have been able to gather and learn in this place judging it for the King's service that he return upon his repeated desires, I delivered to him the said letters." And to his letter of 2 June Sir Richard added a postscript: "My Lord Sandwich hath delivered me a letter of revocation directed from His Majesty to the Queen Regent (whereunto I humbly submit), also another very gracious one to myself (which hath highly comforted me), also one from your Lordship exceedingly obliging." Lady Fanshawe tells us that

[1] *Sir Richard wrote of this interview and his plans as follows: "In compliance with this" (intimation of ready assistance to my Lord Sandwich) "I had the honour upon Sunday last to introduce and accompany His Excellency in his first audience with the Queen Regent, which was a private one by His Excellency's desire to make way for a conference or conferences upon the main affair in the interim that he is preparing for a public audience, whereby to lose no time in so precious a conjuncture for ceremonies. Next I intend to accompany His Excellency to his public one, which it is hoped may be some day this week. . . . That public function performed with my Lord of Sandwich and my own leave-taking within a day or two after, I reckon I shall have no more to do in this court, but only to conclude my preparations for my journey which (God willing) I propose to begin some day the next month."*

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the letters[1] were delivered on the 29th, the day after that of Lord Sandwich's arrival at Madrid. It has not been possible to find the King's letter in the public records; Sir Richard's acknowledgment of this to His Majesty dated Thursday, 3 June, was as follows:—

"May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,

"By the hands of my Lord of Sandwich, who arrived in this Court upon Friday last, was delivered to me a letter of Revocation from Your Majesty, directed to the Queen Regent; and at the same time another, with which Y^r^ Majesty honoured me for myself, implying the principal, if not the only, motive, of the former to have been some exceptions that had been made to the papers which I signed with the Duke of Medina de las Torres, upon the 17th of December, last past.

"[2]A consideration sufficient to have utterly cast down a soul less sensible, than hath ever been mine, of Your Majesty's least show of displeasure, though not accompanied with other punishments, if Your Majesty, according to the accustomed tenderness of y^r^ Royal disposition, in which you excel all monarchs living, to comfort an old servant to Your Majesty, had not yourself broken the blow in its descent by this gracious expression in the same letter; that I may assure myself that Your Majesty believes I proceeded in the articles signed by me, as aforesaid, with integrity and regard to y^r^ royal service, and that I may be farther assured the same will justify me towards Y^r^ Majesty, whatever exceptions may have been made to my papers.

"In obedience to Your Majesty's letter above mentioned, I make account, God willing, to be on my way towards England some time next month; having in the interim, performed to my lord Sandwich, as I hope I shall to full satisfaction, those offices which Y^r^ Majesty commands me in the same; whose royal person, council, and undertakings God Almighty preserve and prosper many years; the daily fervent prayer of

"Your Majesty's ever loyal subject, ever faithful, and most obedient servant,

"RICHARD FANSHAWE."

The following paragraph between the first and second paragraphs of the above letter as first drafted was removed by the writer, who probably considered that he ought not to enter on any defence of himself in a letter to his sovereign:—

[1] *Regarding the letters of revocation Mr. Godolphin wrote to Lord Arlington from Portsmouth on* 1 *March*, 1666: "*The only question (Lord Sandwich) hath yet asked me concerning my business was whether His Majesty's letter of revocation to Sir Richard Fanshawe was shown to the Council or not, which I could not resolve him, but told him that I had a copy of it and he would find it such as would be most proper for the occasion.*"

[2] *Sir Richard Fanshawe wrote in the margin of the rough transcript:* "*Relating to the commerce of this Crown, and the establishing a truce between these and Portugal.*"

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"I do further (upon so royal a foundation, and having understood from my Lord Sandwich the particulars of those exceptions which were made by my Lords) promise myself that upon my arrival in England I shall produce such expresse warrant backt with reasons for my Actings in many things of greatest importance, so far as I did act therein (there being much to be replyed upon that point to what these ministers objected to mee at my returne out of Portugal,—since by themselves retracted both to me and others) as will in that behalfe render mee excusable at least with their Lopps likewise."

As shown in Appendix IV, the recall of the Ambassador was probably inevitable, but certainly he was not well treated in the manner of it. He had been informed by Lord Arlington's letter of 4 November, 1665, that the King had decided to send "Sir R. Southwell, one of the clerks of the Council, an ingenious young gentleman," as a private envoy to Portugal. Five weeks later he had been informed by a letter, dated 10 December, that Lord Sandwich would be sent to Spain with all possible expedition to *assist* him in the quality of Extraordinary Ambassador, and that he would bring a treaty of commerce "that you may *together* finish it there."

No intimation that he was or would be recalled was ever made to him, and writing on 3 May, 1666, to Sir Philip Warwick, he stated he had "not heard one word from any minister of our Court for the space of above seven weeks last past," adding that he knew not how his money difficulties would permit him to leave the Court, "if such should be His Majesty's orders of revocation," and this was so, though on 4—14 April (Carte MSS., Lord Sandwich correspondence 75, fol. 426) Lyonel Fanshawe had tried to ascertain from Sir Charles Harbord whether "my Lord Sandwich brings letters of revocation for my Lord," (as) "if it be true my Lord either doth not know it or is willing I should be ignorant of it. . . . You cannot imagine how much it imports my own particular to know whether my Lord Ambassador Extraordinary brings such orders for my Lord Ambassador here or no; and something more in respect of my Lady's resolutions to depart within a very few days this Court for England, where my small affairs may be the better disposed by such directions as I may give therein by this sure conveyance," but had failed to elicit any reply.

Sir Richard was thus in suspense up to the last moment as to whether he was recalled or not, and indeed it was left discretionary with the Earl of Sandwich to deliver the letters of revocation to him. This was scarcely fair and honourable treatment, though only such as seems to be so regarded in diplomatic life in all countries and all ages. His own conduct in these circumstances was that of the true gentleman, which he undoubtedly was. He clearly repressed the indignant outpourings of his wife upon the mission of the Earl of Sandwich. He wrote to the Duke of Medina de las Torres from Benevente on 21 February, 1666, that he could not count the news of the mission as bad because the Earl was his very good friend, and because he held it for certain that His Majesty had "taken this resolution in order by the talents and rank

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of the new Ambassador to bring quickly to an end some great negotiations of importance, and also to show how greatly he esteems the persons and desires the friendship of the Catholic Sovereigns. One thing," he added, "I confess will grieve me, and that is if there is any omission in giving the Count as hearty reception at Madrid as I had upon coming into Spain, and more, if more is possible, since on the one hand I have certain information that it will be noticed in England, and on the other any failure herein might by malevolent and mistaken persons be imputed to me."

On receipt of news of the arrival of the Earl of Sandwich at Coruña, Sir Richard Fanshawe wrote to him as follows on 30 March:—

"Yesterday arrived the welcome news of your Excellency's safe arrival at Coruña, whereof I give myself the joy, wishing it may prove as happy and auspicious to your Excellency as it doth to me. All that is in my power with this Court to contribute towards a full understanding of the particular high value the King our master sets upon this crown, and upon the Royal person of her Catholic Majesty, in sending an Ambassador hither at this time so superlatively qualified in all parts, also towards the disposing them here to a reception of your Excellency correspondent on their part to those eminent qualifications, I performed by letter from Portugal whence I am lately returned, and in the borders whereof I received the first advice of your Excellency's designation this way, as likewise in person since my arrival here, much the sooner upon the expectation whereby to receive in due time his Majesty's commands to me by and in reference to your Excellency, and yr. Excellency's own personal commands, the which next to the former will ever be binding to, my Lord, yr. Excellency's most faithful and ever most obedient humble servant,

"RICH. FFANSHAW."

To which the writer added in a postscript: "I hope your Excellency will think of some command to advance to me before I have the honour to see your Excellency." This letter was crossed by one of the same date from Lord Sandwich to Sir Richard, dispatched from Coruña, in which the Ambassador Extraordinary, after dwelling on the importance of concluding his negotiation by an early date, and the consequent desirability of as speedy a meeting as possible with the latter, added: "I desire you to present my most humble service to my noble Lady, and that you would believe that I come with that respect and resolution of doing you a service, and of expressing myself upon all occasions, your Excellency's most humble servant, Sandwich." Further kindly compliments were exchanged when Sir Richard, on 1—11 April, informed Lord Sandwich that his wife was shortly leaving for England, and the Earl replied from his quinta (garden) near Coruña, on 9—19 April: "It is my great misfortune that I am like to miss the happiness of kissing my good lady's hand at Madrid, to whom my wife and I are so infinitely obliged." (This would seem to point to some intercourse of the families at Lincoln's Inn Fields.)

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Page 194. § 1.

Among the last letters which Sir Richard wrote was one of the date 30 May—9 June to Lord Arlington upon his marriage. The letter runs thus:

"My Lord, I congratulate very heartily your Lordship's marriage (whereof all diurnals are full, and therefore it may be taken notice of) with so fair, virtuous and noble a Lady as Madam Beverward, the memory of whose father no man living reverences more than I, having many competitors therein.

"In the same congratulation with like reality of joy joins with me my wife, as having had sometime the honour to be personally known to and in some degree favoured by her Ladyship, both of us rejoicing the more and taking it for a good omen of both your favours and correspondence to us in the future that the marriage was celebrated in our own particular county of Hertfordshire. So with both our services to your Lordship and my Lady Arlington (wishing you long and happy life together with a numerous and flourishing posterity), I remain my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and ever most obedient humble servant,

"RIC. FANSHAWE."

Lord Arlington married, in April, 1666, Isabella von Beverweert, daughter of Louis of Nassau, Lord of Auvuquerque, and sister of the wife of the gallant Ossory. Her mother was the daughter of Count Horn. Lady Arlington is unfavourably known as an actor in the shameful comedy by which Louise de Keroual became mistress of Charles II.

Page 194. § 2.

The illness and death of Sir Richard Fanshawe are fully mentioned in the correspondence of the time. On Thursday, 17 June, Lyonel Fanshawe wrote to Mr. Joseph Williamson that his Lord had "been taken with a very sharp fit of sickness two days since and (was) not yet able either to write or dictate a letter himself"; and again on Wednesday, 23 June,[1] he wrote that Sir Richard had had almost "a constant fever which hath brought him to an extreme of weakness; but yesterday and to-day he hath found himself somewhat better, and his physicians give us hopes that the danger is past." On the latter date, writing to Lord Arlington, Lord Sandwich said: "Now every day I look for the Queen's commands to have my public audience . . . and my Lord Fanshaw hath two or three days since fallen sick, being struck with a cold air as he was sleeping in a chair bareheaded, and if a day or two would restore his health I should be glad of his company for my introduction." Sir Richard had no doctor on his staff, but no doubt he had the advantage of the

[1] *On 22 June there was visible at Madrid an eclipse of the sun, of which the Earl of Sandwich took observations, afterwards published in the "Philosophical Transactions" of the Royal Society. The duration of the eclipse is said to have been from* 5 *o'clock to* 7.5 *a.m.*

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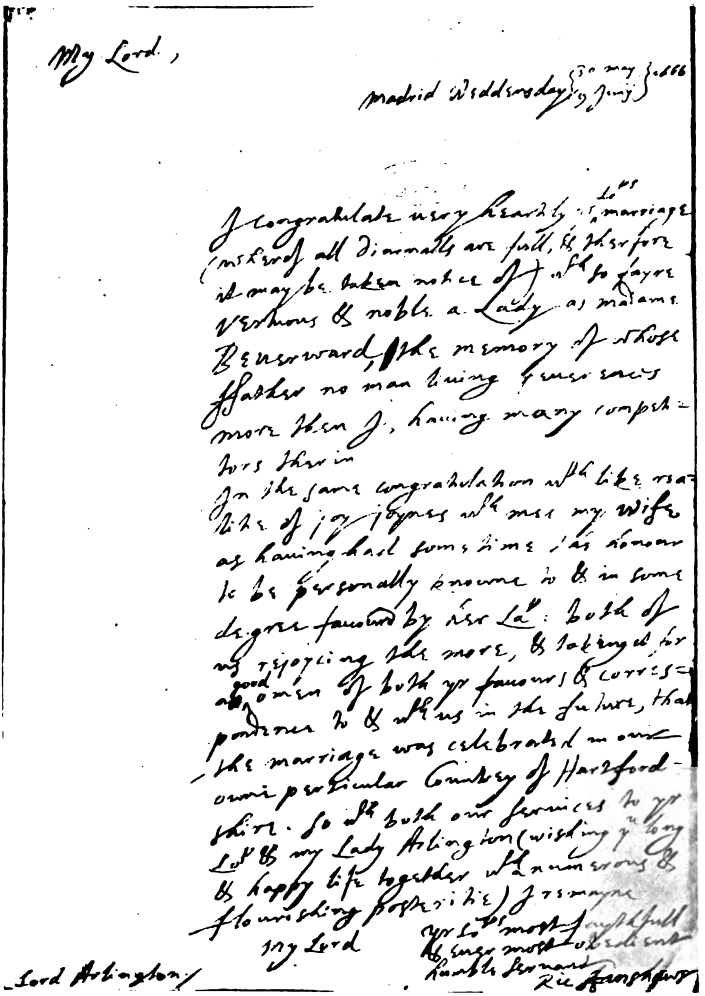

My Lord,

Madrid Wednesday 30 may/9 June 1666

I congratulate very heartily ye Lds marriage (wch ever all Diurnalls are full, & therefore it may be taken notice of) wth to ye Vertuous & noble a Lady as Madame Beneward, ye memory of whose Father no man living ever more then I, having many compliments therein

In ye same congratulation wth like reason like of joy rejoyces wth mee my Wife as having had some time ye honour to be personally knowne to & in some degree favoured by ye Ld: both of wch rejoycing ye more, & taketing for good omen of both yr favours & courtesy-pondence to & wth us in ye future, that ye marriage was celebrated in our owne particular Country of Hartfordshire. So ye both our services to yr Ld & my Lady Arlington (wishing yr long & happy life together wth numerous & flourishing posterity) I remayne

My Lord

Yr Ld most faithfull & very most obliged humble Servant

Ric Fanshawe

Lord Arlington

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER OF SIR R. FANSHAWE, JUNE, 1666

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services of the chirurgeon on that of Lord Sandwich (*Memoirs*, p. 188): the Spanish doctors of 1666 were probably not a whit better than those so severely handled by Mons. Gil Blas.[1] But there was to be no restoration of health—the hopes of the physicians were never to be fulfilled; and on Thursday, 1 July, Lord Sandwich had to write: "The conclusion of this is tragical, it having pleased God to take my Lord Ambassador Fanshawe out of this life on Saturday last, the 16—26 instant, about 11 o'clock at night. I was in his embraces in the evening when his hands were cold and his life hastening to expire, yet had he perfect sense: he most Christianly submitted to God's will, expressed great love and fidelity for his prince, and resisted temptation from the people of this" (the Roman Catholic) "religion who did press upon him more than was fitting in that hour of parting. He is universally lamented here as a good and worthy person. His afflicted Lady and family intend speedily to go hence with his body towards Bilbao (as I hear reported) and so embark for England, great objects for his Majesty's compassion and favour." And the Secretary to the Ambassador Extraordinary, Mr. William Godolphin, wrote on the same date: "On the 6—16 June Sir Richard Fanshaw took his bed of a fever, which grew daily more violent upon him, and on Saturday last the 16—26 about 11 at night died. My Lord Sandwich and I took our leave of him that evening. He was very weak, and said but little but of his submission to the will of God, continued his senses to the last moment with great patience and piety, only lost his speech about two hours before his death. His body is embalmed, and my Lady carries it with her into England. He was a very worthy honest gentleman, and his life and death an example of great virtue and religion."[2] The news of Sir Richard's death reached Lord Arlington on 18 July. Poor Lady Fanshawe was too proud and too indignant at the treatment of her husband to say any such thing in the *Memoirs;* but there seems little doubt that the blow of his recall prevented him from rallying from his illness. Sir Robert Southwell, who had already become much attached to him, wrote to Lord Arlington on 22 June: "My Lord Fanshawe is lately fallen ill of a sharp distemper, and he's very sick and weak. The Spanish doctors doubt him much, and I fear he has taken something dearly to heart" (three days previously he had written that he had sent a small present "by a sooner conveyance I suppose than my Lady Fanshawe who now stops on the sickness of Sir Richard, who poor gentleman is extremely weak and I fear not out of the last danger"), and a Mr. Humphrey Colston writing on 6 July, 1666, from Malaga to Mr. Joseph Williamson observed: "You will have heard how it hath pleased God to take away Sir Richard

[1] *Dr. Taylor, of Lord Sandwich's staff, writing to Lord Arlington on 23 June, noted: "My Lord Ambassadour Ffanshawe hath binne in a very dangerous fever this* 10 *daies and continues as yet very ill."*

[2] *Godolphin went on to ask for the post of Latin Secretary, vacant by the death of Sir Richard, and added: "That upon his deathbed he expressed a desire that I might succeed him."*

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Fanshawe; the vulgar say he broke his heart."[1] It is pleasing to find Sir Robert Southwell writing of him to the widowed lady on his return to Madrid in October, 1666, that the sight of that place did "very sensibly renew the grief I sustained for my dear Lord Fanshawe so eminent a subject of his majesty and so worthy a friend to myself. It is true I had eased somewhat my mind in contemplation of his happiness and that the virtues he died withal had conveyed him to that rest which God Almighty provides for those who give so happy an account of their lives." And Lord Chancellor Clarendon, writing to the Earl of Sandwich, from Worcester House, on 7 August, 1666, recorded: "I do exceedingly lament the death of the Ambassador who if near forty[2] years conversation hath not much deceived me was as honest a man as I ever knew; and if he were a weak man it was only with reference to this ripe age in which we live, when a kind of enthusiasm possesses us with clear notions of the universal interests at first sight. I would be glad for his sake to hear from you how he did excuse those oversights in the treaty which he could not but confess." (Bodleian Carte MS., 75, Fol. 473.)

The lines added to the MSS. by Lady Fanshawe in her own handwriting are somewhat pathetically taken from Sir Richard's translation of the ninth ode of the fourth book of Horace. They do not appear in the editions of 1829-30. It seems strange that John Evelyn's Diary should contain no notice of the death of his cousin, which Mr. Samuel Pepys duly recorded.

With Lady Fanshawe's pathetic prayer on the death of her husband may be compared that of Lady Mordaunt upon the similar sorrow of her life in 1675 (Diary published by the Earl of Roden, 1856). The phonetic spelling of the two ladies is very equally matched in its wonderful vagaries. "Trubell ocationed to (Lord Mordaunt) by Mr. Taler" (p. 455) may serve as a sample of the latter's handiwork. A nuncupative will of Sir Richard Fanshawe attested by Lyo. Fanshawe and Francis Cox (whose name, however, does not occur in any of the Madrid papers of the time) was registered at Somerset House, and execution of it was granted to Lady Fanshawe on 2 March, 1667. According to it Sir Richard left all that he had to dispose of to his "deare and loveing wife Dame Ann Fanshawe," and made her full and sole executrix.

[1] *The "London Gazette," No. 70, of 12–16 July, recorded under its Madrid news: "The 26th instant died here Sir Richard Fanshawe, Knight, Ambassador for the King of England, after a violent fever of ten or twelve days, much regretted by this Court, in which he had justly acquired the esteem of a person of great worth and honour"; and the issue No. 75 added under the date of 15 July, Madrid: "The 4th instant the Lord Ambassador Fanshawe's body, embalmed, with a great part of his family, went hence for Bilboa, his Lady, children and train following the 8th."*

[2] *"Near forty years" would take the Lord Chancellor back nearly to 1626. This would seem to show that he and Sir Richard Fanshawe were acquainted when they were students at the Middle and Inner Temples respectively. Hyde's grandfather, it may be noted, was an Auditor in the Exchequer, and the Hyde and Fanshawe families may therefore have been long acquainted.*

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Page 196. § 3.

The sermon preached by Mr. Bagshawe on the occasion of the funeral service of his patron was published by him in the following year with a prefatory letter "to the Honourable my Lady Fanshaw, the widow of his late Excellency my Lord Ambassador Fanshawe," from which the following extracts are taken. It may be noted here that Faithorne's engraving of Sir Richard was prefixed to the sermon. If that engraving was taken from any picture, the picture is no longer known to the family.

"I should not here be willing to waken your griefs, nor recall to your remembrance past accidents, were I not sufficiently convinced of your Faith in an affliction. This is the school wherein you have been long with my Lord bred up; but whereas it might be imputed to the strength of your love that you could with him govern all other misfortunes, it must be now merely ascribed to the strength of Religion that you can without him conquer the last. A severe Blow I sensibly felt by lookers-on, but much more by yourself that placed all your glory in his life; and yet to be able to kiss the rod in all tenderness of passion which both your sex and affection had raised, this argues a high temper of a christian, and makes me doubt which is greater, your loss or your constancy in bearing it. Yet that courage you show in suffering is not more eminent than the nobleness of your cares; which as they signally appeared in my Lord's lifetime, so afterwards in your performance of all rights [*sic*] to his body, when you bore along through strange lands that image of sorrow as if you would have an exercise of y^r^ love and your patience together. This was a travel[1] taught Friends grief, and Enemies, reverence; when they reflected upon the greatness of the Person there represented, and the piety of the Conveyer; that the wisdom of a State should be shut up in a hearse, and the joys of y^r^ Ladyship there enclosed. But there are other particulars I could mention, wherein you are as nearly concerned; for, whatever praise is due to a devout Life, to an exemplary Discipline, to a loyal Love, to a resolute Faith, that of y^r^ Ladyship may justly challenge; of all which, I could give the world pregnant proofs, but that I know, as it is the comfort of your grief to read my Lord's character, so it is the affliction of y^r^ virtue to read your own."

The passages subjoined are taken from the sermon.

"Shall I here represent before you his birth, his Learning, his Travels, the Reverence of his Age, and the like? These were all ornaments that belonged to him, and yet the least of his praise.

"The Nobleness of his birth was a good he little valued; nay, he strove to hide it with dignity acquired; as desiring to be begotten anew by Virtue, and thence receive his honor, which the fortune of birth lazily bestows——

[1] *Poor Lady Fanshawe's sad journey recalls that of Juana, the mother of Charles V, with the body of her husband, which forms the subject of Dias's pathetic picture.*

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"His Learning, as it was great and choice, so he used it only as a Servant to higher ends; bare Knowledge he never doated on; nor wit his knowledge was set off with, but as they both conduced to practice; the one as the height, the other, as the Edge of his Actings.

"His Travels, considered in themselves, were common to him with others; but the management of those travels was peculiar to him, and therefore may give him a Property in Fame. For they were *so many* victories over the times and the vices of those Kingdoms he lived in; the knowledge he had of the world's frauds, never byassed his Soul, nor could his sight of Sin in its several Shapes bend him from Noble Designs; Who was such a follower of Virtue, that he learnt from bad Customes a stricter practise of it; such a Lover of Truth, that he (who was Master of Foreign Languages) yet taught those Languages to speak it. A strange Current this! that has passed through several Lands, and yet received no Taint from the Soil, nor ever travelled from his own Nature.

"Lastly, The Reverence of his Age, and the Dignity of Grey Heirs [*sic*], these were a Grace indeed to his Person, but a Grace of itself not to be prized; for it is an effect of Time, Folly as well as Wisdome may partake of; but in him Age created Respect, because it showed a Head that Crown'd it: 'Twas like an old Monument, that has Noble Acts written upon it, and so becomes Honourable for that History. Therefore passing by these Qualities, give me leave to go higher, and consider him in a threefold Capacity.

"As a Subject.
"As a Public Minister.
"As a Christian.

"1. *As a Subject.* Still times may prove happy to a State, but not glorious to the Liver: they are dead calms, wherein the courage and fidelity of the Subject cannot move; but Heaven had ordered a Tryal of his Loyalty in such an age, wherein Loyalty seemed a Crime; when Rebellion looked gay with success, and Sacrilege had Providences to gild it; yet ran he then constantly the hazards of his Prince, and Triumphed in an afflicted cause; as seeing Heaven's Justice through the blackness of its course, Earth's sin through its prosperous Usurpation. Such services (without worldly hope to allure) could have only pure Conscience for their Principle; and it was the bare right of his Master, joined with a love to the Owner, made him digest all the misfortune. But flattering Arts and cunning Practices were far from the temper of this Person, who had a Brest large and open, made indeed to hide his Master's secrets, but not to dissemble his own Principles; whence he manifested them in the lowest Extremes, sticking to the Crown, when it lay in dust, and following the Sun in its Eclipse, which the multitude adores for its Beams. When he had thus recommended his Duty, none could justly envy him in his Princes's height he should partake of that Influence.

"2 *As a Public Minister.* Which office he began betimes, and rose by steps to the highest Honours of Employment; yet he never altered his course

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in his manage of Affairs: Justice and Integrity were Notions fixed and rooted in his Soul, no bribe could enter that Room; for it was before richlier filled, and Honesty kept the key; so that with the same truth he tied himself to the business of his Prince, as he did to his Fortune. What Trust he had in the World three Courts can witness; how well he managed it, they may equally proclaim; for the general good was his aim, and thither he directed all his Endeavours. I need not mention the care he had of his Charge; for that was a work of his Nature, nor the exactness of his performance, for that was an ordinary effect of his Wisdom; but give me leave to declare to you the clearness of his designs in all his Undertakings, who never studied Self to enrich, but only Self to Command: His whole Treaty of Commerce had nothing of Private Traffic; for his Soul was above Wealth, and he Nobly showed it, when he threw it away to preserve Kingdoms. To the Peace of Crowns he made his flight in this Embassy, and not to Merchandise, Peace the great gift of Heaven, and the Noblest Copy man has left him for imitation; It was this endeared his labours abroad; and with this he thought to magnify his Master at home, when the World should see (by that Mediation betwixt States) the goodness of our King, as in War they had felt the greatness of his Power. And what could be more Honour to a Prince, than the glory of saving with one hand, when the other Conquered; of settling Dominion in Princes, when he had broke it in States? The first work this one Minister endeavoured; the latter a whole Fleet served in: but though that good design of his for uniting Kingdoms (which he so lately ventured to procure with his own danger) be now frustrated by the prejudices of obstinate men, yet the fruit is not to himself: God looks on him as a Peace-Maker, and has accordingly bestowed his Reward.

"3. *As a Christian.* What the Graces of Christianity are, the Apostle describes, Gal. v. 22, 23, 'The fruit of the Spirit (says he) is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, faith, temperance; against such there is no Law:' And it were easy for me to make out, how in all these he excelled. Love ruled in him as the moving Principle, and joy as the attendant of his good actions; Peace was his end; Long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, were his Constitution; Temperance his Habit; and Faith in his God a Grace that sanctified all. In his last sickness (that came upon him with a severe Face, like Death's Herald, and therefore required as severe a Welcome) that Faith and Patience he had long before exercised, did then eminently shine. No groan, no complaint was heard to come from him; though he had a fire raging within, and Physicians, as Executioners, without him, Executioners I mean in their Tortures, though not in design: And when the Fatality of his Fever was told him, with what composedness of Spirit did he resign himself up to the Almighty! With what indifferency of eye did he look on, nay part with his dearest Friends! for his thoughts were carried upward to higher Relations: and drawing near his last (for I was an Eye-witness of all passages to his end) how readily did he make a good Confession: professing openly, he died in the English Faith,

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which no Son of our Church has more cordially Espoused; in the assurance of Everlasting Life which no martyr has more fully received; and then giving himself up wholly to prayers, he breathed away the whole time in such calmness of devotion, that you would think he was never versed in business of State, but only practised how to Die.

"God knows, I have not studied to devise him a Character; and you well know he needs none. Indeed the time, and the place, as well as the Subject, will not allow a Fiction: the time is a time of seriousness, and not of acting: the place is that of a Minister before God, and therefore a place for truth, and not for flattery: The Subject is a Subject of Worth, and not of Title; so that neither I can make, nor ought he to wear the vain Dress of a Counterfeit Fame.

"One thing I have omitted in this poor Description; which is the considering him in his Domestic Government; in the constant chastness of a Conjugal Love; (which was mutually answered to a height, and resembled the shine of two Tapers, lighted but with one flame) in the goodness of a Father's care, in the sweetness of a Master's rule: but I have purposely omitted it; as knowing 'tis too tender a Theme both for you to hear, and me to enlarge upon; and it would only serve to widen the Wound, which the intention of this Sermon is to close."

To this may be added the encomium contained in David Lloyd's *Memoirs*, of persons who suffered in the civil wars, and among them "the Honble. Richard Fanshaw, my lord's brother, bred in Cambridge, whereof he died Burgess, and at Court where he died a great minister. A gentleman of great and choice learning, and of a great wit appearing in the *Lusiad* and other poems as well originals as Translations,[1] to set off that knowledge, yet using both as they conduced to the higher ends of great business and honourable employments; the one as the weight, the other as the edge of his actions, in whom the Statesman saw the burial of the poet and orator, as Charles V assisted at his funeral. His travels were as many victories over the times and the vices of those places he lived in; no insight into the arts and intrigues of ill being able to bias his soul from its noblest design of Virtue, whereof he learned from bad customs the excellent practice, and of truth, which he taught all the languages he was master of (as an exquisite Latinist, as Englishman, a facile Italian, an exact Spaniard, a fluent Frenchman, and a skilful Portuguese) to speak; a strange current this that passing through several soils, yet received no taints from the several passages; nor ever travelled from his own nature. Having had the honour to serve His Majesty in his younger years with much fidelity and dutiful affection to his Person, which found his gracious acceptance, together with some encouragement from his own mouth to hope a new and a more fixed relation to him

[1] *Translations the argument of his ability as well as modesty, since no genius less than his that writ should attempt translation, though "few but those who cannot write translate." J. D. in "Tr. Il Pastor Fido."*

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in future; and having in times unhappy indeed to the State, but glorious to many good men (to whose abilities and integrities calms have been no trials) run all the hazards of his suffering master and his afflicted cause in the quality of his Secretary in Holland, France, Scotland, and what was more at Worcester, where he was wounded and taken Prisoner (such services without worldly hope to allure could have only good conscience for their principle; and it was the bare right of his master, joined with a love to the owner, and a belief of Providence made him digest all the misfortunes of an unhappy allegiance); having I say thus deserved of His Majesty in his afflictions, he knowing his abilities were as great as his merits advanced him at his Restoration to be one of the Masters of Requests; the great Ambassador of honour to woo his Queen in the Court of Portugal 1661–3, where he behaved himself with a great address; and of business to work his allies to a former peace by treaty of commerce in the Court of Spain 1664–5, where he managed things with great integrity, being so far above private advantages that he nobly threw away that wealth which others grasp at to preserve kingdoms, tying himself with the same truth to the business of his Prince, that he had done to his fortune at Madrid. He died July (26 June), 1666, leaving behind him the character—

"(1) Of as able a man as one grown studiously grey in Travel, Universities, and Courts, which infused into him whatever of excellence such eminent schools by long observation (could) teach so apt a scholar.

"(2) Of a plain heartedness dwelling in a breast and temper large and open, made indeed to hide his master's secrets, but not dissembling his own inclinations.

"(3) Of a great industry and patience whereof the whole course of his life is an argument, particularly his two journeys from Madrid to Lisbon and back again (to accommodate some jealousies) over so long a tract of ground in so short a time.

"(4) Of great exactness in all his addresses, observations and correspondences.

"(5) Of a sweet nature, a familiar and obliging humility, and a knowing and serious religion."

Page 197.

Sir Richard's body was transported to Bilbao from Madrid about 220 miles in ten days. Lady Fanshawe and her train took thirteen days to accomplish the same journey (page 199). The poor lady and her children must have found the travelling terribly hot in the first half of July. A pension of 30,000 ducats per annum would have been equivalent to £7500. That English sojourners in Spain were sometimes tempted to join the Roman Catholic religion is proved by the instances of Lord Cottington, Sir William Godolphin, and perhaps Lord Arlington. Lady Fanshawe's answer to the offer of the Queen Regent was worthy of her and of her husband.

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Page 198. § 2.

The Conde of Monterey was Don Juan Domingo de Guzman, the younger son of Don Luis de Haro, and the younger brother of the Marques de Liche, captive in Portugal. He was married to Doña Inez Alvarez de Toledo Fonseca Zuniga Azevido y Claerhoot, the heiress of Isabella de Zuniga, Countess of Monterey, and derived his countship from his wife, who was a famous court beauty of the day. He was Governor of the Spanish Netherlands for six years, and was, Bulstode writes in his *Memoirs*, "the best Governor I ever saw in them. He paid the soldiers ten months in the year, and kept the country in very good order, so that there was no fear of robbery; but it cost the lives of many men, as I have seen fifteen or sixteen hanging upon the canal betwixt Brussels and Willibrook." He died in 1716 at the age of seventy-nine. He and his brother were among the ablest men of the Spanish nation in their day.

Page 198. § 3.

The jewel of 2000 pistoles would have been of a value of a little less than £500, or one-fourth of that presented by the Queen Regent to Lady Fanshawe herself. The price realized by the horses and coaches, only £320, seems very small, the worst of the ten horses having cost as much as £30 (*Memoirs*, p. 219). They were valued, no doubt, by Sir Benjamin Wright and Mr. Goddard (p. 507). The sum claimed by Lady Fanshawe for her going to England from Madrid was £2000 (of which, however, only £1000 were passed), so that her statement that the sum of £1320, realized by her, was little enough for that purpose, must have been sadly true. According to her statement (*Memoirs*, p. 205), she had not 25 doubloons (£5) by her when her husband died, and he had been in considerable straits for money long before his death. At the time of his journey to Portugal he was compelled to inform Sir Henry Bennet on 14 January, 1666, that he had been obliged to borrow considerable sums in order to proceed there, "partly charging them upon my peculiar friends in England, and partly taking them up (more miraculously) upon my personal credit here," and to beg that a Privy Seal might be granted him for reimbursement on his bills with reference to this particular service.

Writing to the Lord Chancellor on 19—29 April, 1666, he further noted: "I am this day reduced to very great exigencies by the failing compliance in my payments due out of the Exchequer, which is much behindhand with me notwithstanding that (over and above my Lord Treasurer's universal justice and goodness in these like cases joined with something of partial indulgence to me) I have such subordinate friends in these relations (assisting me hitherto at pinches even beyond a cast of their office) as every public minister abroad must not hope for, nor I hold to forever: such is the diversion caused by the present wars or the customary fate of Ambassadors."

And on 3 May, 1666, we find him writing to Sir Philip Warwick that

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£2000 were due to him upon his ordinary entertainment, that he had been compelled to pawn and sell plate for his present necessities, and that he could neither subsist longer in the Spanish Court nor remove out of it if he were being recalled, "a thing intimated to me here by more than common persons." And had not his brother Turnor (Sir Edmund Turnor) advanced money to him before receiving his tallies, he would, he added, have been reduced to yet further extremities. Such was the fate of those who served King Charles II abroad.

Page 198. § 4.

When Sir Richard Fanshawe obtained possession of the Siete Chimeneas house it was noted in the newspapers of the day that upon the Venetian Ambassador's quitting there occurred an eclipse of the moon which had not been foretold in the Spanish almanacks, and that many wondered what ill this presaged to that Ambassador. It is permissible to wonder whether after she had got her death-wound in it (*Memoirs*, p. 166) Lady Fanshawe ever recalled this incident and the prognostication of evil attached to it.

Page 200. §§ 1–3.

Lady Fanshawe remained two and a half months in Bilbao, from 21 July to 3 October, probably awaiting her passports which she required for the journey through France, because of the war between that country and England which was declared on 10 February, 1666, and was carried on in desultory fashion till 24 August, 1667. The Duke of Beaufort, the son of the Duke of Vendome (whom Gabrielle Estrées bore to Henry IV), had been head of the French fleet since 1652, after an extraordinary life, which included participation in plots against Richelieu and Mazarin, imprisonment for a number of years, leadership of the Fronde as Roi des Halles, killing his own brother in a duel, and the like. For some years past he had been slowly creating a fleet at Toulon, and had made a not altogether successful attack with it on the Algerine pirates in 1664–5. At last, in 1666, he was able to sail through the Straits and proceed north with the intention of joining Du Quesne and the Dutch fleet against the English, but this junction was never effected. He was at Alicante on 9 May, landed his crews at Malaga in defiance of the orders of the Governor, reached Cadiz on the 22nd, and Lisbon on 8 June. In and off the Tagus he remained till July, and then proceeded to Vigo, and at the end of August, when all the fighting in the North Sea had long been over, to Rochelle. When war was declared between France and England, the Englishmen on his fleet refused to serve with him. It consisted of thirty-two men-of-war; but Consul Westcombe, like a true Englishman of the day, declared that "twenty English frigates would rout them all to pieces."

On 9—19 August, 1665, Sir Richard had reported that the Duke of Beaufort was drawing his fleet together near Cadiz, and had hazarded the conjecture that it would be used for the invasion of Flanders. In June, 1669, the Duke

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lost his life in an unsuccessful attempt to raise the siege of Candia. His body was never recovered from the enemy. The Duke was not at Lixa, the ordinary abbreviated form of then spelling Lisbon, in September, 1666, as stated by Lady Fanshawe, but at Brest. The Great Fire of London lasted from 2 September to 5 September.

As usual, Lady Fanshawe had an unhappy experience in her last sea voyage but one, taking three days to cover a distance of about ninety miles from Bilbao to Bayonne. She may be supposed, however, to have encountered the full force of the equinoctial gales of the Bay of Biscay on this occasion.

Page 200. § 2.

As it happens, Lady Fanshawe does not mention Lord Arlington until the close of the narrative of her residence in Spain, though as a matter of fact nearly all the official correspondence of Sir Richard, from the commencement of 1664 up to his death, had been with that statesman. As Harry Bennet he had been a favourite of Charles II, and secretary to the Duke of York during the exile, and having been knighted in March, 1657, at Bruges, was the same year sent as envoy to the Spanish Court, and was there till after the Restoration. At that time it must have appeared to most observers that Sir Richard Fanshawe was the more prominent person of the two, especially when he was chosen to complete the arrangements for the King's marriage; but Sir Henry Bennet was a favourite of the King's mistresses, and when the old Secretary Nicholas was compelled to resign in 1662 it was Bennet who was appointed Secretary of State and not Fanshawe, in spite of the promises of reversion still held out to the latter (*Memoirs*, p. 93). As such he had charge of the foreign affairs of England, and the dispatches written by him to the various ambassadors and envoys abroad show him to have been an excellent judge and skilful director in such matters. All the same, his personal knowledge of the Spanish Court, and personal views as to how things should be managed there, were probably quite as much a drawback as an assistance to Fanshawe in his work at it. Upon his being created Lord Arlington on 14 March, 1665, Sir Richard Fanshawe wrote him on 19—29 April, "taking occasion to congratulate with your Lordship (which I do from the bottom of my heart) the title so justly conferred by His Majesty upon you in part payment of your Lordship's constant loyalty and long service to his Royal Person and the Crown"; and the Ambassador's letter upon the marriage of the Secretary of State has already been given at page 562. At home he was the part author of the infamous Stop of the Exchequer (p. 590). In 1672 he received the Garter, and was raised to the rank of earl; two years later he was impeached, but the impeachment was allowed to drop. In the same year he resigned the post of Secretary of State to Sir Joseph Williamson, and became Lord Chamberlain, and eleven years after he died in retirement at Euston. He appears to have been well disposed towards Sir Richard Fanshawe, and to have given Lady Fanshawe substantial assistance (*Memoirs*, p. 202) in

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prosecuting her claims against the Crown after her husband's death. His signature appears on the reproduction of her claim at page 57.

Page 200. § 4; *and* 201. § 1.

Lady Denbigh was now dead, and her daughter, Lady Guildford, was principal lady to the Queen-Mother. Mr. Percy Church was Groom of the Chamber to Queen Henrietta Maria certainly as early as 1635, and perhaps earlier, Mrs. Lomas has kindly informed me. He was a Roman Catholic, and apparently had to leave the Queen's service in 1641. He was in Amsterdam in 1644: afterwards in Paris he was a general agent of the Queen for correspondence and other business; and was the depositary there of Sir Edward Hyde's letters[1] to Sir R. Fanshawe in 1659 (Heathcote MSS.). There are various letters of his to Secretary Nicholas in the Domestic State Papers, edited by Mrs. Everett Green. The Queen Dowager never did return to England, and was never able, therefore, to show kindness to Lady Fanshawe there. She died at Colombes of an overdose of opium on 9 September, 1669. A little while after settling in Paris she had taken under her protection the nuns of the Visitation of Mary near the Bastille, and in 1650 had settled there in a new convent at Chaillot, standing on the height on the north bank of the Seine a little to the east of the present Trocadero. John Evelyn visited the marshal's place in 1643 "and saw that gallant person, his gardens, terraces and rare prospects," and called at the convent in February, 1651; and his father-in-law Sir R. Browne wrote of it on 19 August in the same year:—

"The new nunnery in which our good Queen takes so much delight is that which was Marshal Bassompièrre's pleasant house upon the side of the hill at Chaillot at the end of the Queen-Mother's course, into which there are 10–12 nuns with an abbess transported from a nunnery (the *filiæ sanctæ mariæ*) near the Bastille, to which our Queen used to go when she left the Carmelites: for this house there has been between six thousand and seven thousand pistoles paid—it is not known by whom—and the Queen is the reputative foundress, under whose name it is dignified with the title and privilege of a royal foundation." The following witty lines upon the convent were written by Anthony Hamilton:—

"Par quel bizarre enchantement
La maison de feu Bassompiere,
Cet homme jadis si galant,
Est-elle aujourdhui le couvent
Qui recoit tout que la terre
A de plus digne et plus grand—
La mère de ce roi charmant
Que dans les dangers de la guerre

[1] *In one of these letters dated* 1—11 *October Hyde speaks of Church as "a very honest man and my particular friend," adding that he knew "his fidelity and diligence to be exemplary."*

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J'ai vue tranquille indifferent ;
Et sa sœur, cet astre naissant,
Que de la rebelle Angleterre
Sera quelque jour l'ornement."

The Princess Henrietta was formally admitted into the pale of the Roman Catholic Church in this convent and the Queen was constantly in retreat here, and many of her letters are dated from it, as others are from Colombes her chateau lying ten miles south of Paris on the Seine, where she died in 1669. Lady Fanshawe visited her at both places (*Memoirs*, pages 92 and 201): she spells the former Chaliot, and the latter Coombes. Henrietta Maria retreated to the convent as soon as the news of the probable restoration of her son reached her, and from there she wrote to him never to forget the friends of his father ; while from the chateau she wrote to the King on 9 June acknowledging his account of 26 May of his reception in Engiand, and saying she was going at once to the convent to have the Te Deum sung there. She had intended to retreat to Chaillot before her death, and her heart was buried there in September, 1669. The convent was afterwards much affected by Queen Mary of Modena, the wife of King James II, and both his heart and hers were interred in it, was also her body, to rest there until the restoration of her son. All these sad relics disappeared in the disturbances subsequent to 1789.

Sir John Winter [1] (Kt. 1624) was to the surprise of all the Court appointed Secretary to Queen Henrietta Maria in 1638, and soon afterwards was made Master of Requests also to the Queen. He was one of the servants of the royal household whose removal was voted by Parliament in 1642, and he was confined in the Tower in that year, and again from 1649 to 1653 upon refusing to comply with a sentence of banishment from England. He was lessee of the then important ironworks in the Forest of Dean : and he was accused of having ruined the forest for the sake of the works, from the proceeds of which he lent large sums both to the King and the Queen. He died in 1673.

Page 201. § 2.

November 11, new style, was a Thursday, and November 11, old style, was the Sunday of the week following, i.e. = 21 November, new style. Lady Fanshawe landed at the Tower at midnight, Monday, 12th, old style, which she calls Tuesday, and went to her house in Lincoln's Inn Fields on Tuesday the 13th. The residence of Sir John Harrison on Tower Hill is mentioned only in this passage. Mr. Samuel Pepys was doubtless always well informed of everything which took place in the Tower ward, in which he resided within the parish of St. Olave, Hart Street, and he notes on 22 November that he had been told a certain fact "by one that came over from Paris with my

[1] *He was grandson of Admiral Winter of "Westward Ho!", who is mentioned in that book as at Smerwick in* 1580 *and at Plymouth in* 1588, *and who is confused on the former occasion with his nephew, who left Drake in the Pacific, and returned home by the Straits of Magellan.*

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Lady Fanshaw, who is come over with the dead body of her husband." "The widow Countess of Middlesex" was Anne Brett, cousin of the Duchess of Buckingham, and second wife of Lionel Cranfield, favourite of that Duke. He was a most efficient Comptroller of the King's household and of the country's treasury, and was made Baron Cranfield in July, 1622, and Earl of Middlesex in September of the same year. He was impeached in 1624, and being unfairly condemned by the Lords, was fined £50,000. After his release by the King he lived in retirement till his death in 1645, and remained neutral during the Civil War. His widow survived till 1670, and the title became extinct with his son Lionel four years later.

Page 201. § 3.

As Lady Fanshawe was mistaken in her record of the day of the week on which her husband died, so she was mistaken in the date of his burial, which was the 17th November, not the 16th, as stated in the *Memoirs*. The entry in the parish register of burials of All Saints Church, Hertford, was (for the registers, too, perished in the fire of 1892), "1666. November 17, Sir Richard Fanshaw Lord Inn Bassador was laid in the vault in ye Chansell." In the funeral certificate of her husband, signed by Lady Fanshawe in 1671, it is stated that his body was removed to All Hallows Church, Hertford, *the next day* after it reached Tower Hill and Lincoln's Inn Fields, but this also was a mistaken statement. It would seem probable that the Mr. Pryor of this passage in the MSS. of the *Memoirs* must be intended for Mr. Price, the second secretary to Sir Richard.

Page 202. § 2; *and* 203. § 2.

Lady Fanshawe's claim to reimbursement for £6600 is reproduced here from the original in the Public Records Office:—

"Dame Ann ffanshaw (the Relict and Excrutrix of S^r^ Richard ffanshaw Kn^t^ and Bar^t^ one of his Ma^ty^ most hon^ble^ Privy Counsell and his Ma^ty^ late Amb^r^ into Portugull & Spain) craveth allowance of the severall sums of money hereafter mentioned expended & paid in those Services in the years of our Lord 1663, 1664, 1665 & 1666.

vis^t^	£
Extraordinaries layd out in y^e^ Court of Portugall upon severall occasions and his Ex^cies^ voyage back to y^e^ Court of England	1200
For expenses and servs from & to England and Portugall and several other places, also money given to many English soldiers prison^ers^ in the Catholiq King's Domynions	0800
For mourning for Philip y^e^ 4^th^ of Spaine	0650
For his Ex^cies^ journey into Portugall in ffeb^r^ 166⅝ to Beneventa upon the Treatie between Spayne and Portugall	1950
For my returne into England from Madrid with his Ex^cies^ body and ffamily	2000
Totall	6600

"Ann ffanshawe. "Arlington."

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Two thousand pounds are claimed on account of the Portuguese embassy: the amount entered for the return journey to England is the same as was allowed to Sir Richard on the occasion of his going to Madrid, but only £1000 of this were passed. The privy seal for the payment of £5600 is dated 6 February, 1667. The following petition of poor Lady Fanshawe in the Public Records Office comes next to the claim, but must be of a date several months later.

"To The King's Most Excellent Ma'tie.

"THE HUMBLE PETITION of Lady Anne Fanshaw widdow of the late Lord Ambassadour Sr. Richard Fanshaw.

"IN ALL HUMBLENESS SHEWETH that yr petitioner (with one son and foure daughters) being left in a very sad condition, by the sudden and unexpected death of her deare husband yr. Ma'ts loyall and faithfull servant, and late Ambassadr. in Spaine and Portugall, in wh'ch and other like negociations having been employed since yr. Ma'ts happy Restauration, his endeav'rs as well as his private fortunes as in the fair hopes to improve the same by yr. Ma'ts grace and favour in yr. service at home have been hindered by his vy. great disablem't in providing convenient portions for his daughters, and an estate for his son, But always relying upon yr. Ma'ts most gratious and bountifull goodness upon this sad occasion and accident to her and hers,

"She most humbly prayeth yr. most sacred Ma'ty to be pleased to take into yr. princely consideration the sufferings and services of yr. said deceased servant her deare husband, who had the honour to be the first servant in business, and to follow yr. Ma'ty through the great calamities of the late unnaturall wars: and to be allmost seven years a Prison'r after the battayle of Worcester, But that yr. Ma'ty will be pleased to take notice that the mony wh. yr. Ma'ty hath pleased to reimburse her was short of what she hoped to receive by 1000£, and that she shall not receive the mony appointed to be paid for her said reimbursement untill Novr. next if then, wch. will make a full year and a halfe since this mony was disbursed in consideration whereof she hath not demanded one penny interest of yr. Ma'ty allthough she hath paid interest for allmost all, or the greatest part ever since.

"In tender consideration of all the promises yr. Ma'ties foresaid humble Pet'r. most humbly prayeth, that if yr. Ma'ty will be gratiously pleased according to yr. accustomed grace and favour to herself and sad family, as to her deceased husband in his life time to grant her a pension of[1] for and during Thirty years out of yr. customes and duties as well hereditary as otherwise due & payable to yr. Ma'ty upon goods and merchandise to be exported and imported out of and into this Kingdom etc.

"And yr. Pet'r accord'g to her bounden duty shall
"ever for yr. Ma'ty etc."

[1] *Left blank.*

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Dame Ann Fanshawe the Relict and Executrix of Sr Richard Fanshawe Knt and Bart one of the Mrs and Plenipotentiaries from his Ma.tie to the Crowne of Portugall to Spain) towards allowance of her severall summs of money by her soe many expenditures & paid in his great Services in the yeares of our Lord 1663. 1664. 1665. & 1666.

Viz.t

	£
At her arrivall in Portugall upon several occasions & his Ex.cies Voyage backe to the Court of England.	1200:
For Expresses and Ayres from & to England and Portugall and severall other places & for money given to many English Gentlemen Prisoners in the Castle of Xerez	0800:
For mourning for Philip 4.th King of Spaine	0650:
For his Ex.cies Journey into Portugall in 1663 & to Lisbon & upon his Ex.cies Returne to Badajoz in Spaine and to Portugall	1950:
For my returne into England from Madrid with his Ex.cies Body and Family	2000:
Total	6600:

Ann Fanshawe

Arlington

CLAIM OF LADY FANSHAWE, 1666

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The subjoined petition bears the date of 8 November, 1668:—

"To the King's Most Excellent Ma'ty.

"THE HUMBLE PETITION of Lady Anne Fanshaw widow, late wife of Sir Richard Fanshaw Kt. and Baronet yr. Ma'tys late Ambassador to the King of Spaine.

"IN ALL HUMBLENESS SHEWETH that the sum of mony due to her for her said late husband is 5900£ besides the interest thereof at 6 per cent from the day of her husband's death wh. was 16 June 1666, until 15 Oct. 1668, besides 2000£ for charges expended on their journey from Madrid to London of five months by land with her husband's body, her children, and servants, being in all 60 persons, of which 2000£ a privy seal was passed for but 1000£, yet although the seal was passed but for 1000£ the Lord Arlington was pleased to promise that the other 1000£ shd. be considered one way or other, and that he wd. take care of it. To procure the 5900£ cost her above 1300£ besides interest by her paid for money borrowed for the livelihood of herself, her children, and family.

"Most humbly she prayeth that allowance and payment may be made unto her for the 1000£ left out of the privy seal with interest for the whole respectiv'ly. And that yr. Ma'ty will be further pleased of yr Royal bounty to consider the sad condition that her children are left in."

Old Exchequer tallies may still be seen in the restored Rolls chapel included in the buildings of the Public Record Office, where the Domesday Book is now kept.

Page 203. § 1.

The Duke of Cambridge in November, 1666, was the poor little fellow of the name of James who was born 12 July, 1663, and died on 20 June, 1667. He was the younger brother of Queen Mary, born 30 April, 1662, and the elder brother of Queen Anne, born 6 February, 1665; the next child, a baby at the time of Lady Fanshawe's return to England, was Charles Duke of Kendal, born 4 July, 1666. The Duke of Cambridge was made Knight of the Garter in the month following Lady Fanshawe's visit to Court.

It would have been interesting to know of which picture of Titian's in Madrid Lady Fanshawe presented a copy to Lord Arlington. Sir William Coventry was at this time secretary to the Duke of York as Lord High Admiral, and also a Commissioner of the Navy Board. He had been knighted and made member of the Privy Council in 1665. He appears repeatedly in the pages of Pepys, who considered him no friend of his patron, Lord Sandwich. Lady Fanshawe may have been specially attracted to him by his virulent opposition to Lord Clarendon, on whose fall Coventry left the Duke's service; and from then till his death in 1686 he steadfastly refused all office, though admittedly one of the ablest men in the kingdom. His corruptness is stigmatized by Marvell in lines quoted elsewhere. There were two vessels bearing the name of *Victory* in the English fleet in 1667, the smaller of them a ship captured from the

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French in 1665, and the larger a second-rater of over 1000 tons burden, and with a crew and armament of 350 men and 80 guns.

Pages 203, § 2, *and* 204, § 1.

Lord Treasurer Southampton has been already noticed on page 346. He died on 16 May, 1667, or three months after Lady Fanshawe's warrant by the Privy Seal was granted to her. Her brother-in-law Sir Philip Warwick, secretary to the Lord Treasurer, was no doubt able to play the part of a good friend to her in this matter; and it was probably partly due to this circumstance, and partly to his respect for Sir Richard Fanshawe, whom (perhaps, and whose young bride also) the Lord Treasurer must have known at Oxford in 1643–5, and in London after the Restoration, that Lady Fanshawe could never fasten a present on him. Pepys records having arrived at the Lord Treasurer's house just after his decease, and finding the porter in tears, which extracted three shillings from the worthy Diarist. On the death of Lord Southampton the Treasury was put into commission; and on 27 May Sir George Downing was appointed Secretary to the Lords Commissioners. Thereupon Sir Philip Warwick's tenure of the post came to an end, and he retired from public life, a step which Lady Fanshawe refers to 1669 (*Memoirs*, page 207).

Lady Fanshawe can hardly be considered to have been harshly treated in having to refund the 4420 ounces of plate issued to her husband when starting on his Spanish embassy (Heathcote MSS., p. 133). At any rate, the Lords of the Treasury were bound to demand repayment, and only the King could have remitted this. The loss of £2000 said to have been caused by the two years' delay in payment of the sums due to her, would seem to be an error on the transcriber's part, due perhaps to the mention of the repayment of £2000 for the embassy plate. At 10 per cent interest even, the loss would have been only £1220 in that period; and the usual rate of interest allowed by bankers on money deposited with them for a fixed term was 6 per cent. The last sentences of paragraph 1, page 204, were added by Lady Fanshawe to the faired MSS., and do not appear, therefore, in the editions of 1829–30. It is to be regretted that she should have made the addition, whatever reason she may have had for disliking the Earl of Shaftesbury. This was the famous Anthony Ashley Cooper, the false Achitophel of Dryden's great poem, than whom even that unscrupulous partisan admitted none had "hands more clean," though Pepys[1] was of a different opinion. He was born in 1621, and was therefore

[1] *He recorded just before this time, in September*, 1666, "*My Lord Ashley will rob the devil and altar, but he will get money if it be to be got.*" *Perhaps Dryden's*

"*Unbribed, unsought, the wretched to redress,*
Swift of despatch and easy of access,"

was not altogether an unprejudiced tribute.

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thirteen years younger than Sir Richard Fanshawe. He entered Exeter College, Oxford, in 1636, and Lincoln's Inn in 1638. In the Civil War he was first on the King's side, and was made Governor of Weymouth in 1643; but he joined the Parliament the next year, and served in Dorsetshire till 1646, when he became High Sheriff of Wilts. Like Henry Neville (page 433) he was in disfavour with Cromwell, and was kept out of the Parliament of 1656 by the latter. He entered that of 1659, and defended Neville in it, and with him was a member of the Council of State; he also became a temporary Commissioner of the Army. He was one of the twelve members selected to proceed to the King at Breda, and was made Baron Ashley at the coronation of Charles II on 20 April, 1661. His third wife, the daughter of Lord Spencer, was niece of the Earl of Southampton; and on the death of the latter he became one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, which gave him his opportunity to oppress Lady Fanshawe, according to her view. He was made Earl of Shaftesbury in 1672, and Lord Chancellor in 1673, but was dismissed from that high post the following year, two years before Lady Fanshawe's *Memoirs* were faired. From that time he became the leader against the Papists, and after nearly a year's detention in the Tower, he engineered the infamous Papist plot in October, 1678. He was again consigned to the Tower in 1681, fled abroad to Holland in November, 1682, and died there two months later, three years after Lady Fanshawe.

Page 204. § 2.

The description which Lady Fanshawe gives of her position upon the death of her husband is very pitiful, and throws a baleful light on the selfishness and heartlessness of the King and his ministers, and she might well have quoted the Spanish proverb which appears in her husband's correspondence, "A muertos y a idos no hay mas amigos—The dead and the absent have no friends." It certainly seems passing strange that no vessel should have been sent to Bilbao to bring her to England, if she cared to face the perils of the Bay of Biscay once more, as her husband would no doubt have been conveyed home by a royal ship had he lived. As Katherine Fanshawe was born on 30 July, 1652, she was almost fourteen at the date of her father's death, not thirteen as stated by her mother.

Page 206. § 2.

The words "with Lady Lev[enthorpe) and Sir P(hilip) W(arwick)" are added to the MSS. by Lady Fanshawe; and for the words "I found at present no remedy" (as in the editions of 1829–30) were substituted "I found it impossible . . . succeed to my wish."

Papers in the Heathcote MSS. dated June and November, 1672, show that Lady Fanshawe was then still living in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and she prob-

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ably retained her house there when she hired that at Hartingfordbury to be near her father (1668–9). No doubt she gave up the London residence when she bought Little Grove, in East Barnet (formerly the residence of Anthony Bourchier the younger), in July, 1674. From that house her daughter Margaret was married in the following year; and in that house, after an occupation of five and a half years, Lady Fanshawe died in January, 1680. Her settling in it would no doubt be one of the points mentioned by her in the missing pages of the MSS., which must have dealt with the events of her life from 1672 to 1676.

Page 207. § 2.

Alderman William Backwell, who became representative of the Bishopsgate Ward in 1657, was the best-known banker of his day, and is considered to have been the father of modern banking; he is believed to have been the first banker who did not also follow the craft of a goldsmith. Besides the King, the Queen, and the Queen-Mother, the Duchess of Orleans, the Prince of Orange, Lords Clarendon and Sandwich, Sir Josiah Child, Henry Cromwell, Pepys, and many of the nobility banked with him (Price's *London Bankers*). He occupied the premises of the Unicorn and Grasshopper in Change Alley and Lombard Street. He was the treasurer of Dunkirk with Sir John Shaw; received the money paid for that place by Louis XIV; took over the spoil of the Plate Fleet with Sir T. Viner, and provided remittances for the garrison of Tangier—very intermittently various Governors complained. Pepys records that the Alderman changed Lord Sandwich's crusados for him, and that he would have been near breaking in 1665 but that Sir George Carteret provided £4000 to meet his most pressing needs, informing Pepys that "the King and the Kingdom must as good fall with that man at this time." In July the next year the Alderman told Pepys that he had a good master in the King, who would not suffer him to be undone, as otherwise he must have been, and that by being abroad and by Shaw's death he had lost the ball, but hoped to give a kick at it still. Apparently he suffered great losses from the Fire[1] of London, and in 1667, during the scare caused by the presence of the Dutch in the Thames, Pepys again anticipated that he would be broke. This was finally caused by the iniquitous step of the Exchequer (p. 590), in which he held no less than £296,000 out of a total sum of £1,300,000 impounded. His former apprentice and partner in many transactions, Duncombe, escaped the crash by means of a friendly warning given to him by Lord Shaftesbury. Upon this he retired to Holland,

[1] *Notices in the London Gazettes of* 7–10 *and* 10–13 *September*, 1666, *stated that "Alderman Meynell and Alderman Backwell with divers others of Lumbard St. being likewise preserved in their estates do intend to settle in a few days in or near Broad St.," and "Alderman Backwell is at present placed in Dr. Goddard's lodging in Gresham College, where his affairs are managed as formerly in Lumbard St."*

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but returned to England and settled with his creditors in 1678, a pension of £17,800 having been assigned to him in the settlement of the Exchequer debts, and died in his own country in 1683 (Mr. T. Biddulph Martin's *The Grasshopper in Lombard Street*). The usual rates of interest allowed by him on deposit were at call 3½ per cent, and at ten, fourteen, and twenty days' 4, 5, and 6 per cent.

Page 207. § 2.

Sir William Ayloffe was the grandson of the first baronet, and son of Sir Benjamin and his wife Margaret Fanshawe (see p. 284). He was among the Royalists who surrendered at Colchester, and was one of the Commissioners who signed the terms of surrender. He died childless in 1675. Both he and his brother, the younger Sir Benjamin (died 1722), were London merchants of note, and as such appear in the list of London residents in 1673.

In the Heathcote Papers is an agreement dated 28 June, 1672, by which Lady Fanshawe made over the residue of a lease of a messuage in Hartingfordbury to Thomas Howes, of Poplar.

Page 208. § 1.

The son of Sir Philip Warwick by his first wife married at Lambeth Chapel on 18 September, 1661, Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord Frecheville, of Staveley, Derbyshire, by his first wife the daughter of Sir John Harrison of Bagworth. He died in March, 1682–3, while on his way home to see his father, who died in January of that year. She married for her second husband the Earl of Holdernesse, and died in 1690. Her younger sister was married to Colonel Thomas Culpeper, the principal personage in the story told in the *Memoirs* at page 117. Sir Philip Warwick's London house was in St. Margaret's, Westminster. Sister Bedell was Lady Bedell, *née* Alice Fanshawe, whose husband, Sir Capel Bedell, died[1] in 1663. Her daughter, Lady Compton, was godmother to Lady Fanshawe's daughter Mary, born in 1656. Another daughter of hers was married to Sir John Leventhorpe (p. 320). Sir Francis Compton was the youngest son of the second Earl of Northampton, killed at Hopton Heath; his brothers—Sir Charles, Sir William, and Sir Spencer—were all knighted by King Charles I, and his brother Henry was the well-known Bishop of London. He was knighted on 27 December, 1661, at Whitehall, and was then described as of Hamerton, Huntingdonshire. He was Colonel of the "Blew Gards," and at his death, in 1717, was the oldest field officer in England. Sir Philip Warwick, who was uncle of Lady Compton by marriage, wrote of Sir William

[1] *There is no record of the burials of the Bedells in the church register at Hamerton.*

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after recording the brave exploits of his elder brothers that he "was of so tender age that he came not into play till his present Majesty's happy restitution, but since (hath) showed himself in the command of his Majesty's guard here at home and abroad in Flanders equal to his brothers." He was married several times, and left two sons who died unmarried. There are good portraits of him and of his brothers in Volume I of *Noble British Families*, published by Messrs. W. Pickering.

The sentence at the end of this paragraph, "In this year I christened a daughter of my sister Turnor's with Sir Edward and Lady Kilmorey," is added to the faired MSS. by Lady Fanshawe. Which of the two Sir Edward Turnors was godfather to the daughter of Sir Edmund Turnor does not appear; but probably it was the elder. He was still Speaker of the House of Commons in 1669, and became Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer two years later. Lady Kilmorey was the widow of Charles Needham, fourth Viscount Kilmorey, who died in 1660; as a matter of fact, she had married again in 1663, her second husband being Sir John Shaw. Her maiden name was Bridget Drury; and she was daughter of Mary, the daughter of Sir William Cockayne, and therefore niece by marriage of the first Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore. This daughter of Sir Edmund Turnor was perhaps Elisabeth, who married Sir Justinian Isham of Lamport, Northants, in 1683, and who died in 1713; she is said to have been forty-seven years old at the time of her death.

Page 208. § 2.

The widow of Thomas, first Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore, was buried on 27 February, 1668, in the church at Ware.

Sir Thomas Byde was a brewer of Shoreditch; Pepys records drinking his beer on various occasions, and mentions the "Rose and Crown," near Mile End, as a good house for it. He was knighted on 8 April, 1661, and resided, first, in Red Lion Square and afterwards (1673) in St.-Giles-in-the-Fields. He was Sheriff of Hertfordshire in 1669, and so must have resided in the county previously to buying Ware Park; in 1672 he gave £50 to the town of Hertford to enable it to discharge its debts. He was elected M.P. for the county of Hertford on 17 February, 1672, in place of Sir Edward Turnor, made Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and served as member up to and in the first Parliament of William and Mary. He was buried in Ware Church on 23 January, 1704, in the Fanshawe vault, but no monument marks his resting-place. His son Skinner married as his second wife Mary, the daughter of Viscount Grandison, a match which was perhaps brought about through the Harrison connexion with the Viscount (see below) and the proximity of Balls to Ware Park. The eldest son of Mr. Edmund Field, who succeeded the second Viscount Fanshawe as Member for Hertford Borough, married the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Byde, and the eldest daughter of the same gentleman married George, son of Richard Harrison, the half-brother of Lady Fanshawe.

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Ware Park remained in the possession of the Byde family till seventy years ago, or for a tenure more than twice as long as that of the Fanshawes. In the old church of Bengeo is a funeral tablet of John Byde, Sheriff of London, in 1647, and of his wife of the date of 1665; it was moved to there from London in 1736.

Besides Ware Park and Bengeo, Viscount Fanshawe was compelled to sell at this time the interest which he held in Great Ilford Hospital. He had already been forced on the death of his first wife, in 1660, to part with the Hertfordshire estates of Bayfordbury, Markyate Cell, Flamstead and Aynels, in Redburn, and the Warwickshire estate of Binton, near Stratford-on-Avon, which came to him through her from the Walter and Ferrers families. To him and his father the fine lines of Butler upon the Cavaliers aptly apply:—

"For tho' outnumber'd, overthrown,
And by the fate of war run down,
Their duty never was defeated,
Nor from their oaths and faith retreated:
For loyalty is still the same,
Whether it win or lose the game;
True as the dial to the sun,
Altho' it be not shined upon . . .
They rallied in parades of woods,
And unfrequented solitudes;
Conven'd at midnight in outhouses
T' appoint new rising rendezvouses,
And with a pertinancy unmatch'd
For new recruits of danger watched . . .
Whom neither chains nor transportation,
Prescription, sale, nor confiscation,
Nor all the desperate events
Of former tri'd experiments,
Nor wounds could terrify nor mangling
To leave off loyalty and dangling,
Nor death (with all his bones) affright
From vent'ring to maintain the right,
From staking life and fortune down
'Gainst all together for the crown;
But kept the title of their cause
From forfeiture, like claims in laws;
And prov'd no prosp'rous usurpation
Can ever settle on the nation;
Until in spite of force and treason,
They put their loyalty in possession;
And by their constancy and faith
Destroy'd the mighty men of Gath."

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But unhappily Marvell's lines on the same class after the Restoration apply no less aptly :—

"To see them that suffered for father and son,
And helped to bring the latter to his throne,
That with lives and estates did loyally serve,
And yet for all this can nothing deserve;
The King looks not on 'em, preferments denied 'em,
The Roundheads insult and the courtiers deride 'em."

Page 209. § 1.

The Remembrancer's place was held by the second Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore when Lady Fanshawe wrote, and afterwards by his brother Henry (for the third Viscount, a minor), and his brothers Charles, fourth Viscount, and Simon, fifth and last Viscount (see p. 260). The Fanshawe motto is "Dux vitæ ratio. In cruce Victoria," as may be seen under the coat-of-arms above the memorial of Sir Richard Fanshawe in the photograph at page 210 and on the cover of this book. In the transcript from the monument in the editions of 1829–30 the motto was printed: "In Christo Victoria," and in other works the first portion of it has been rendered "Dux vitæ oratio."

A letter of Lady Fanshawe of the date of December, 1668, reproduced here from the Public Record Office, gives a good idea of the wonderful phonetic feats of her spelling :—

"S^r "D^th 4 1668.

"to your maney favers be pleased to add this: my Humbell sarves to my L^d Arlington whos pardon I begg for not watting one him myself having at this time a swelled face with the toothaich which I am ashambed to showe therefore ernestl desier you to remind my L^d from me of the letter I writt his Ld^p 8 days agoe; and to procuer me a speedey dispach therupon; which will be a great cumfort to me till I can receiue the efects of my petistion and I assuer you none shall with mor thankfullnes and Graterued acknoledg youer care and trubell hearein then

"S^r ys. most Humbell Sarvant
"Ann ffanshawe."

Page 209. § 2.

In the Heathcote MSS. there is a memo. dated 25 February, 1669, of the surrender by Lady Fanshawe of the leases of the Queen's manors of Tring and Hitchin upon payment of £105. 17s. 0½d.

In the same MSS. is a paper dated 7 January, 1668, in which Dr. Henchman, Bishop of London, offered to convert the present estate of Lady Fanshawe in Frinton,[1] Essex, into one of one year upon a payment of £130.

[1] *Frinton lies one and a half miles south of Walton-on-the-Naze, Essex.*

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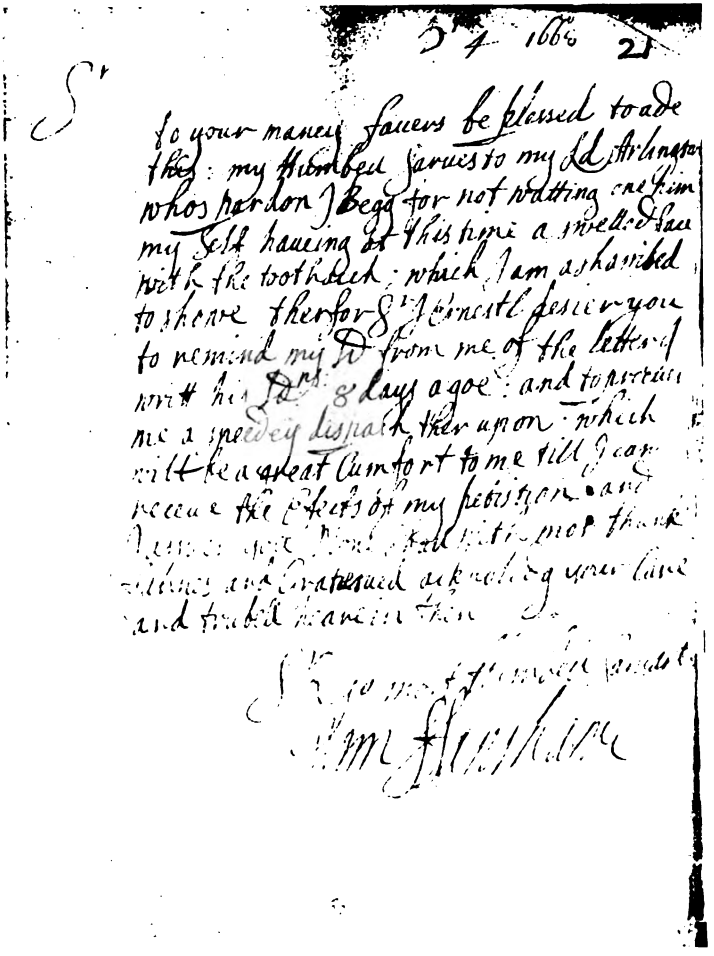

LETTER OF LADY FANSHAWE, 1668

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From the grant of Bristall or Burstall Garth in the originalia of 13 Charles II, 26 April, 1662, it appears that the farm was a royal manor, which formerly belonged to Kirkstall Abbey, and that it was given to Sir Richard Fanshawe for thirty-one years on a payment of £20 per annum, and customary dues of £5. 18s. 5½d. The lessee was to keep the sea-walls in repair against the Humber, and to plant a number of trees yearly. By *Dean* Hicks of the MSS. of the *Memoirs* was no doubt meant Dean Robert Hitch of York, who was made prebendary of Holme Archiepiscopi in 1660, Archdeacon of the East Riding in 1662, and Dean of York in March, 1665, and who died in 1677. The editor of the autobiographical notes of Mr. Justice Rokeby in the Surtees Society publication, speaks of him as a great miser and one of the richest clergymen in England. Burstall Garth lay four and a half miles south-east of Patrington, in the extreme south-east corner of Yorkshire, between the latter place and Spurn Head on the northern promontory of the Humber.

Page 209. § 2.

Richard Harrison, born October, 1646, married, in 1668–69, Audrey the eldest daughter of George Villiers, fourth Viscount Grandison (the son of Sir George Villiers, and Barbara sister of the first Viscount Grandison), who in 1665 succeeded to two brothers, the elder of whom, who was killed at Bristol in 1643, and buried at Oxford, was father of the dissolute Duchess of Cleveland. Her mother was daughter[1] of the Earl of Chichester by his wife Audrey, daughter of Baron Boteler of Brantfield, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of the first Duke of Buckingham: the Boteler family was connected with the Fanshawes through the Smythes and with the Harrisons through the Shotbolts. The first child of Richard Harrison was a daughter to whom Sir John Harrison refers in his will[2] of 21 September, 1669, as "lately born and not yet baptized"; their eldest son was born on 15 September, 1670—see page 590 below. He and his wife had in all a family of eight sons and six daughters. As he was living at South Mymms, six miles south of Hertford, in 1673, he probably did not occupy Balls Park till after the death of his mother in 1705. He died in 1725, and his wife ten years before him at the age of sixty-three: they were both buried in All Hallows Church, Hertford. Their eldest daughter, who was baptized Barbara after her grandmother, married the kinsman of Sir Richard Fanshawe, Charles Bourchier, and settled with him in Ireland on the lands granted to Viscount Grandison. On their tombstone at Clontarf, Dublin, erected in 1758, it is recited: "They came into Ireland after

[1] *All her sisters made distinguished matches, Helen with Sir John Drake of Ash, Devon, Jane with James Ley, Earl of Marlborough, Olive with the Court favourite Endymion Porter, Mary with Lord Howard of Escrick, and Anne with Mountjoy, Earl of Newport.*

[2] *Lord Grandison was one of the witnesses of the will of Sir John Harrison.*

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the Revolution with the Honble. Wm. Villiers, father to the present Earl of Grandison (1st Earl 1721–1766), and uncle of the aforesaid Barbara." One of their sons, Richard, was taken by his uncle, Edward Harrison, to India, and rose to be Governor of Bombay (1750–60). Another son, by a Harrison presentation, no doubt, was vicar of Hertford, and his son again succeeded him in that cure.

Page 210. § 2.

Lady Fanshawe's error regarding the date of the death of her father has been noticed at page 328. Scales How lies two miles south-west of King's Lynn on the left bank of the Eau Brink cut, by which the waters of the southern Ouse enter the Wash. No Fanshawe or Harrison connexion with the manor of it can be discovered now.

Page 210. § 3.

Dr. Jasper Needham was a graduate of Peterhouse College, Cambridge, and afterwards studied at Oxford; he took his M.A. at Cambridge in 1648, and his M.D. in 1657. He was a notable practitioner in his day, residing in Salisbury Court, and was among the physicians of King Charles II. He died at the age of fifty-seven. Evelyn notes of him under 4 November, 1679, "In the evening went to the funeral of my pious dear and ancient learned friend, Dr. Jasper Needham, who was buried in St. Bride's church. He was a true and holy Christian, and one that loved me with great affection." His epitaph runs: "Scientiâ pietate beneficentia clarus, suis carus, principibus ac præsulibus gratus, amicis at que egenis desideratissimus."

Page 210. § 3 *and* 4.

There is no entry of the burial of Sir Richard Fanshawe in the register of Ware Church; but in that of All Saints, Hertford, the following note existed: "1671, May 18th, Sir Richard Fanshawe Inbassador was taken out of the vault and laid in his vault at Ware," and the same date is given in the funeral certificate of Sir Richard signed by his widow in that year. This happened, therefore, a year and eight months after the death of Lady Fanshawe's father. The monument erected to Sir Richard originally stood in front of the west window of the south side of the graceful St. Mary Chapel, which connects the south transept and the choir; but it was removed from this position some sixty years ago and placed high up on the east wall of that transept. It consists of a black marble slab with white marble Ionic side columns and broken tympanum, and is a graceful and good one for its age; it has been recently repaired by the present members of the Fanshawe family. It is reproduced in the illustration at page 2. The inscription on it runs as follows:—

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P. M. S.

IN HYPOGÆO JUXTA HOC MONUMENTUM
jacet corpus nobilissimi viri RICARDI FANSHAWE Eq^{s}
Aurati & Baronetti ex antiqua illa familia de
Ware-Parke in comitatu Hertfordiæ HENRICI
FANSHAWE Equitis aurati prolis decimæ.

Uxorem duxit ANNAM Filiam natu maximam Johan.
Harrison Equitis Aurati de Balls in Com Hertfordiæ
& ex ea suscepit sex Filios & octo Filias, e quibus
supersunt Ricardus Catharina Margarita Anna
et Elizabetha.

Vir comitate Morum, literarum luce, Fidei, constantiâ
præstantissimus Qui olim (lætus Exul) serenissimi Regis
Caroli Secundi calamitates fortiter amplexus est, in
rebus bellicis ab eodem constitutus Secretarius postea q
(Regno ei feliciter restaurato) Libellorum Supplicum
Magister a Latinis epistolis a sanctoribus Regis consi
liis tum Angliæ cum Hiberniæ factus ⁂ necnon ejusdem
Serenissimi Regis ad utrasque aulas Portugal et Hispani
Legatus In quarum proximâ cum pulcherrime officio
suo functus esset splendidissimam quam diu egerat
vitam cum luctuosâ morte commutavit.
⁂ Pro Academia Cantabrigiensi Burgensis
Monumentum Hoc cum Hypogæo moestissima conjux
pie posuit quæ etiam corpus Mariti sui ab urbe
Madrid huc per terras transtulit

Obiit 16to Junii anno { Dom̃ MDCLXVI / Ætatis suæ LIX.

In accordance with the intention expressed by her in the *Memoirs*, the words "and burgess for the University of Cambridge" were added by Lady Fanshawe to the inscription, as shown in the transcript, and were referred to their proper place in it by the two sets of arrow marks given in that. She herself was buried in the same vault as her husband, the entry of her burial being "1679–80 Jany[1] 20. The Hon^{ble} Lady Madam Ann Fanshawe." No memorial of her was erected at the time, and the fact that the devoted wife rested in death at the side of her much-loved husband was left uncommemorated

[1] *Less than two months later her brother-in-law, Sir Simon Fanshawe, was also buried in Ware Church—the last of that generation of Fanshawes. The Fanshawe family vault was in the south aisle of the church, near the north-west corner of the south transept. In* 1820 *the old escutcheon of the family arms, surmounted by a Viscount's coronet, still hung above it.*

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till the year 1905, when the members of the Fanshawe family also placed a marble tablet, with the following inscription, in St. Mary's Chapel, on the wall where her husband's memorial originally stood :—

In piam memoriam
ANNÆ
IOHANNIS HARRISON Equitis filiæ
uxoris autem RICARDI FANSHAWE Baronetti
quæ vivo marito
gaudiorum cerumnarum discriminum
domi et peregre consors
postea mortui
virtutem resque gestas
et narrando commemoravit
et monumento huic proximo dedicando
nunc ibidam sepulchri quoque consors requiescit.
Nata a.d. viii Kal Apr. A.S. MDCXXV
obiit Kal. Ian. MDCLXXX.

Par nobile conjugum
grato animo recordantes
eiusdem gentis posteri
hoc marmor ponendum curaverunt
A. S. MDCCCCV

Nothing has been discovered regarding the last eight years of the life of Lady Fanshawe from the date at which the *Memoirs* break off, except the few facts noted at page 590. Her will, executed on 30 October, 1679, speaks of her as "weake in body," though she was only fifty-four years old then, and it would seem from this that she was ill for some time previous to her death, in January, 1680. She desired to be privately buried with her husband in Ware Church, and she was accordingly laid to rest there on the 20th of that month. She directed that all her lands, stock, goods, jewels, and plate not specially devised by her should be sold, and that from the proceeds of the sale £600 (including the £500 left to each of them by Sir John Harrison) should be paid to each of her daughters—Katherine, Ann, and Elizabeth. Her daughter Margaret Grantham is not mentioned in her will, and no doubt she received her share of her mother's property when she married in 1674. Her lease of Frinton (see page 584 above) she left to her son. If, however, he should receive his place in the Customs, or any other employment bringing him in an income of £500 per annum, he was to relinquish the lease to his eldest sister, or pay her £1200, of which £400 were to go to her and £200 to her younger sister, and the rest was to go to providing the sum of £1800 above mentioned, or to pay off debts. "My owne & my husband's picture both set in gold, & my husband's picture drawn by Lilly, and my owne picture drawn by Toniars" went to her son, and "all my worke wrote by myself" to her daughter

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Katherine, who was made sole executrix of the will, which Sir Edward (? Sir Edmund) Turnor and two others witnessed. It was proved in February, 1680, by Katherine Fanshawe, then 27½ years of age. The Little Grove estate was sold by her in May, 1680, to Mr. John Richardson for £1800, and the sale was confirmed by her brother, Sir Richard, in May, 1688.

Page 211. § 1.

As its burgesses in 1660, the University of Cambridge chose General Monk and Mr. Thomas Crouch, M.A.,[1] on 3 April; and when the former elected to sit for Devon, Mr. William Montague was chosen in his place. There had been an idea of choosing Edward Montagu, soon to become Earl of Sandwich; and the Admiral expressed to Pepys his satisfaction at this as a sign of the regard in which he was being held. In 1661 Sir Richard Fanshawe, Bart., and Mr. Thomas Crouch were chosen on 9 May, their election being the first in the whole country, as correctly noted by Lady Fanshawe, the next being the elections of the Cambridge borough members on 11 March, and of Richard Edgcumbe of Cuttele (*sic*) (see p. 458), and Sir Benjamin Ayloffe (see p. 284), both very curiously cousins of Sir Richard, on 19 March. No others took place before the 20th idem. Sir Richard was prevented by his duties abroad from taking any special part in the proceedings of the House of Commons; but he was chosen to serve on the Committee of Elections and Privileges on 11 May, 1661, and on three other committees in that month and in June, and again to serve on the first important committee on 18 February, 1662; both his eldest brother, and that brother's eldest son, the second Sir Thomas Fanshawe, K.B., also served on this committee in both years. He remained member of Parliament until his death; and his successor, Sir Charles Wheler, was chosen in his place on 8 March, 1667, in accordance with a writ ordered to be issued on 28 January. The order by a curious blunder directs issue of "a writ for electing a new member to serve for *the city* of Cambridge instead of Sir Richard Fanshaw deceased." Sir Charles Wheler was cousin of the first baronet (1660), who had married Elizabeth Cole, laundress of Charles I. He was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and one of the delegates who conveyed the University plate to the King. He was ejected from his Fellowship in 1644, became a Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber on the Restoration, and colonel of the 7th regiment of Foot, and died in 1682. A son of his became Admiral Wheler.

[1] *Mr. Thomas Crouch was a Fellow of King's College, from which he was ejected in* 1650, *when he took refuge in Trinity Hall. He was Proctor in* 1643 *and* 1649, *and the college possesses a portrait if him in his official dress. He was a generous benefactor of the college, and on his death in* 1679 *was buried in its chapel. In Parliament he strenuously defended the Universities against the London printers in* 1674.

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Page 211. § 3.

This paragraph was added to the faired MSS. by Lady Fanshawe. As has been seen above, Richard Harrison married Audrey, the daughter of Vicount Grandison, in 1668–9, and their eldest son was born on 15 September, 1670, not 1671, as stated in the *Memoirs*. He died young, as did his next brother born in 1673. The third son Edward, born 3 December, 1674, became Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, at the early age of thirty-seven. Ten years later he was elected M.P. for Hertford. He was made Postmaster-General of England in 1726, and died in 1732. His wife was Frances, daughter of Reginald Bray, of Barrington, Gloucestershire; and their daughter Etheldreda, or Audrey, married Charles, third Viscount Townsend, in 1723. She died in 1788, and through her Balls Park passed to the Townsend family, in whose possession it remained until it was bought by the present owner, Sir George Faudel Phillips. A younger son of Richard Harrison, also named George, and born in 1680, erected the memorial of his elder brother and that brother's wife.

Page 211. § 4.

It is curious that the damaged MSS. of the *Memoirs* faired under the supervision of Lady Fanshawe, now in the possession of Mr. Evelyn Fanshawe, of Parsloes, should end with the words "shut up." When the MS. was mutilated is not known; but it must have been before 1766, when a copy made came to an abrupt end at the same point. It may be conjectured that among the events recorded by Lady Fanshawe up to 1676, when the MSS. of the *Memoirs* were faired, would have been the deaths of her sister Warwick in 1672 and her nephew the second Viscount Fanshawe, in May, 1674, the grant of a pension (never enjoyed) to her son in that year, her purchase of Little Grove in East Barnet, and the marriage of her daughter Margaret in the church of that place on 13 June, 1675. As she makes no mention of the deaths of the Queen-Mother and of the Duchess of Orleans, probably the *Memoirs* did not contain any reference to the decease of the Earls of Sandwich and Clarendon in 1672 and 1674.

The Stop of the Exchequer did not occur upon St. Stephen's Day (26 December), 1671, but seven days later, on 2 January, 1672. The measure, which was one of the most barefaced acts of dishonesty that ever marked the proceedings of any government, was proposed by Sir T. Clifford, the Treasurer of the Household, though Lord Ashley, afterwards Lord Shaftesbury, was credited with it, as Lord Clarendon was with the proposal to surrender Dunkirk. The measure was all the more iniquitous as the King had issued a proclamation in 1667, after the scare caused in London by the appearance of the Dutch in the Thames, declaring that the course of payments in the Exchequer should always be preserved inviolate. The King's declaration on 2 January, 1672, cynically recited that His Majesty

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"after serious debates and best considerations, not finding any possibility to defray such unusual expenses (to meet the preparation for war made by other Powers) by the usual ways and means of borrowing moneys, by reason his revenues were so anticipated and engaged, he was necessitated (contrary to his own inclinations!) upon these emergencies and for the public safety at the present to cause a stop to be made of any monies now being or to be brought into the Exchequer for the space of one whole year ending the last day of December next." At that time the King owed the goldsmiths of London, who were the bankers of the day, £1,300,000, and the Stop of the Exchequer ruined most of them, and it is said some ten thousand other persons, in spite of the fact that the King subsequently promised to pay 6 per cent interest on the sums owed by the Crown, and was obliged to intervene to require the bankers to resume payments to merchants of sums deposited by them on call merely. Parliament declined to provide the King with money to pay off the bankers in the following year,[1] and after various unjust compositions by way of repayment by annuities had been tried, about half the debt was finally accepted by the country in 1705. Among the most notable sufferers from the Stop were Alderman Backwell, as noted at page 580, and Sir Stephen Fox, who lost £70,000. A very interesting account of the whole transaction is given in a letter of Lord Arlington's to the Earl of Sunderland, dated 8 January, 1672. Evelyn recorded of the Stop that it not only lost the King "the hearts of his subjects and ruined many widows and orphans whose stocks were lent to him, but the reputation of the Exchequer for ever, it being before in such credit that he might have commanded half the wealth of the nation"; and another writer recorded that this base violation of the honour of the Crown thus utterly ruined the banking business of the London goldsmiths for a long time. Possibly Lady Fanshawe went on to say in the *Memoirs* that she herself lost some money through the Stop; and there were probably very few persons connected with the Court who did not suffer from this iniquitous action.

Page 212.

The portraits of Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe, the former of which is here reproduced, are from pictures believed to be by Lely, in the possession of Captain Stirling of Keir, by whose kind permission they appear here. The history of the pictures is not known, but there can be no doubt that they represent Sir Richard and his wife. They were shown by the late Sir William Stirling Maxwell at the National Portrait Exhibition at the South Kensington Museum

[1] *Lord Shaftesbury had the assurance to say then in Parliament, "The King holds himself in honour and conscience obliged to see (the goldsmiths) satisfied. Besides you all know how many widows, orphans and particular persons this public calamity hath overtaken, and how hard it is so disproportionable a burden should fall upon them even to their utter ruin."*

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in 1866. To judge from the dress represented they must have been executed by Lely before the Restoration, though the faces of the subjects would perhaps seem to indicate a later date, especially the face of Lady Fanshawe. Lely began to paint in England after the death of Vandyck, and remained in the country during the Protectorate. After the Restoration he lived in Covent Garden, and so near the residence of Lady Fanshawe in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Page 214. § 1.

Dr. Hannibal Potter succeeded Dr. Ralph Kettle (a Hertfordshire man) as Master of Trinity College, Oxford, on 8 August, 1643. His predecessor (see page 315) had been Master since 1599. After the surrender of Oxford by Sir Thomas Glemham (an old Trinity man), he continued to hold office till 13 April, 1648, and was then ejected as guilty of high contempt of the Commissioners of the Parliament. He was restored on 3 August, 1660, and dying four years later was buried in the College Chapel (Blakiston's *History of Trinity College*). Among the payments to the King recorded by John Ashburnham is one of £1000 by Dr. Potter.

Page 215. § 2.

The Dr. Threscross of the *Memoirs* was no doubt the Dr. Timothy Thriscross who is mentioned in Dr. Worthington's diary (Chetham Society) as urging him to publish the works of Mr. Nicholas Ferrer, of Little Gidding, which is not far from Hamerton. (All readers will remember the charming account of this place in *John Inglesant*.) Dr. Thriscross (whose name is also spelt Thrusscross, Tharcross, and Shircross in the writings of the time) was a fellow of Eton and preacher at the Charter House, where David Lloyd was reader under him.

The Mr. Thrisco mentioned by Evelyn in his diary on 9 December, 1659, was no doubt Mr. Thriscross. Evelyn also mentions hearing Dr. Saunderson (p. 333) preach on 18 December.

Dr. John Cosins was educated at Caius College, Cambridge, and at the early age of forty-one became Master of Peterhouse. He was Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1639, and was appointed Dean of Peterborough in the following year. As a very high churchman and the friend of Archbishop Laud and Bishop Montague, he was especially obnoxious to the Puritans; and after being sequestered from all his benefices in 1641, he was expelled from his mastership in 1643. During the exile he officiated at the chapel of Sir R. Browne in Paris. At the Restoration he was made Bishop of Durham, and died in January, 1672. Evelyn records of him in 1663 that in his greatness he little remembered Evelyn's kindness and assistance to him in his exile.

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Page 216. § 2.

Dr. Barrow, Bishop of St. Asaph, was the elder Isaac Barrow, uncle of the famous Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was ejected from his fellowship at Peterhouse in 1643, and went to the King at Oxford. The record of these christenings by him in 1651 and 1652 show that he was residing in London at this time. After the Restoration he became Bishop of Sodor and Man and Governor of the Isle of Man, and three years later was made Bishop of St. Asaph in 1669. He died in 1680.

Sir Oliver Boteler was the son of Sir William Boteler and Joan Fanshawe, for whose composition his mother made such strenuous exertions in 1646, doubtless under the advice of Sir Philip Warwick, whom she married the following year.

My Lord Fanshawe's lady was Elizabeth Cockayne, second wife of Sir Thomas Fanshawe, K.B., afterwards first Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore.

Page 216. § 3.

Sir Humphrey Bennet of Shalden, Hants, was the son of a younger brother of Sir John Bennet (died 1627), grandfather of the Earl of Arlington. He was an ardent Royalist, and checked the Parliament cavalry and commanded the rear in the retreat from Newbury in October, 1644; he was arrested in 1655, and is mentioned in the Clarendon Papers in the Bodleian as working for the Restoration. He was also a person of great wealth. He died in 1667.

Lady Rockingham was Eleanor the widow of Lewis Watson of Rockingham Castle, Northampton (who was knighted in 1608, made a baronet in 1621, and created a baron in 1644–5), and daughter of the seventh Earl of Rutland. She died in 1679. Probably Lady Fanshawe had known her in Oxford during 1644–5. Her son married Anne daughter of the first Earl of Strafford.

Cousin Ayloffe may have been Margaret Fanshawe, aunt of Sir Richard and wife of Sir Benjamin Ayloffe, the Royalist Sheriff of Essex, who died in 1658, or more probably one of her four daughters; or again, she may have been Katherine Fanshawe, daughter of William Fanshawe of Parsloes, married to John Ayloffe or Ayliffe of Wilts in 1636.

Page 216. § 4.

Lady Rookeby, or Rokeby, was Frances, the wife of Sir William Rookeby, of Skiers, who became a baronet in 1662, and died in 1676. She was the daughter of Sir William Hickman, of Gainsborough; and as she lived fifty years with her husband she must have been born about 1610. Skiers lies between Wentworth and Nether Hoyland, a little north of the road from the former place to Tankersley. Dame Rookeby, as she was in 1653, was no doubt one of the neighbourhood whom Lady Fanshawe found very civil and kind (*Memoirs*, p. 83). The baronetcy became extinct in the person of

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the third baronet, son of the original holder of it and uncle of the second baronet. The family also held estates in Sandal Parva, near Doncaster, and in Hotham in the East Riding of Yorkshire. In a quotation in the notes upon the *Memoirs* of Mr. Justice Rokeby (Surtees Society, Vol. of 1860), the name is spelt Rokesby, as in the MSS. of the *Memoirs*.

Cousin Boswell is unknown, though curiously enough Susan, daughter of Gervase Bosvile, was married to Alexander, younger brother of Sir William Rokeby; and the name of Mr. Edmunds has not been found in any public or family papers of the time.

Mr. Graves was the ejected parson of Tankersley. He was restored to his benefice in 1660, but did not, like some others so restored, write up the church registers for the period of his ejection.

Page 217. § 1.

Sir Thomas Fanshawe was in 1656 plain Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins, afterwards knighted on 10 December, 1661. Mrs. Heath was Margaret, the daughter of Sir Edward Heath (*Memoirs*, p. 15). She was married to Thomas Fanshawe on 5 February, 1657, eight months after she was godmother to Lady Fanshawe's daughter.

My niece Compton was the daughter of Lady Bedell (see *Memoirs*, p, 208).

Dr. Drake, who baptized the babies born in 1655 and 1665, was perhaps some ejected minister residing in Sir Philip Warwick's family. His name has not been traced in the University or clerical records of the time.

Page 217. § 3.

The name of William Carey does not appear among the incumbents of the quaint old church of St. Leonard at Bengeo; and that of Mr. Jones has not been traced in any Fanshawe papers. A Mr. Benjamin Jones was Mayor of Hertford in 1667, and again in 1677.

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ADDENDA

Appendix I, page 223.

George Colman the elder had a sister, Charlotte Caroline, born before him, and therefore about 1730–1, who was alive in 1764. This may well have been the Miss Colman, or Coleman, in question, who died in 1768.

Appendix III, page 230.

It has been conjectured that Butler refers to Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of the second Epode of Horace in the following lines in Canto III, part II, of Hudibras:—

> "Besides their nonsense in translating
> For want of accidence and Latin;
> Like Idus and Calendæ English'd
> The quarter days by skilful linguist."

It would seem rather far-fetched, however, to hold this to be a criticism of Sir Richard's

> "At Michaelmas calls all his monies in,
> And at Our Lady puts them out again,"

which most people would consider rather a happy paraphrase. The Latin Secretary was undoubtedly a skilful Latin scholar for his age, and these verses in the attack on the astrologer Sidrophel, usually held to be William Lilly, are specially directed against the ignorance of Latin displayed by astrologers.

Notes, page 264.

Sir Capel Bedell, of Hamerton, born in 1602—(he was entered as of eleven years of age in the visitation of Huntingdonshire made in 1613)—was the son of Sir Thomas Bedell, knighted 1603, and his wife Winifred, daughter of Sir Arthur Capel the elder, and aunt of Lord Capel. According to the above record he was seventeen years old only when he married Alice Fanshawe in June, 1619. Their son, whose birth is recorded in a letter of Mr. John Chamberlain, dated 21 August, 1624, must have died young, as the estate descended to his daughter, the wife of Sir Francis Compton, on the death of Sir Capel. He was made a baronet in 1622, and was M.P. for Huntingdonshire in 1628 in succession to Sir Oliver Cromwell, and again in the Short

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Parliament of 1640. He was sent to the Tower as a delinquent on 18 August, 1642, for assisting to convey the plate of Cambridge University to the King at York, and died in 1643, perhaps in consequence of his confinement. His younger daughter Mary was married to Sir Thomas Leventhorpe in January, 1655, and died in 1683. The name is usually spelt Beadles in the correspondence of the time.

Notes, page 270.

The rent paid on account of the Fanshawe Gate estate was xv^{s} only. A similar sum was payable as fine upon entry. The heriot fee demanded on each succession was £4.

Notes, page 271.

Xenodo*th*ij of the existing transcript of the inscription should, of course, be Xenodo*ch*ij.

Notes, page 273.

The Bourchier family, of Barnesley, or Barnsley, Gloucestershire, deserves perhaps a fuller note here as the link connecting the Fanshawe family with the families of Edgcumbe, Glanville, and Evelyn in the seventeenth century.

Anthony Bourchier[1] (p. 273), who died in July, 1551, does not make any mention in his will of the family of his wife (Mildmay) or of his daughter (Fanshawe). He was among the justices of peace of the county in 1543, it may be noted. His son William, Secondary of the Queen's Remembrancer's office in the Exchequer, to which no doubt his brother-in-law, Thomas Fanshawe, appointed him, lived till March, 1622. He was married to Susannah Browne, aunt of Sir Richard Browne, of Sayes Court, and by her, who died in January, 1644, had two sons—Walter and Anthony—and three daughters—Mary, Winifred, and Christian. In his will, dated 21 March, 1621, he leaves a gilt cup to each of his daughters, Prettyman and Glanville, and a bowl of three pounds price to his godsons, John Prettyman (afterwards Sir John, of Lodington, Leicester) and William Glanville, eldest son of Sir John Glanville. His son Walter had married, in 1612, Mary Browne, daughter of Richard Browne, of Singleton, Kent, first cousin of Susannah Browne, and the baptisms of twelve of their children are recorded in the registers of the Barnesley church. She died in 1689; he died in 1648, and was succeeded by his son William, and he by his son Brereton, who died in 1714 without any son, upon which the estate was carried by his daughter to the Perrot family. By his will Walter Bourchier left 40s. for a ring to each of his sisters, Glanville and Prettyman. Anthony, the younger brother of Walter, succeeded his father in the post of Secondary, and was recorded as such in 1642 (p. 263). He resided at Little Grove, East Barnet, till his death in 1653, when the property was sold: twenty-one years later it came into the hands of Lady Fanshawe, who died there in

[1] *Lady Fanshawe spells the name Boucher, and this, or Bowcher, was the usual form of it at that time.*

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January, 1680. Mary Bourchier, daughter of William, became in 1607 the second or third wife of Sir John Prettyman, of Driffield, Gloucestershire, and Lodington, Leicestershire. He had been made knight on the coronation of James I, and his son (who was sequestered in 1644, and was informed against as having been in arms at Cirencester in May, 1650—he appears to have escaped penalty on both occasions—and who was concerned in Sir George Booth's rising in 1659) was made a baronet in 1660, and was M.P. for Leicester in 1661. Like Viscount Fanshawe, he was compelled by his losses in the Royal cause to sell Driffield, and in 1670 owed nearly twenty thousand pounds. It is not surprising, therefore, that five years later he should have been a prisoner in the King's Bench. In the next year he died. His younger sister Elizabeth married Sir Richard Browne about 1630; in 1647 we find Evelyn mentioning that her brother, Mr. Prettyman, was looking after Sayes Court, and in 1653 that he and his family had removed from there. Their only child Mary, born in 1633, was married on 27 June, 1647, at her father's house in Paris, to John Evelyn, afterwards of Sayes Court, and survived her husband by four years, dying in 1709. Hence, as noted at page 420, it comes to pass that Sir John Evelyn refers to Richard Fanshawe as cousin; and Sir Richard, in his letter from Tankersley, 27 December, 1653, prefixed to Evelyn's translation of *Lucretius*, addresses Evelyn as "noble cosen." There was another connexion also of the families of Evelyn and Fanshawe through the Bourchiers, for the younger daughter of William Bourchier, Winifred, married Sir John Glanville, of Broad Hinton, Wilts, on 20 April, 1614, and his nephew George, youngest son of his brother, Sir Francis Glanville, married Jane Evelyn, the sister of the Diarist, in 1648. John Evelyn often mentions his brother-in-law (p. 458), and records the death of his sister in 1651. On 22 January, 1653, in referring to the former, he adds that he also met his "cousin William Glanville, son to Serjeant Glanville, sometime Speaker of the House of Commons," and on 16 July, 1654, he visited Broad Hinton, and found Sir John Glanville residing in the gatehouse of his mansion, the house having been burnt by him to prevent its being occupied by the rebels. Sir John Glanville the younger, born in 1586, was son of the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas (born 1542, died 1600), and held the office of Recorder, first of Plymouth and afterwards of Bristol. He was a notable member of the popular party in the Parliaments from 1614 to 1640, and was a protagonist in such weighty matters as the election of Sir Thomas Wentworth for Yorkshire, the impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham, and the presentation of the Petition of Right to the Lords. In the Short Parliament of 1640 he was elected Speaker of the House of Commons, being member for Bristol; in the same year he became Serjeant-at-Law, and in the following year he was knighted. Like many other members of his party, he gradually separated himself from it as the struggle with the King deepened, and in 1641 he was disabled from sitting in the House. Four years later he was sentenced to pay £2380 and was sent to the Tower, where he remained till 1648. He made his peace apparently with the authorities for the time being, as he was

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M.P. for Oxford under the Commonwealth. He died in 1661. Fuller calls him one of the biggest stars of the law. His daughter Mary, born in 1616, married in 1636 Piers Edgcumbe of Mount Edgcumbe (see p. 457).

Notes, page 274.

A further examination of Smythe wills has brought to light further interesting facts regarding the Fanshawe family.

By her will, dated 10 July, 1592, and carrying a codicil of 20 May, 1593, Dame Alice Smythe (the daughter of Sir Andrew Judde) left various gifts of tapestry and other household goods to her daughters Fanshawe and Elisabeth Smythe,[1] and to the latter the sum of £300 also. To her son-in-law, Thomas Fanshawe, appointed one of the supervisors of her will, and his eldest son Thomas she left £20, and to each of her grandchildren—William, Alice, and Katherine Fanshawe—£10, the gifts to all of the grandchildren being payable on their attaining twenty-one years or marrying earlier. To all sons and daughters and to their wives and husbands were left mourning gowns of black cloth of a value of 20d. the yard. Joan Fanshawe received "the third chaire of Arras, a table cloth of damask seven yards longe and three yards broad of the storye of Holofernes, a long broade towell, two dozen of napkyns, and two hand towells," and Elizabeth Smythe received "one long table cloth of diaper conteyning six yards in length, a long towell, and two dozen of napkyns to the same, my carpet of Arras worke, a long cuisshon of green velvet and two ende cussions, one paier of fyne sheetes of three breadthes, and six fyne pillow beres purled and stitched, a large quilte of crymson taffita, a table cloth of damaske conteyning five yards, a double towell, and one dozen napkyns of the worke of a great flower."

Sir John Smythe, by his will dated 5 March, 5 Jas. I (1608), left "To my nephew Auditor Fanshawe and his brother William Fanshawe (sons of Thomas Fanshawe of Ware, d. 1601) to each of them twentie poundes in money to buy them geldings withal . . . And to Thomas Fanshawe, the son of Sir Henry Fanshawe, knight (and first Viscount Fanshawe), and to Thomas Fanshawe the sonne (born 1607) of Auditor Fanshawe . . . being my godsons . . . ten poundes a piece . . . and to every one of my owne sisters fortie poundes a piece."

Owing to the extraordinary fact that the index of wills in Somerset House does not contain any indication of the place of residence of testators of very common names such as Smith, Smythe, it has not been possible to trace the wills of the two remaining sons of the Customer—Henry and Robert Smythe.

Sir Richard Smythe, whose will is dated 12 October, 1627, left to his loving sister, the Lady Fanshawe, for "blacks for herselfe and servants twentie

[1] *She names her daughters in the order of Davye (Mary), Boteler (Ursula), Fanshawe (Joan), Hayward (Katherine), and Harris (Alice), and this is no doubt the correct order. Elisabeth Smythe's eldest son was born in* 1596, *so she must have been married between Midsummer,* 1593, *and c.* 1595.

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pounds, also my great round guilt bason and also my guilt salt, steeple fashion," and "one greate gilt salt with a cover which sometime was my father's." "Item. I give and bequeath to my nephew Sir Thomas Fanshawe Knight of the Noble Order of the Bath, sonne of Sir Henry Fanshawe Knight deceased, in money twentie pounds . . . to my godsonne Richard Fanshawe another sonne of the said Sir Henry Fanshawe Knight, deceased, in money twentie pounds." Thus we learn with certainty who was the second godfather of Sir Richard, and after whom he was called, the first being Sir Thomas Smythe, as stated in his will (page 275). Sir Richard Smythe also left twenty pounds for blacks to his loving nephews, Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins, Knight, and William Fanshawe, Auditor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The following lines from the fine tomb of Sir Thomas Smythe in the church of Sutton-at-Hone deserve quotation :—

> "But finding earthly things did rather tire
> His longing soul than answer her desire;
> To this obscurèd village he withdrew,
> From hence his humble voyage did pursue,
> Here sumd up all; and when his gale of breath
> Had left becalmed in the Port of Death
> The soules fraile barke (safely had landed her
> Where Faith his factor and his harbinger
> Made place before) he did (no doubt) obtain
> That wealth which here on earth we seek in vain."

Notes, page 277.

Sir Christopher Hatton died intestate, and therefore probably suddenly, in 1619. The will of his wife cannot be traced.

Notes, page 279.

By his will dated 19 February, 1658, Sir Benjamin Ayloffe left his estate at Wenington, Lincoln, to his younger children—Benjamin, Henry, and Margaret —but gave his eldest son the right to redeem this by the payment of £1000 to each of them. In the will he speaks of the settlement of Braxted on his wife on 9 May, 1616, their wedding day, Thomas Fanshawe and William Fanshawe being parties to the indenture on behalf of their sister.

Notes, page 303.

By his will dated 24 September, 1638, and proved on 29 January, 1639, Sir Giles Alington left £30 "to the eldest child of every of my six daughters," and among them therefore to Ann, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Fanshawe. He also left £500 to Lady Leventhorpe, and £950 to Mrs. Theodocia Leventhorpe.

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Notes, page 306.

Sir John Ferrers, by his will dated 7 August, 1640, left to his "grand child Katherine Ferrers, a mourning gown." His will does not mention any son Knighton, but the son Henry to whom and to whose sons and daughters he left everything at his wife's death must presumably be the same as the Knighton Ferrers of the *Memoirs* and the various pedigrees of the family. Sir William Walter left his daughter Catherine as sole executrix of his will, dated 7 April, 1631. She was to take an annuity of four score pounds under it, all his lands being conveyed to trustees for some purpose which is not expressed in the will.

Notes, page 306.

Among other extreme popular measures which Sir John Evelyn strenuously supported were the commitment of Sir Ralph Hopton to the Tower in March, 1642, and the raising by Parliament of an army of 10,000 men in the July following.

Notes, page 319.

Lady Glemham was Ann, daughter of Lord Buckhurst, under whom, as Lord Treasurer, Sir Henry Fanshawe and his father had served. She was the wife of Sir Henry Glemham, of Suffolk; her sister Jane was married to the second Lord Montacute, or Montague. Her daughter married first Viscount Bayning, and secondly the old friend of the Fanshawes, Lord Dorchester. Her son was the gallant Royalist defender of York in 1644 and of Oxford in 1646.

Notes, page 322.

Dr. Holdsworth was severely attacked by Oliver Cromwell in October, 1641, when the House of Commons took into consideration certain appointments of Churchmen made by the King, on the ground that he had been a member of the Convocation which had passed illegal canons.

Notes, page 324.

William Harrison was expelled from the House of Commons on 24 June, 1643, exactly one week before he was buried at Oxford.

Notes, page 333.

Among those buried at Oxford at this time, viz. in July, 1643, was the gallant Viscount Grandison, second of that title, whose unworthy daughter was Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland, and whose niece married Richard Harrison, the half-brother of Lady Fanshawe (see page 585).

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Notes, page 358.

In a letter dated Oxford, 29 March, 1645, Lord George Digby wrote to his special friend General Goring: "I have nothing to add but to conjure you to beware of debauches. There fly hither reports of the liberty you give yourself much to your disadvantage, and you have enemies who are apt to make use of it."

Sir Philip Warwick speaks of Lord Goring as as good a soldier as any the King had, but as one who turned wantonness into riot and riot into madness; and of Sir Richard Grenvile as an old experienced soldier, though his nature was tempered with great severity if not cruelty.

Notes, page 374.

The will of Sir William Boteler has been found among the Oxford wills at Somerset House, and is of much interest as reflecting the circumstances of the time. It seems to have been proved in March, 1645, about the date when Sir Richard Fanshawe left Oxford.

Sir William begins his will by appointing six executors—

1. My most true kind and loyall wife Joane Boteler.
2. My brother Mr: Richard Fanshawe.
3. My kinde friende Mr: Richard Thornhill.
4. My most worthy friende Mr: John Fonntaine, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrester.
5. Mr. William Campion of Kent.
6. Mr: John Harrison of Hertfordshire.[1]

"In the first place my will is that my most deare wife Joane Boteler alone and solely deale, take the care and charge of what estate is left, both Reall and personall. To her I bequeath the guardianship of my only son Oliver Boteler." The testator also gave her £200 per annum for life out of what part of his estate she should like best, as an addition to her jointure, and not otherwise. If through age, infirmity, or death, she should be incapacitated from superintending the estate and education of his son, then his brother, Richard Fanshawe, was to have the sole superintendence and care; and so long as he shall do so, to have £100 per annum out of the estate. Similarly the care (and £100 per annum) was to devolve upon the other executors in the following order—Mr. Thornhill, Mr. Fonntaine, "and so in order as they stand in this my last Testament."

To each executor the testator leaves £20, to be paid within six months of his decease.

"And whereas I did formerly in a great distress and trouble make a solemne vowe that if it should please God to deliver me therefrom I would

[1] *If this is the son of Sir John Harrison and not the father, as from his place among the executors would seem to be the case, it is the only mention that has been found of Lady Fanshawe's brother John.*

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give thirtie pounds per annum to the Viccaradge of Sharnbrooke (Mr: Boulton the present Incumbent) to be settled upon him and his successors for ever, which for divers yeares past (till these urgent troubles began) I duly paid him," the testator goes on to direct his executors, "if it shall please God to remove the trouble and take the hand of violence off my estate," to take the lease of Long Sutton into their own hands and accumulate the profits to £600, with which sum to buy lands of inheritance worth £30 a year, and hold them in trust for the vicars, paying Mr. Boulton in the meantime £30 a year. Sir William complains that owing to the evil days which have come upon him he knows not what he could call his own, and declares it useless to make personal legacies which his executors might not be able to carry out, and so he leaves to his wife's, or executors', discretion what gifts she or they should make to his friends and servants.

"And for my only son Oliver Boteler, as I have nothinge now in particular to give him but my blessing, soe I humbly beg of God it may from His bowells of mercie and compassion fall upon his head and into his hearte in most plentifull manner in all those outward mercies whereof I seeme nowe wholie deprived, and in that inward peace and love of Him which is now my onlie wealth, comfort, and prosperitie, and is the only reason I want nothing."

Notes, page 375.

There is an interesting account of Sir Philip Warwick in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of September, 1790. He was married first in 1638 to Dorothea, daughter of Thomas Hutton, of Mask, Yorks, and was twice sent from Oxford to the Marquis of Newcastle to try to induce that erratic leader to co-operate with the Royalist generals in the Midlands. His second wife, Joan Boteler (Fanshawe), is said to have been a near relative of General Fairfax! By his will he left the little seal which belonged to his master, Charles I, to his friend Sir Charles Cotterill. The inscription on his tombstone is said to have been written by Dr. Thomas Pearce, Dean of Salisbury. Seventy years after the death of Sir Philip Warwick, Frognal was purchased in 1749 by the Hon. Thomas Townsend, brother of Charles, third Viscount Townsend, the husband of Audrey Harrison, and owner through her of Balls Park. His son became Viscount Sydney, and Frognal Park is still the seat of that family.

Notes, page 416.

What Sir George Radcliffe must have been to Lord Strafford may be realized from the following letter, penned from the Tower only three days before his execution: "Gentle George let me have your prayers to God for the forgiveness of my sins and saving of my soul. Meet I trust we shall in Heaven, but I doubt not on earth. Howbeit (of) all men living I should be gladdest to spend an hour with you privately; if that might be admitted that might comfort me, to see you at a distance (would be) but a trouble and disturbance." Strafford's last letter to his son has been referred to at page 386.

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That to his wife is most pathetic: "Bury my dead body which living was denied . . . by my father and mother. I can say no more. Time and Death call me away.

"My dear wife farewell. Lord Almighty bless my son. Pray for me, and let my true God whom I serve hold you both in his arms. Vale, Vale, Vale."

Notes, page 421.

On 14 August, 1644, Evelyn "visited Cottesmore, a pretty seat belonging to Mr. Heath, son to the late Chief Justice of that name."

Notes, page 473.

Among other personages of greater name, Sir Richard Fanshawe, with his relations Sir Philip Warwick and Lord Hatton, and his friends Sir Edward Nicholas, Sir George Carteret, and Sir William Morrice, was appointed to serve on the committee for the restoration of St. Paul's in 1663. Sir George and Sir Philip were again on the committee of 1668, and with them among many more Sir John Cutler and Sir Robert Southwell. It is not likely that Sir Richard ever had sufficient leisure during his brief stays in England in 1662–4 to take any active part in the proceedings of the committee.

Notes, page 565.

The text of Mr. Bagshawe's sermon was taken from the eleventh verse of the twelfth chapter of Hebrews: "Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless afterwards it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness to them which are exercised thereby." It will be noticed that parts of David Lloyd's summary (p. 568) are largely taken from the sermon.

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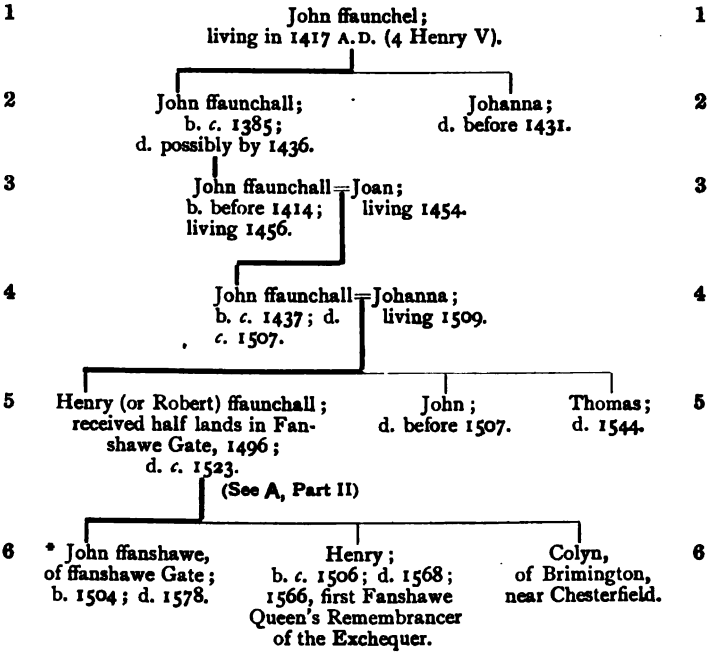
PEDIGREE OF THE FANSHAWE FAMILY

PART I. 1400–1578.



* From early in the sixteenth century the name was spelt ffanshaw or ffanshawe, the latter form prevailing from the eighteenth century. The modern spelling is therefore adopted in the pedigree from this point onwards.

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Thomas, of Parsloes and Wyersdale, Deputy Surveyor-General of the Customs; b. 4 Jan., 1722; m. June, 1745; bur. 10 Sept., 1797.

Ann, eldest dau. Sir Crisp Gasc of Bifrons-in-E Essex, Lord London; b. c. 9 Aug., 1762.

Jc and Wy Bankrup 19 May,

Evelyn John of Parsloes, Capt. th Batt. Essex egt., Militia; 22 July, 1854; 7 May, 1887.

Emily, dau. of John Moore.

Basil Thoma of Holywell, North Devon, and of the Park, Lunugala, Ceylon, Lieut. Imperial Yeomanry (R. North Devon); b. 28 July, 1857; m. 1 April, 1890.

Edgar Sydney Waldo; b. 29 April, 1891.

Aubrey Basil; b. 13 Nov., 1893.

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ct., 1787; b. 4
ne, 1809; m.
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Adbury Margaret
s; b. 30 b. 26 Ju
25 Dec.,

14

Anne Louisa. Frances Alice. obert = Evelyne Isabel, dau. of the late Archbishop of Armagh and sister of General Sir Charles Knox, K.C.B. Ellen; d. 27 April, 1888, unm.

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ood=Aspinwall only son ider Howe, of d. 6 le Hall, t.

Mariana=Peter Royle, b. 18 May, 1817; m. 1843–4; d. 10 Jan., 1892. M.D., J.P.; d. 12 Nov., 1891.

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lexander Martin Lindsay, . 30 C.I.E., Bank of Bengal, n. 30 India; d. July, 1906.

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